

Pribilof Islands, Alaska

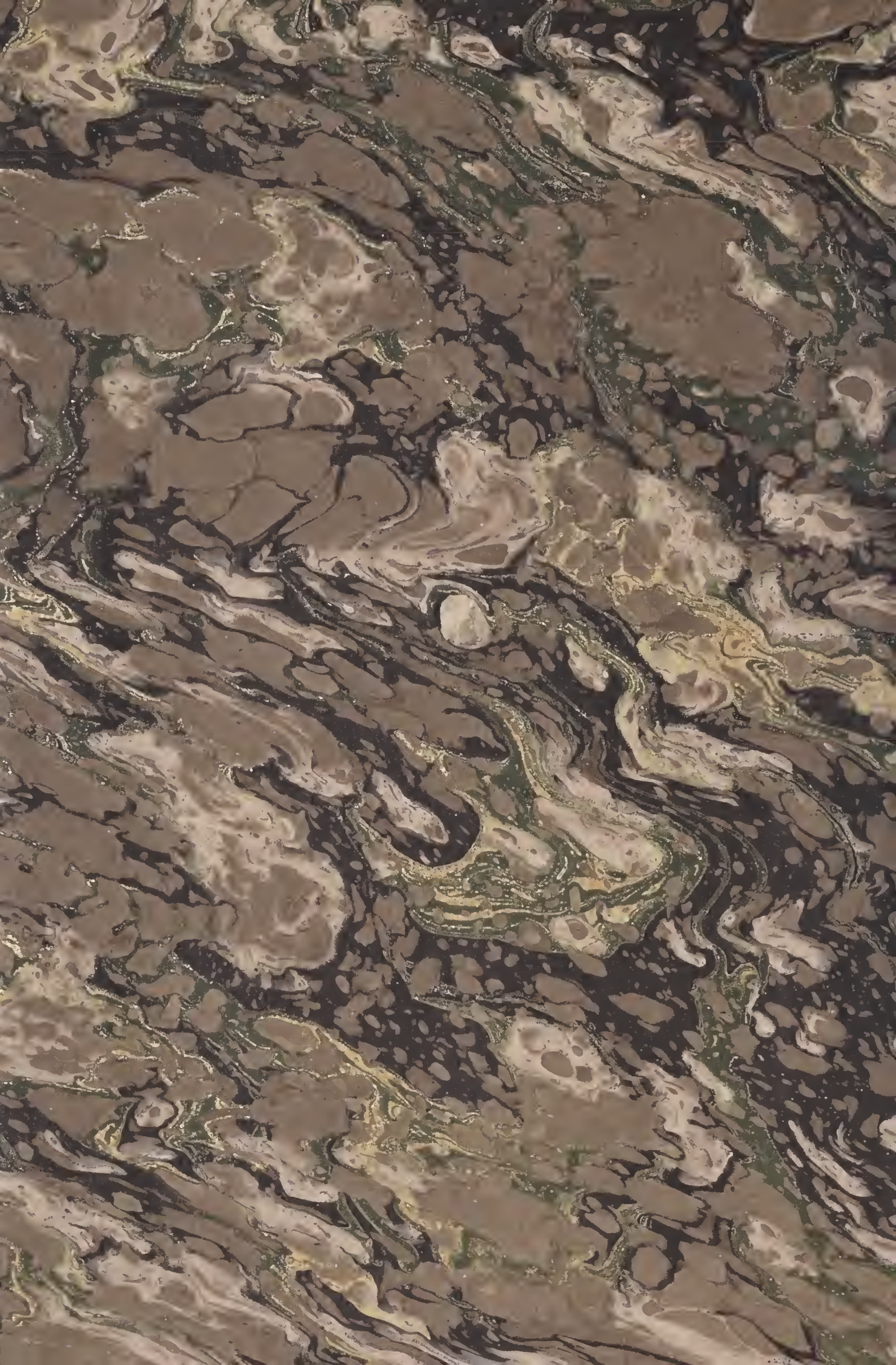
The People

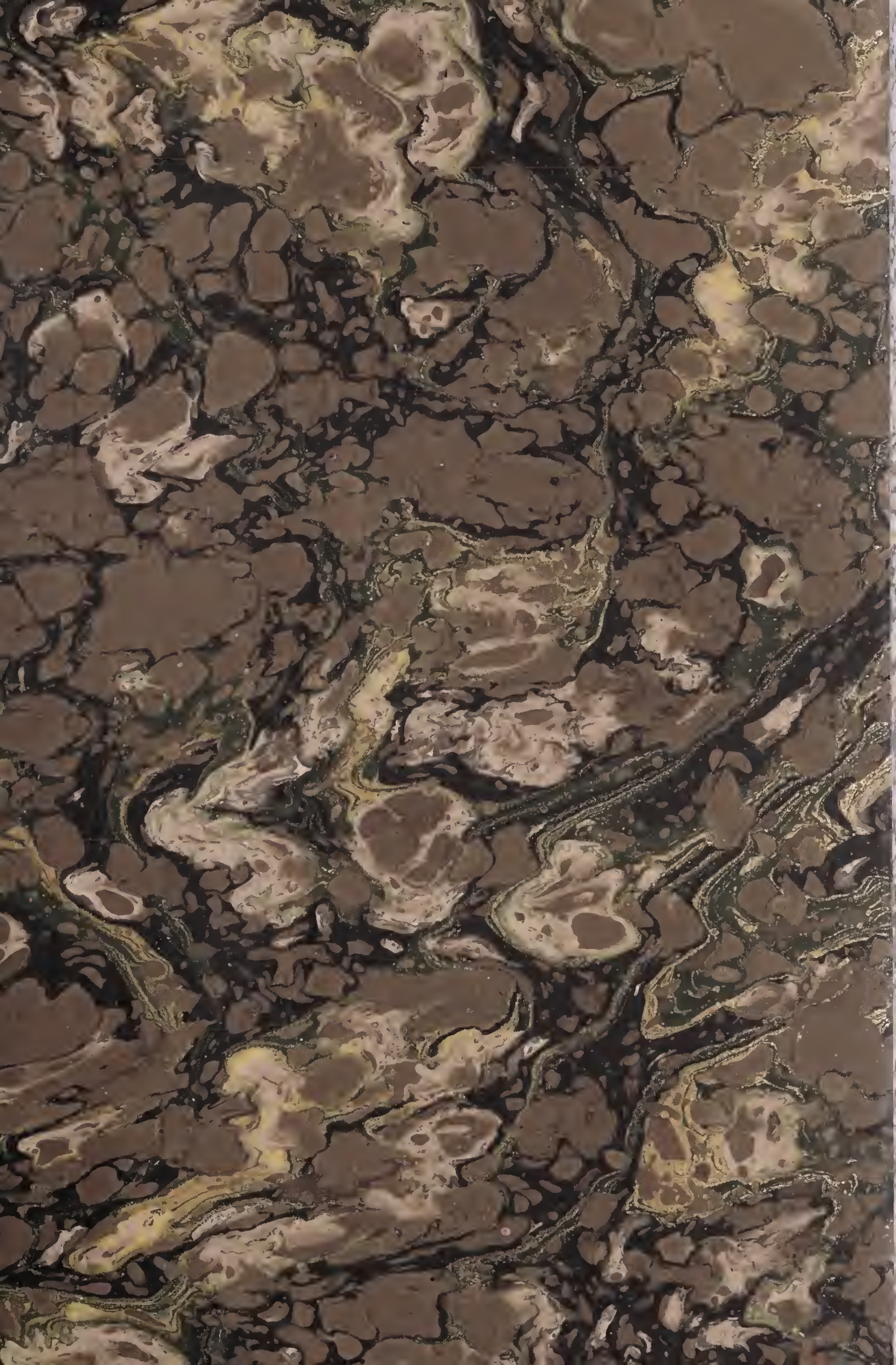
*A Historical Account told through
Illustrated Biographies*



U.S. Department of Commerce

Betty A. Lindsay • John A. Lindsay







Violinist Alexander Simeon Melovidov, born in 1896 on St. Paul Island, Alaska, was the son of St. Paul Island teacher Simeon Alexander and Alexandra Melovidov, and grandson of the Russian-America Company's last manager on the Pribilof Islands, Alexander Milovidov, and his wife Alexandra. Alexander Simeon Melovidov was also the nephew of Henry Wood and Alexandra Melovidov Elliott. (Image courtesy of Alex S. Melovidoff.)

Library of Congress



2011

506524

612.13151-07



Alexay Merculief, Alex Galanin receiving WWII Valor Awards July 15, 1965, Washington, D.C. presented by U.S. Department of Interior Secretary, Stewart L. Udall. Merculief and Galanin went out in their small boat at Garden Cove on St. George Island and saved the lives of the Island's two teachers who were in distress at sea. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG22-95-ADMC-2767.)

Pribilof Islands, Alaska

The People

*A Historical Account told through
Illustrated Biographies*

by Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay

NOAA National Ocean Service
Office of Response and Restoration,
Seattle, WA



May 2010

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Gary Locke, Secretary

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Dr. Jane Lubchenco

Under Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere and NOAA Administrator



DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
National Ocean Service
Office of Response and Restoration

Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay

While the authors have made every effort to provide accurate internet addresses at the time of publication, neither the U.S. Department of Commerce, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, nor the authors assume any responsibility for errors, or for changes that occur after publication. Further, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration do not have any control over and do not assume any responsibility for the authors or third-party websites or their content.

This entire publication may be cited as follows:

Lindsay, Betty A., and John A. Lindsay. Pribilof Islands, Alaska: The People.
U.S. Dept. of Com., NOAA Technical Memorandum NOS ORR 19.

In partial fulfillment of the Memorandum of Agreement Among the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the Alaska State Historic Preservation Officer Regarding National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Actions Pursuant to its Withdrawal from the Civil Administration of St. Paul Island, Alaska, Including the Seal Islands Historic District National Historic Landmark, Executive Order 13287, and NOAA's Preserve America Initiative.

ALTHOUGH RELEASED BY NOAA, THE INFORMATION IN THIS DOCUMENT DOES NOT REFLECT, REPRESENT, OR FORM ANY PART OF THE SUPPORT OF THE POLICIES OF NOAA OR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE. FURTHER, RELEASE BY NOAA DOES NOT IMPLY THAT NOAA OR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AGREE WITH THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN.

DEDICATION

For All People
Who Came, Went, Stayed
Upon the
Seal Islands,
Alaska

and

Especially to the Unaaġin for their contributions and sacrifices toward
sustaining the nation's fur-seal industry and the preservation of the
northern fur seal.

EPIGRAPH

There is history as others view it; history as you view it; and history that
is true but rarely truly understood.

Song of St. Paul

*Beloved island in the Bering Sea
In dreams at night you drift to me
On wild, cold winds that bring the roar
Of stormy seas cast on your shore.*

*Again I hear your seabirds cry,
Your teeming seals on the beach nearby,
Your foxes on their endless roam,
Your church bells call God's people home.*

*Once more I see your children play
And the faces of friends I miss today.
I know your roads I walked along
Will see me back to hear your song.*

~Ruth M. Sherwood~

*Reading Specialist and Head Teacher,
Pribilof Islands School District 1992-97*

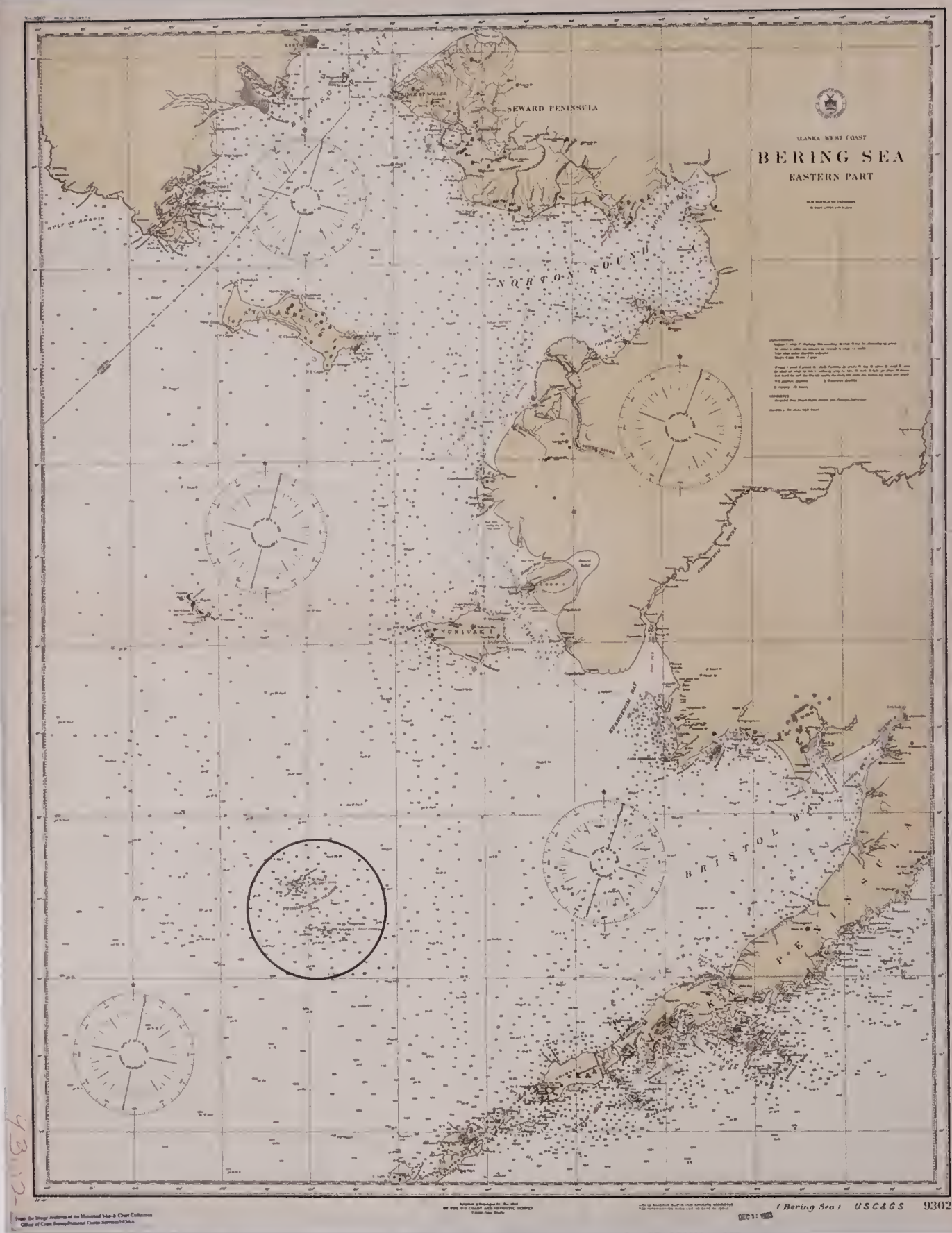


SPECIAL THANKS

The following museums, organizations, and individuals have allowed us to use the many illustrations seen in this book.

Alaska State Library
Alex S. Melovidoff
American Museum at Rasmuson Center
American Museum of Natural History
Anchorage Museum at Rasmuson Center
Andrew W. Young
Ann Baltzo
Association Communications Excellence
The Bancroft Library
The Bessemer Herald
Beverly H. Ray
California Academy of Sciences
Charleston Daily Mail
Cleveland State University
The Condor
Cornell University
The Cosmopolitan
Cypress Memorial Park
Deacon Father Andronik Kashevarof
E. Lester Jones
Elizabeth Healy
Ernest A. Bell
Father Paul Merculief
Fort Collins, CO, Public Library
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
George Mason University
George W. Kingsbury
The Great Round World
Gretchen W. Fischer
Gun-Marie Wiis/Swedish Finn Historical Society
Harper's New Monthly Magazine
Harpur A. Gosnell
Harrison County Herald
Henry Christoffers
Hugh McIntyre
Isabel Shepard
Jeannette Paddock Nichols
Lewis Francis Byington
Library of Congress
Marc Goddu
Margaret Manor Butler
Michael Car
Montgomery County Historical Society
National Anthropological Archives
National Archives and Records Administration

National League of American Pen Women
National Marine Mammal Laboratory
Library
National Museum of Natural History
National Park Service
New York State Museum
Nickerson and Cox
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
Phyllis Swetzof
Presbyterian Historical Society
Raleigh Register
Rebecca Kirby
The Robinson Argus
Royal B.C. Museum
Samuel P. Johnston
San Francisco Examiner
San Mateo Times
Sandown, NH, Public Library
Smithsonian Institution Archives
South Pass News
Tacoma Public Library
TDX Corporation
Ted Jackson
Theo. Holm
Tobyanne Berenberg
U.S. National Mite Collection History
U.S. Treasury Department
University of Alaska Archives
University of Alaska, Anchorage
University of Alaska, Fairbanks
University of Iowa Libraries
University of Notre Dame Archives
University of St. Andrews Library
University of Washington Libraries
University of Wisconsin Archives
USCG Museum
Washington State Historical Society
William Lewis Brosius IV
William Manderville
William Whalley
Wichita Eagle
Yuma Daily Sun



Location of the Pribilof Islands in the Eastern Bering Sea. U.S.C. & G.S., 1927

St. Paul Island, Alaska



St. George Island, Alaska



St. Paul Island, Alaska



St. George Island, Alaska



CONTENTS

Preface	xxix
Acknowledgements	xxxv
Glossary	xxxvii
Abbreviations	xxxix
Introduction	1
The First Three Managers	11
Alexander Milovidov (1821–1870)	13
[1] Alexander Milovidov	14
[2] Alexandra (aka Aleksandra) Milovidov (Melovidoff)	16
[3] Anton Milovidov (Melovidof, Melovedoff)	17
[4] Marcia Milovidov (Melovidov)	18
[5] Simeon Alexander Milovidov (Melovidov, Melovidoff)	19
[5c] Alexander Simeon Milovidov (Melovidov, Melovidoff)	22
[6] Alexander Milovidov	25
Charles Bryant (1820–1903)	25
Samuel A. Falconer (Falkner) (1831–1915)	58
The Russian Orthodox Church on the Pribilof Islands	79
Pribilof Islands Clergy—St. George Island	86
1882–1895: Reverend Father Innokenty (Innokenti) M. Lestenkof (Lestenkof) (1832–1895)	86
1896–1898: Father Rafael Kedrovsky	88
1898–1930: Father Peter Kashevarof (Kashevarov) (1857–1930)	88
1932–1935: Father Stefon (Stephan) Shabanoff	89
1935–1936: Bishop Alexii (Alexay) Panteleev	89
1937–1961: Archimandrite Theodosy (Theodosious) Kulchitsky (circa 1885–1961)	90
1963–1964: Reverend Father Michael Lestenkof	91
1970–1978: Reverend Father Elary Gromoff (1901–1981)	91
Pribilof Islands Clergy—St. Paul Island	94
1848–1875: Reverend Father Innokenty (Innokentii) Shaiashnikov (Shaiashnikoff, Shayashnikov) (1824–1883)	95
1875–1893: Reverend Father Paul Shaiashnikov (1835–1896)	96
1893–1901: Reverend Father Nikolai Rysev (1829–1911)	97
1901–1915: Reverend Father John E. Orloff (Orlof/Orlov) (1859–1928)	99
1917–1924: Father Gregory Kochergin (1877–1945)	102
1924–1929: Archimandrite Gregory Prozorov (1867–1935)	103
1929–1936: Archimandrite John Zlobin (1880–1959)	103
1936–1960: Reverend Father Makary Baranov (1883–1969)	103
1961–1962: Father Peter Bankerovich	107
1962–1964: Father Simeon Oskolkoff (b. 1930)	107
1964–1985: Reverend Father Michael D. Lestenkof (1913–2003)	107
Assembly of God Church	112
Biographies of Individuals	119

A

Abbey, Charles Augustus (1841–1919) 119

Adams, Benjamin Bristow (1875–1957) 122

Adams, George Russell (1845–1933) 124

Adams, Thomas E. 125

Akerly, Dr. James C. S., PhD, MD (b. 1860) 127

Albrecht, Clarence John (1891–1978) 128

Alexander, Alvin Burton (1854–circa 1920) 128

Alger, Merle Emmitt (1906–1995) 130

Aller, Henry Day (1880–1931) 134

Allis, Watson Colt (1857–1942) 135

Andrews, Roy Chapman (1884–1960) 137

Arkhimandritov, Ilarion Ivanovich (1819–1872) 139

Armstrong, John (b. 1844) 140

Artomanoff, Kerrick (1826–1900) 141

B

Baden-Powell, Sir George (1848–1898) 147

Baltzo, Charles Howard (1913–2003) 147

Banks, Nathan (1868–1953) 150

Barnes, Milton (1830–1895) 151

Bartlett, Edward (Bob) Lewis (1904–1968) 157

Beaman, John Warren (1845–1903) 157

Boscowitz, David Aaron (1866–1938) and Leopold Joseph (b. 1868) 160

Boscowitz, Joseph (1835–1923) 161

Boscowitz, Leopold (1832–1895) 163

Bower, Ward Taft (1881–1959) 164

Bowman, Willard L. (1919–1975) 165

Bryant, Charles (1820–1903) 166

Buterin, James P. (1857–1883) 167

Buterin, Karp (b. 1851) 167

Buynitzky, Stephen Nestor (1832–1903) 171

C

Call, Dr. Samuel Johnson (1858–1909) 177

Campbell, Neddie Burns (b. 1867) 178

Chamberlain, Frederick Morton (1867–1921) 179

Chichester, Harry Dennison (1872–1911) 180

Chomski, Joseph (1946–1993) 184

Christoffers, Harry John (1888–1939) 185

Christofferson, Albert (b. 1876) 188

Clark, Ezra Westcote II (1839–1915) 188

Clark, George A. (1864–1918) 192

Clark, Harry N. (b. 1860) 194

Coues, Elliott (1842–1899) 195

Creighton, Elmer Ellsworth Farmer (1873–1928).....196
Crowley, Joseph Burns (1858–1931)197
Culbertson, Richard Guy (1895–1969).....203

D

Dall, William Healey (1845–1927)211
General William Ward Duffield (1823–1907)214
Dunn, Poindexter (1834–1914)218

E

Elkins, Stephen Benton (1841–1911)221
Elliott, Alexandra (Aleksandra) Milovidov (1856–1949).....223
Elliott, Henry Wood (1846–1930)226
Emanoff, Mamant (1906–1972).....240
Ennis, William H. (b. 1842).....240
Erskine, Melville Cox (1835–1909)242

F

Falconer, Samuel (1831–1915).....251
Fassett, Henry “Harry” Clifford (1870–1953)251
Fish, Charles Pattison (1842–1879).....253
Fletcher, Herbert V.....257
Fowler, Colman Lowell (b. 1846).....257
Fowler, Hubert Green (b. 1845).....258
Fratiss, John Sr. (1845–1906)259
Fratiss, John Jr. (b. 1886)260

G

Galanin, Parfiri (1872–circa 1905)263
Gavitt, William (1855–1923).....263
Geoghegan, Richard Henry (1866–1943)266
Gill, Edward James (1851–1876).....268
Glidden, Henry A. (b. 1821)270
Goff, Charles James (1847–1905).....271
Gray, Nicolas (1861–1910+)279

H

Hahn, Walter L. (1879–1911).....287
Hajny, Richard (1921–2004).....288
Haley, George and Cora (1870–1954 and 1872–1931)290
Hanna, G Dallas (1887–1970).....294

Oustigoff, Simeon.....511

P

Parker, George Howard (1864–1955)513
Partch, Paul Childers.....517
Phelps, Edward John (1822–1900)517
Philemonof, Anthony (1952–2009).....520
Philemonof, Terenty Sr. (1921–1969)520
Pribylov, Gavriil (Gabriel) Loginovich (d. 1796).....521
Proctor, Alexander Henry (1868–1949).....524

R

Redpath, James C. (1844–1920)529
Resanzoff (Rezanzoff), Andronic (d. 1887)531
Resanzoff (Rezanzoff), Innokenty (b. 1877).....531
Resanzoff (Rezanzoff), Peter (1844–1899).....532
Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919).....533
Ryan, Thomas F. (b. 1841)534

S

Scheffer, Victor Blanchard (b. 1906)535
Scribner, Benjamin Franklin (1825–1900)538
Seward, William Henry (1801–1872)539
Shaiashnikov (Shaiashnikoff), Kass'ian (d. 1859)540
Shepard, Captain Leonard Griffin (1846–1895)541
Sims, Edwin W. (1870–1948)544
Sloss, Leon (1858–1920).....548
Smith, Frank Holmes (1879–1938).....549
Smith, John Anthony “Tony” (1942–2006)550
Speers, William “Will” Fred (1877/1879–1966)550
Stanley-Brown, Joseph (1858–1941).....556
Stepetin, Gabriel (Gavril/Gavriel) (1911–1991)559
Stepetin, Auxenty “Irish” (1907–1999)563
Sumner, Charles (1811–1874).....564
Swineford, Alfred Peter (1834–1909).....566

T

Tanner, Zera Luther (1835–1906).....575
Taylor, William B. (b. 1850)577
Temple, George H. (1858–1921)578
Tetoff, Neon (1861–1932)579
Tevis, Lloyd (1824–1899)580

Thompson, D'Arcy (1860–1948)580

Tingle, George Robert (1836–1903).....588

Townsend, Charles Haskins (1859–1944)592

True, Frederick William (1858–1914)593

V

Veniaminov, Ioann (Ivan) (1797–1879).....603

Volkov, Phillip (1820–circa 1887).....606

Voss, Otto (d. 1897).....607

Voznesenskii, Il'la Gavrilovich (1816–1871)607

W

Wardman, George W. (1838–1914).....611

Washburn, Seth Monroe (1849–1942)617

Webster, Daniel (1832–1900).....618

Wentz, Herbert B.620

Whitney, Alvin Goodnow622

Williams, William H. (1835–1909).....628

Bergsland, Knut (1914–1998)637

Black, Lydia (1925–2007)637

Hope, Alice (1900–1966).....638

Rosanof, Peter (c. 1900)638

Selected Bibliography.....639

Appendix.....677

Biographical note.....683

ILLUSTRATIONS

Violinist Alexander Simeon Melovidov	i
Alexay Mercurief, Alex Galanin receiving WWII Valor Awards	iii
Location of the Pribilof Islands in the Eastern Bering Sea	ix
Home of the ACC.....	9
Norton House (Webster House)	10
“All of the American citizens” on St. Paul Island in 1872	12
Fort Ross.....	13
Alexandra Milovidov and granddaughter	16
Anton Milovidov.....	17
Anton Milovidov, Alex Hanson, Simeon Milovidov	18
Simeon Alexander Milovidov.....	21
St. Paul Island orchestra.....	21
Alexander Simeon Melovidoff.....	23
Program guide introducing the Indian String Quartet	23
Program guide introducing “Mr. Alex Melovidov, Second Violin”	24
Alex Steele Melovidoff being interviewed at his home	24
Capt. Charles Bryant’s family gravesite	26
Capt. Charles Bryant’s gravestone.....	27
Charles Bryant at the Bay View Inn.....	28
Charles Bryant in rocking chair at the Mattapoisett Inn.....	28
“A Group of Behring Sea Officials in 1872”	34
Mattapoisett Inn	40
Letter from Secretary of Treasury Hugh McCulloch to Capt. Charles Bryant.....	42
Samuel Falconer, 1870	58
Samuel Falconer and family	59
Ida “Daisy” Falconer.....	59
Capt. Abial Loud, Mrs. Bryant, Janette Pierce, Capt. Charles Bryant, and Samuel Falconer	60
Letter of appointment to Samuel Falconer as Deputy Collector of Customs, 1872.....	61
Madam Kadvilavansky’s invitation to Samuel Falconer	62
Samuel Falconer’s invitation to the military ball.....	62
Samuel Falconer’s Certificate of Citizenship.....	64
The protest sent by officers of the bark <i>Monticello</i> to Deputy Collector of Customs	64
Josephine and Samuel Falconer	67
Samuel Falconer and granddaughter Josephine Swanson	67
Baron Albert Von Steiger and Lillian Von Steiger	67
Appointment letter to Assistant Agent Samuel Falconer	69
Samuel Falconer in Dakota Territory	70
Inhabitants of St. Paul’s Island, Winter of 1872–’73	78
Sv. Georgii Pobedonosets, or St. George the Victor Chapel, St. George Island	79
Chapel constructed in 1840, St. Paul Island	80
Chapel, St. Paul Island, constructed of driftwood in 1840	80
Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, 1890s.....	81
St. George Village, St. George Island, 1890s.....	81

St. George the Victorious Church, St. George Island, 1890s.....	81
Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious, St. George Island, late 1930s.....	83
Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious, St. George Island, late 1930s.....	83
Right Rev. Archimandrite Theodosius blessing Zapadni Chapel, St. George Island.....	83
Saints Peter and Paul Church and graveyard, St. Paul Island.....	84
Ekaterina Krukoff with child outside the Government House, St. Paul Island.....	84
Procession leaving the new Church of Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island.....	85
Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, with the new onion dome.....	85
Church procession in St. George Village presided over by Rev. Father Innokenty Lestenkof, St. George Island.....	87
Father Peter Kashevarof, St. George Island.....	88
Father Peter Kashevarof in Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious.....	89
Archimandrite Theodosy, St. George Island.....	90
Nikolai Merculief, Andronik Kashevarof, Archimandrite Theodosy, and an unidentified young man.....	91
Group of young women.....	93
Heretina Kochergin, Fredericka Martin, and Alexandra Gromoff.....	93
Alexandra Gromoff, daughter of Rev. Elary Gromoff, St. Paul Island.....	94
Father Paul Shaiashnikov in Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	96
Nikolai Rysev in Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	99
Rev. Father John Orloff, Church of Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island.....	99
Rev. Father John Orloff and children: Olga, Alexandra, Nadia, and Nicoli, St. Paul Island.....	100
Deacon Father George Kochutin and Father John Orloff inside Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	100
Rev. Father John Orloff after the wedding of his daughter Olga to Nicolai Kozloff.....	101
Rev. Father John Orloff and wedding party at Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	101
Rev. Gregory Kochergin, Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	102
Father Gregory Prozorov on St. Paul Island.....	103
Deacon Father Nikifer Mandregan, Saints Peter and Paul Church.....	104
Rev. Father Makary Baranov inside Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island.....	104
Rev. Father Makary Baranov performing wedding, Saints Peter and Paul Church.....	105
Father Makary Baranov and three girls, St. Paul Island.....	105
Rev. Father Makary Baranov performing wedding, Saints Peter and Paul Church.....	105
Matushka Baranov sewing inside the Priest's House, St. Paul Island.....	106
Matushka Baranov in the church's greenhouse, St. Paul Island.....	106
Dimitri Lestenkof, St. George Island.....	108
Michael and Stefanida Lestenkof.....	109
Constantine Lestenkof, St. George Island.....	110
Elizabeth Lestenkof, St. George Island.....	110
Native islanders with U.S. civil servants on St. Paul Island, July 1971.....	111
Assembly of God Church and parsonage St. Paul Island.....	112
Sketch of U.S. Treasury Building and Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island....	113
Boys and men preparing for "Starring" celebration, St. George Island.....	118

The village at St. George Island, from the West, June 2, 1873.....	118
Charles Augustus Abbey, age 15.....	119
Bristow Adams	122
“An abducted cow.” Pen and ink by Bristow Adams.....	123
Face of fur-seal bull. Pencil drawing by Bristow Adams.....	123
Clarence J. Albrecht.....	128
Merle Alger holding seal pup, St. Paul Island.....	130
“West Virginian Gets Post on Bering Isle”.....	130
Ivory ring carved by Merle Alger.....	131
“Real Fisherman to Tell Tales”.....	132
Franklin D. Roosevelt with cigarette holder.....	132
Articles of interest brought back from Alaska by Merle Alger.....	133
Jean Aller Sheffield.....	134
Watson Colt Allis and wife Edith.....	136
Seven men and one boy. Three men holding rifles and one man holding an oar.....	146
Charles Howard Baltzo.....	148
Fur Seal Rookeries National Historic Landmark plaque.....	149
Nathan A. Banks.....	150
Milton Barnes.....	151
Page of Milton Barnes’ letter to his son, Clarence, written on St. George Island.....	153
Milton Barnes.....	156
John Beaman in Yellowstone.....	158
Betty John with students.....	159
Joseph Boscowitz and Henry Appleton, Victoria, B.C.....	161
Yates Street from the corner of Wharf Street, south side, Victoria, B.C.....	162
Willard Bowman.....	166
Karp Buterin with two girls.....	168
Karp Buterin and small girl, St. Paul Island.....	169
Seal strippers, St. Paul Island.....	169
Karp Buterin and family, St. Paul Island.....	170
Karp Buterin and small boy.....	170
Men playing pool.....	172
Water carrier in 1890’s era.....	176
Samuel Johnson Call.....	177
Egg-gathering party at Walrus Island.....	178
Frederick Morton Chamberlain.....	179
Harry D. Chichester, seated on the right.....	181
Harry Chichester with rifle, hunting on sea ice, St. Paul Island.....	182
Harry Chichester ice sailing at St. Paul Island Lagoon.....	182
Chichester’s last image of seals.....	184
Harry John Christoffers.....	185
Harry J. Christoffers and son Harry Jr. in field of lupine, St. Paul Island.....	186
Elsie Christoffers on St. Paul Island.....	187
Harry John Christoffers Jr. on St. Paul Island.....	187
By-products plant, St. Paul Island.....	188
Ezra Westcote Clark II.....	189
Ezra Westcote Clark’s gravestone.....	190
Elliott Coues.....	195

Sketch of Joseph Crowley	197
Group of government agents and their wives	199
Joseph Crowley, George Tingle (?), and Joseph Stanley-Brown on warehouse porch, St. Paul Island.....	199
Richard Culbertson on St. Paul Island	203
Richard Culbertson, Henry D. Aller, Barbara Aller, Mrs. Peterson, Mrs. Mygatt, Henry Mygatt, Watson Colt Allis, Harry A. Peterson, Dr. Bowlby.....	205
Teacher Mary Culbertson and school children having a picnic, St. George Island.....	205
Teacher Richard Culbertson with senior grade school class, St. George Island	206
Mule team-drawn wagons, St. George Island.....	206
Harry D. Chichester gathering arries eggs at Walrus Island.....	209
The Village Hill, St. Paul's Island, in Zotoi Bay, Native "Bidarra"	210
Native Boat, or "Bidarra," Village Cove, St. Paul's Island	210
William H. Dall.....	211
William H. Dall in "Bidarka traveling, ready to start"	212
Spine of <i>Alaska and Its Resources</i>	213
William Ward Duffield	215
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Lagoon Rookery, St. Paul Island	217
Stephen Benton Elkins	221
Stephen Benton Elkins	222
Alexandra Milovidov Elliott.....	224
Henry Wood Elliott at 24 years of age.....	226
Joseph Henry, first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.....	227
Henry Wood Elliott at age 15	227
Spencer Fullerton Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution	228
Hayden Expedition, Red Buttes, Wyoming Territory.....	229
Henry W. Elliott on horseback.....	231
Cover of Elliott's unpublished 1873 book, <i>Report of the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands, of Alaska</i>	232
Cover of <i>The Fauna of the Prybilov Islands</i>	233
Cover of Elliott's 1881 monograph on the Seal Islands fisheries	234
Elliott, St. George Island	235
Cover of Henry Wood Elliott's 1886 book, <i>Our Arctic Province</i>	237
Self-portrait in ink by Henry Wood Elliott.....	237
First Herdsmen were John Fratis and Neil Oustigof.....	249
The Government House, Residence of the Treasury Agents, St. Paul's Island	250
Bird's Eye View of Walrus Island	250
Harry Clifford Fassett.....	252
Men in a pickup truck parked at the By-products Plant, St. Paul Island.....	260
William Gavitt	264
Cover of <i>The Aleut Language</i> , by Richard Geoghegan and Fredericka Martin	267
Edward James Gill's gravestone in Saints Peter and Paul Churchyard, St. Paul Island..	270
Charles James Goff.....	271
Goff homestead "Waldomore"	272
General Nathan Goff.....	278
Nicolas Gray, teacher on St. Paul Island.....	279
St. Paul Island, string band.....	281
Village dance, Simeon Melovidov and wife, Nicholas Gray.....	282

Interior of Lukah's Barrabakie, St. Paul's Village.....	286
Capturing Fur Seals, English Bay, St. Paul's Island	286
Dixie and Richard Hajny.....	289
Matt and father Richard Hajny, St. George Island.....	289
George Haley	290
One-room junior schoolhouse, St. Paul Island.....	291
Roy Hurd and Maurice H. Stans on cliff top above Kitovi Rookery, St. Paul Island.....	292
Plaques at George and Cora Haley's gravesite, St. Paul Island.....	293
George and Cora Haley gravesite, St. Paul Island.....	294
G Dallas and wife Margaret, St. Paul Island	295
G Dallas Hanna in the fur-seal lab on St. Paul Island	296
Alex Hanson and Anton Melovidov	298
Justinia Stepetin with mother, Marva, and Chionia Stepetin Hanson.	299
Xenophont Hanson with mammoth tooth found on St. Paul Island.....	300
John Hanson burial procession, St. Paul Island.....	300
John Hanson measuring the length of a northern fur seal carcass, St. Paul Island.....	301
John Peabody Harrington and Father Makary Baranov, St. Paul Island.....	302
John (Ivan) Yatchmeneff	302
Michael Healy aboard USRC <i>Bear</i>	303
Capt. Michael Healy escorting young ladies from St. Paul Island to school	305
Dr. Hereford outside St. Paul Island Dispensary.....	307
Agapius Honcharenko.....	308
William T. Hornaday.....	310
Camp-Fire Club of America pledge.....	315
"\$20,000,000 Lost," <i>New York Times</i>	316
"The Fate of the Fur Seal," <i>The Sunday Inter Ocean</i>	317
Group in dining room.....	319
Crew of first B-18 Bolos bomber to land on St. Paul Island.....	320
Crowd of pilots and platoon gathered by the marine railway, St. Paul Island.....	321
Servicemen loading mail onto a B-18 Bolos bomber, St. Paul Island.....	321
Men camouflaging observation post no. 2, St. Paul Island.....	322
Capt. Bayer sleeping on a couch, St. Paul Island.....	322
Evan Hill in a gun pit at the airfield, St. Paul Island.....	323
Military personnel using a reindeer as a bayonet practice target, St. Paul Island.....	323
Military personnel horsing around, St. Paul Island.....	323
Lieutenant Pusey, Saints Peter and Paul Church in the background. St. Paul Island....	324
John Parrott, President of Parrott & Co	326
Eli Lundy Huggins	333
Hayward M. Hutchinson	336
Sitka Farm, residence of Hayward M. Hutchinson, Montgomery County, MD.....	337
William Kohl.....	338
Capturing the Sea-lions, Sea-lion Neck, St. Paul's Island.....	347
Aleut boy in front of <i>barabara</i> at St. Paul Island	348
Aleut in an iqyaġ.....	349
Sheldon Jackson in furs.....	351
Waldomar Jochelson and family at home	353
Waldomar Jochelson and Dina Lazareona Jochelson on board a revenue cutter.....	354
Superintendent Edward Clyde Johnston, St. Paul Island.....	361

Earl Johnston, son of Edward Johnston, at St. George Island.....	361
Edward Clyde Johnston with box camera	362
Dry Seed glass-plate negatives used by Edward Johnston at St. George Island.....	363
Wooden box containing hundreds of glass plate and nitrate film negatives taken by Edward C. Johnston, and wooden box containing photographic negatives.....	363
Rev. Peter Kashevarof, Ermogen Lekanof, Mouza Merculief, and Helena Philemonof	364
Examples of botanical specimens.....	365
The U.S. Army Transport <i>Delarof</i>	366
Dining room, Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp	366
Gold Mine Internment Camp	367
St. Paul Island children swimming at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp	367
Antone Kochutin on boardwalk at the Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp.....	368
Platonida Melovidov and children at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp.....	368
Ernest Lester Jones.....	369
David Starr Jordan.....	371
Joint British-American Commission for Fur-Seal Investigation, Unalaska	376
Joint Diplomatic Commission 1898, Washington, D.C.....	376
Boys' baseball team, St. Paul Island	378
St. Paul Island High School class trip, leaving on a Reeve Aleutian airplane.....	382
Jacob Kochutin, St. Paul Island	386
Luka Mandregan's Barabara, St. Paul Island Village	390
Albert Webster Lavender.....	391
Assist. Engineer Wood, 2nd Lt. Camden, Dr. Samuel J. Call, Capt. C. F. Shoemaker, and Capt. Albert W. Lavender.....	394
Peterson-Bourdukofsky wedding, Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island	395
Walter, Julia, and Grace Lembkey	397
Walter, Grace, and Julia Lembkey, and Chief Karp Buterin on porch, St. Paul Island..	397
View of warehouse and houses, looking toward Village Landing, St. Paul Island	398
Men with cannons aimed out to sea, with several men holding ramrods	402
Mrs. Abial Loud	403
Abial Loud's pencil map of the village of St. Paul, St. Paul Island	404
Dr. Hereford, Mrs. Loud, and Agent Abial Loud inside Government House	405
Men at National Weather Service Office, St. Paul Island.....	412
James Macoun	413
Fur-seal rookery on St. Paul Island with seals and hundreds of dead seal pups.....	414
Malavansky family of St. George Island.....	416
Men wielding sealing clubs, St. George Island	417
Plank road between the village and Zapadnie Rookery, St. George Island.....	418
Ester and Purl Manderville with son William, St. George Island.....	418
William Gordon Manderville with lemming, St. George Island.....	418
Purl Manderville and Mr. Olander, St. George Island.....	419
Dust jacket of <i>The Far Call</i>	420
George Marston	421
George Marston's gravestone	422
Rows of houses constructed by the ACC, St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island.....	424
St. George villagers "masking" at a Christmas celebration, St. George Island.....	427
Aleut boy and woman drying seal meat, St. Paul Island.....	427

Aleut family drying seal meat, St. Paul Island.....	427
Aleut boy and women gathering fur-seal meat on a St. Paul Island seal killing-field....	428
Aleut woman with leather pack and knife on fur-seal killing ground, St. Paul Island...	428
Fredericka, Tobyanne, and Samuel Berenberg, St. Paul Island.....	429
Fredericka Martin's gravesite, St. Paul Island.....	431
USFWS <i>Penguin</i> anchored off St. George Island.....	432
Fredericka Berenberg, baby daughter Tobyanne, and Aleut children, St. Paul Island...	432
Richard and Hannah Maynard in front of their portrait studio, Victoria, B.C.....	435
St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island.....	437
Sealing crew on St. Paul Island	438
The Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island.....	438
Aleut in iqyaġ or "bidarkie" (kayak)	439
Aleuts in fur-seal killing field, gathering skins and meat, St. Paul Island.....	440
Benjamin McIntyre	441
Men launching a baidarra, East Landing, St. Paul Island	445
A two-man iqyaġ.....	445
Aleut wearing a traditional kamleika, St. Paul Island	446
Meeting at the ACC office in San Francisco	452
Lee McMillin, George Merculief, and Purl Manderville with octopus.....	459
Wives of agents: Dorothy McMillin and Esther Manderville.....	459
Clinton Hart Merriam.....	462
John F. Miller, President of the Alaska Commercial Company (1870–1881).....	464
St. George Village, St. George Island.....	466
St. Paul Village with shallow lake in foreground	466
St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island.....	467
John Misikin and a group of men in front of the Carpenter's Shop, St. Paul Island.....	469
Norman Daniel Morgan.....	470
Joseph Murray	475
Joseph Murray branding pups, Chief Karp Buterin heating coals, St. Paul Island	477
Joseph Murray and Charles Hamlin in a mule-drawn wagon, St. Paul Island	477
U.S. Revenue Service Steamer <i>Rush</i>	479
Men on fur-seal killing grounds, Northeast Point, St. Paul Island.....	480
Joseph Murray sleeping in a chair, St. Paul Island	481
Map showing location of the American Seal Herd during the year.	493
Gustaf F. Nybom	495
Gustave Niebaum's U.S. passport application	497
Men outside Government House, St. Paul Island.....	500
Dr. Noyes and Harry D. Chichester playing cribbage.....	501
The Village, St. Paul's Island, Looking South over the Village Cove	504
Wilfred H. Osgood.....	505
Murre colony on Walrus Island.....	506
Wilfred Osgood inspecting a seal carcass on a St. Paul Island killing ground.....	506
Harrison Gray Otis.....	508
Men inspecting seals on a killing ground, St. Paul Island.....	516
Edward John Phelps	518
The Bering Sea Tribunal in Paris.....	519
The Proctors with other government workers	525
Alexander Henry Proctor	525

Group of men including Watson Colt Allis and James C. Redpath.....	530
Matrona, Peter, and Tatiana Resanzoff	533
Victor Bernard Scheffer, Colorado A&M College.....	535
Victor B. Scheffer weighing northern fur-seal pups at St. Paul Island.....	537
Fur-seal biologists at Tolstoi Point, St. Paul Island.....	537
Victor S. Scheffer and Charles Ford Wilke.....	538
Benjamin Franklin Scribner.....	539
William Seward.....	540
Capt. Leonard Griffin Shepard.....	541
U.S. Revenue Steamer <i>Rush</i>	542
Edwin W. Sims, Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor.....	545
Leon Sloss, President of the ACC.....	549
Dr. Frank Holmes Smith	549
Dr. Samuel Berenberg and Anna Stepetin	552
Children lined up for immunization at the internment camp.....	553
Military personnel on St. Paul Island.....	554
Vlass Pankoff in tuberculosis ward.....	554
Military personnel with weapon on St. Paul Island.....	555
Military personnel on St. Paul Island.....	555
Harry Chichester and Joseph Stanley-Brown, St. Paul Island.....	556
Joseph Stanley-Brown at the NACC office.....	559
Northeast Point Rookery, St. Paul Island.....	560
Tolstoi and Lagoon Rookeries, St. Paul Island.....	561
Auxenia Stepetin, age 75, St. Paul Island.....	563
Irish Stepetin with a large halibut, St. Paul Island.....	563
U.S. Senator Charles Sumner	564
Alfred P. Swineford.....	566
Catherine Nedarazoff, St. Paul Island	574
Zera L. Tanner.....	575
Henry W. Elliott's sketch of Tanner in his cabin on the USFC <i>Albatross</i>	577
Lloyd Tevis.....	580
D'Arcy Thompson.....	581
Sealing crew clubbing fur seals, Pribilof Islands	583
Men skinning fur seals, Pribilof Islands.....	583
Group of men on one of the Pribilof Islands.....	584
Panorama of dead seal pups at Tolstoi Rookery, St. Paul Island.....	587
NACC Christmas banquet, St. Paul Island.....	591
Charles Haskins Townsend.....	592
Frederick W. True with whale vertebra	594
An Unanga̋ man in the Village of St. Paul, St. Paul Island.....	596
Looking along "the main street," St. Paul Island.....	596
Men landing a baidarra at East Landing, St. Paul Island	597
Two men walking along "the main street," St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island	597
A man walking with his wheelbarrow, St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island.....	598
"Parascovia and her son," St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island.....	598
Film crewman and extras for <i>The World In His Arms</i> , St. Paul Island	601
Seal carcass By-Products Plant, St. Paul Island, ca. 1960	602
Aleut Family at St. Paul Island in 1894, cleaning sea lion small intestines.....	602

Innokentii Veniaminov.....	603
Pages of <i>Aleut Primer</i> by Rev. Ioann Veniaminov.....	604
View of St. George settlement from North Rookery, pencil sketch.....	609
View of St. Paul settlement from Village Hill, pencil sketch.....	610
Henry Wardman, brother of George Wardman.....	612
Notice of local mining news in South Pass, Wyoming.....	613
Newspaper advertisement for the Wardman Brothers' tin and hardware business.....	613
Daniel Webster on porch; Alex Hanson stacking seal skins in wagon, St. Paul Island..	619
Greenhouse with six-car garage in background, St. Paul Island.....	621
Greenhouse located near Old Village Hill, St. Paul Island	621
Alvin Goodman Whitney.....	622
"Bureau of Fisheries as a Matrimonial Agency"	624
Civil War monument to the 42nd Ohio Infantry, Vicksburg National Military Park....	628
Cover of <i>The Great Round World</i>	629
<i>This Curious World</i> by William Ferguson, Editorial cartoon	676
Lukannon Beach, East Shore of St. Paul's Island, Fur Seals Playing in the Surf	677
Betty A. Lindsay, St. Paul Island.....	683
John A. Lindsay, St. Paul Island.....	683

PREFACE

At the outset of the third millennium and with the world's populations routinely talking about a global economy, it seems incredible that a treeless, five-island archipelago with a total area of about seventy-eight square miles,¹ situated in the environmentally hostile Bering Sea nearly 300 miles from the Alaska mainland, could have contributed to some of the most significant political, economic, and social events in United States and Alaska history. The Pribilof Islands, in fact, occasioned the most historically significant economic event for the United States in the early era of the Territory of Alaska, prior to the 1898 gold rush. Lost in the annals of the 19th century gold rush and the 20th century oil rush is the equally important, but earlier, fur rush that sought the luxurious hides not only of the sea otter, but also of the northern fur seal whose principal breeding grounds are on the Pribilof Islands.

On July 27, 1868, the government set aside the Pribilof Islands as a "special reservation" administered by the Secretary of the Treasury for the protection of the fur seals. Briefly, the special reservation designation restricted access to the islands to the resident Aleut [al-ee-ute] Natives, government personnel, and contractors. For more than a century the government controlled and/or administered an industrial monopoly concerned with the harvesting of fur seals for their pelts. The Aleut residents, originally brought to the uninhabited islands by Russian fur-traders with motives similar to those of their American successors, served as the primary labor force on the islands. The U.S. government unwittingly denied the Aleuts many of their civil liberties. Access to the special reservation required Department of the Treasury or its successor agency's approval.

Government reports, correspondence, maps, photographs, and books provided the foundation for the history of the Pribilof Islands during the United States era. Government and non-government scientists sent to study the fur-seal population gave detailed descriptions of the natural history of these remote islands.

The sealskin business brought tens of millions of dollars to the U.S. Treasury. The islands also enriched private businessmen, including one who would later apply his earnings toward the creation of the California signature vineyard, Inglenook. In the 1970s, Inglenook became the Niebaum-Coppola Winery, and subsequently Rubicon, owned by film producer and director Francis Ford Coppola and his wife, Eleanor.

After Alaska came under United States control, law enforcement came to the Pribilofs beginning with the U.S. Army, soon followed by the U.S. Revenue Marine Service (which later became the U.S. Coast Guard), the U.S. Navy, Treasury agents, company lessee agents, and the Aleut people themselves. Potential wars or military conflicts with Great Britain and Japan over the islands' lucrative fur-seal trade were averted diplomatically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, respectively. At least five U.S. Presidents participated directly in decisions related to the Pribilof Islands. At least two Presidents,

Ulysses Grant and Teddy Roosevelt, briefly considered exterminating the northern fur-seal herd for the sake of peace.

Over the decades, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) within the U.S. Department of Commerce became the ultimate successor to a string of federal bureaucracies responsible for the special reservation. After nearly a century of complete government control, the islands' Natives, the Aleuts (*Unaaġin*),² were acknowledged as the rightful holders of their traditional lands. Several federal Acts and agreements, such as The Fur-Seal Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-702) and its 1983 amendment, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, and the Transfer of Property Agreement of 1984, directed the transfer of public lands to the Aleuts. Much of these lands lay within the Seal Islands National Historic Landmark created in 1966 under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

Slow progress ensued toward the completion of the land transfers. During the interim, in the summer of 1989 the State of Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) issued a Notice of Violation against NOAA for an oil sheen release along a shoreline at St. Paul Island. This incident motivated one of the island's land recipients to express concern about other potential environmental quality issues on properties being transferred to the Aleuts. Leaders at St. George Island expressed similar concerns, even though all appropriate former federal property had already been transferred to them.

In response to these environmental concerns, the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1992 launched a preliminary investigation at both islands to assess potential contamination and liability under the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA), popularly known as Superfund, and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA). In 1994, EPA issued its determination that no contamination posed an unacceptable risk to human health or the environment under CERCLA or RCRA.

Unsatisfied with EPA's determination, the island leaders continued to allege that the United States government had caused environmental quality violations. Acknowledging a basis in fact, the United States government waived its sovereignty and NOAA entered into the Pribilof Islands Environmental Restoration Agreement, commonly referred to as the Two-Party Agreement (TPA) with the State of Alaska on January 26, 1996. The TPA coincided with a congressional mandate, Public Law 104-91, signed by President Clinton on January 6, 1996. Section 3(c) of P.L. 104-91, entitled "Resolution of Federal Responsibilities," required the Secretary of Commerce to clean up contaminants, primarily petroleum, and debris, such as landfills, on the Pribilof Island properties left by the government during its operation of the commercial fur-seal industry.

In 1999, NOAA directed its Director of the Office of Response and Restoration, David Kennedy, to address the matter of environmental restoration. Mr. Kennedy selected the co-author of this book, John Lindsay, to manage the undertaking. During the course of preparations the agency recognized that the environmental restoration would also require extensive research into the history of petroleum contamination, infrastructure development, industrial debris, and solid waste landfills on the islands. As a result, NOAA

contracted with the senior author, Betty Lindsay, a genealogist and historical researcher, to research and compile materials about the history of the Pribilof Islands. Subsequent to her contract, it was learned that both the environmental restoration activities on public lands and within a National Historic Landmark, and the property transfer from public to private entities, demanded compliance with requirements under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

The initial historical research recognized that fur-seal management and science, and issues concerning civil rights abuses by the government, overshadowed the more personal aspects and sacrifices that individual people contributed to the Pribilof Islands' history.

During the first fifty years of American possession, the Pribilof Islands, also known as the Seal or Mist Islands, offered up many stories of wealth, political intrigue, romance, adventure, and tragedy. They often appeared in such publications as *Harpers* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, or as front page news in such prestigious outlets as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Many fascinating people and events would become the central themes of novels, poems, music, and even Hollywood movies.

Stories about northern fur-seal management, harvesting, and the health and welfare of the fur seals fill volumes, as demonstrated by publications like *History of Scientific Study* (Scheffer et al., 1984) and the more recent *The Northern Fur Seal* (*Callorhinus ursinus*): *A Bibliography* (Scott et al., 2006) and *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lindsay and Sclater, 2009). Other volumes focused on the tragedies befalling the Aleuts who 'slaved' for Russian and American fur-traders, e.g., Torrey (1978), *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts*; and Jones (1980), *A Century of Servitude*) and on their relocation during WWII, e.g., Kirtland and Coffin (1981), *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II*, and Kohlhoff (1995), *When the Wind was a River*. Several film documentaries focused on these subjects as well, such as *Islands of Time* (Patricia Stanley, producer, and Dennis Remick, writer; Fort Yukon, AK: Silky Way Productions), *Aleut Evacuation: The Untold War Story* (VHS; Michael and Mary Jo Thill, producers; Girdwood, AK: Gaff Rigged Productions, 1992), and *The Aleut Story* (DVD; Marla Williams, producer and writer; Anchorage, AK: Sprocketheads, 2005). More recent films such as *The Aleutians: Cradle of the Storms* (DVD; Michael Single, producer, and Beth Harrington, producer and writer; Natural History New Zealand Ltd., 2001, and Oregon Public Broadcasting, 2002) and *People of the Seal* (DVD; John A. Lindsay, producer and writer, and Kate Raisz, writer; Seattle, WA: NOAA, 2009), sought to portray a broader cultural heritage perspective on the Aleut people. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the Pribilof Aleuts came under attack for their desire to pursue their only significant means of livelihood—fur sealing—as portrayed in a 1971 NBC News documentary *Man's Thumb on Nature's Balance* hosted by Jack Perkins. The documentaries sought to bring a human face to the story of the Pribilofs and an understanding of the injustices and indignities suffered by so many on these remote and beautiful sub-arctic islands.

Taken collectively, "The People" referred to in the book's title include not only the Aleuts, but government officials, businessmen, scientists, natural historians, church officials, and others who represent the human experience on the Pribilof Islands. When

human beings are involved they make history, and human history is made up of both tragedy and comedy. The Pribilof Islands' history is full of each. The focus of this book then is on those people who lived on, worked at, or otherwise influenced and shaped the social, political, economic, scientific, and natural history fabric of these Pribilof Islands.

After attempting several approaches to presenting the Pribilof Islands' human history, the senior author elected to illustrate it by using biographical sketches, including individual genealogies and census records and illustrations. More in-depth Aleut genealogies and census records, enhanced with illustrations, are presented in a separate volume (*Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, 2009).

The biographies, genealogy and census manuscripts took form subsequent to the senior author's contract with NOAA. Manuscript development utilized her experience in the areas of genealogical research and mathematics. Her personal and electronic research forays into many national and international archival collections over the past eight years synthesized her original vision. The biographical stories rely heavily on quotes from individuals whose lives were touched by the Pribilof Islands, whether directly or indirectly. The stories also rely heavily on "headquarters history" as opposed to "grassroots history," as anthropologist William S. Laughlin distinguished the two source types.³

Not unexpectedly, challenges in the research involved wading through untold numbers of "headquarters" documents that used the popular practice of identifying government officials only by their initials. The senior author employed numerous research techniques to uncover the identities of these officials. Clues used to trace their identities and biographies included their mention in various records of formal residences, an individual's age during service, and the names of wives. Search applications relied on various name spellings. A list of approaches taken is too long for recounting here.

The volume's temporal focus spans the period from the United States' 1867 purchase of Alaska to 1983, which was the end of federal administration on the Pribilof Islands. An emphasis was placed on identifying individuals of the Unaaġin, or Aleut inhabitants of the Pribilof Islands, using biographical information contained in the "headquarters history." For the period covered by this book, the "grassroots" history of the Unaaġin was derived from members of the Pribilof Islands community and published historical records. Also, while the focus is on a 116-year period of federal administration, some important events and individuals in the Pribilof Islands' story are included from the Russian period, which began in 1786. The biographical sketches are almost exclusively limited to those persons who have died.

In 2001, NOAA, working with the U.S. Geological Survey, created the first large-scale (1:25,000) topographic relief maps of the largest two Pribilof Islands, St. George and St. Paul. In that undertaking, an attempt to apply *Unangam Tunuu* (Aleut language) to place names of various topographic features met with moderate success. Names in *Unangam Tunuu*, as well as Russian words and text, are inserted throughout this book as appropriate. [Note: Beginning with the Introduction, foreign or *Unangan* words are italicized on their first use.] They are intended to convey an appreciation for and maintenance of the *Unangam* (possessive form of *Unangan* [oo-nung-an], the Aleut people) cultural iden-

tity and heritage. We note that current attempts to revive Unangam heritage by today's Unangan has led to some variant translations among authors; and we apologize if our usage fails to comply with strict standards.

During the course of developing the manuscript, we debated whether to emphasize only the positive contributions made by so many, to the exclusion of those elements that were less praiseworthy. We decided that the Pribilof Islands' story, because of its public administration, should be an open exposition of human nature as it appeared in the history of this microcosm of American society.⁴ The motto *Past is Prologue* above the entryway to the National Archives in Washington, D.C., seems apropos. The errors of the past should provide purposeful and valuable insights to the present and the future, lest others drift and tumble over the same cataracts and suffer again the same inequities, whether by the government's or their own hands.

One major caveat that begs understanding of this present work is that it is only a small portion in the relative enormity of this undertaking. The work typically fails to represent the full scope of contributions of any individual or of all the persons who were a part of the history of the Pribilof Islands. The number of individuals is too daunting and the written record too voluminous and dispersed to allow for adequate coverage within the time limits set for this project. Lastly, the post-WWII period, through the termination of government administration in 1983, was one of great change for the Pribilof Natives. Much more could be written about the individual sacrifices and contributions of that period.

The Pribilovians have an outstanding heritage upon which they can build and guide their own lives for a better tomorrow. We hope this work will serve them well, as they continue to make history.

Comments about the Narrative Text

This volume relies heavily upon the words of those who lived during the times covered, for their observations and expressions cannot be better stated, and it lessens the opportunity of misstating certain facts. We have left most words the way they originally appeared in the various documents. Occasionally, handwritten documents were difficult to interpret. We either placed a question mark [?] following the suspect word, or stated that it was indecipherable. We used [sic] relatively sparingly in the final version, although it was applied frequently in drafts because reviewers constantly challenged questionable spellings or proper names. For example, Seal Islands is considered a proper name, but many writers during the period spelled it in lower case. Typically we corrected obvious misspellings, such as "ot" to "to," or "htey" to "they." We tried to leave punctuation as it was or wasn't included, but occasionally the temptation was too great and we may have inadvertently amended it. Re-examining the records was too onerous a task to justify correcting for a comma that should or should not have been there.

Internet Research

The World Wide Web afforded ample opportunity to expedite historical research on numerous topics, especially genealogy, biography, and geographical locations. Internet sites come and go, and many are periodically updated. Herein, web addresses utilized in the research are provided in the endnotes. The date on which a website's information was accessed follows the address in parentheses, although we did not strictly adhere to this convention. We cannot guarantee that by the time the reader attempts to access a website cited in this book, the information will be available or the same.

Considerable genealogical research relied upon the following subscription websites: GaleNet (<http://galenet.gale.com>); Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>); and Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com/trees/awt/main.aspx>). Public libraries typically have licensed access to such sites, and some libraries arrange for home access for some patrons and students. The authors also used the GaleNet product Biography Resource Center for many biographical searches.

Common sources for vital statistics used in this book include the Social Security Death Index, accessed at <http://ssdi.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?DB>, and the U.S. Census.

Comments about the Endnotes

This book contains more than 1,100 endnotes. Newspaper and website citations appearing in endnotes are not included in the References section. Book references are fully annotated at the first mention in each section and subsequently abbreviated.

Pribilof Islands Agent's Log Books are individual logs in the series Pribilof Islands Logbooks, 1870–1961 in Record Group 22 (Records of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service), located at the National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Alaska. The Pribilof Islands Logbooks occupy 39 boxes, and boxes 1–39 cover the years 1870–1961. (See Archival Research Catalog [ARC] 297024 at <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/>.)

-
- 1 Don C. Foote, Victor Fischer, and George W. Rogers, *St. Paul Community Study: An Economic and Social Analysis of St. Paul, Pribilof Islands, Alaska* (College: Univ. of Alaska, Inst. of Social, Economic, and Government Research, 1968), 3.
 - 2 The term Unaagin refers to those Unangan who are residents of the Pribilof Islands (Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994), 442.
 - 3 William S. Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1980), 120.
 - 4 Despite the authors' best intentions in this regard, they elected not to recount most of the less-than-becoming behaviors exhibited by a few individuals in the Native population as chronicled by government agents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We want to thank everyone who made this book possible. We begin by saying a special thank you to the people of St. Paul and St. George islands. Some of you answered what may have seemed unending streams of questions or requests for written records, photographs, and illustrations. Even though Betty's trip to St. Paul Island in the year 2000 was not for research, it gave her the pleasure of meeting the people themselves at an island picnic and in some of their homes and provided her inspiration to write this and other books about the Pribilof Islands. Everyone was friendly and forthcoming with historical stories and traditions. Betty especially wants to acknowledge conversations with and access to historical material provided by librarian Anita Carden and her husband, School Superintendent Jim Carden, former City Manager John R. Merculief, and City Clerk Phyllis Swetzof, as well as the kindness of Darlene and her husband John Melovidov, who invited her to tea and surprised her with firsthand stories about the islands.

We are especially indebted to Judith Bittner and Joan "Jo" Anston, Alaska Office of History and Archaeology, who provided guidance and encouragement that led to the publication of this book. Also Sonja Kromann, librarian of the NOAA Marine Mammal Library, Seattle, Washington, who was there to answer our many questions and guide us through the library's Fur-Seal Archives. We are very grateful to the staff at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Pacific Alaska Region in Anchorage, Alaska, especially Bruce Parham and Diana Kodiak, who brought so many records to our attention and labored for days at the photocopier; Henry Gwiazda in the Cartographic Section at the NARA repository in Washington, D.C.; and Bill Greathouse at the NARA repository in Seattle, Washington. We are indebted to the following members of the Pribilof community for their contributions to several of the biographies: Aquilina Lestenkoff, Phyllis Swetzof, Ron Philemonof, Piama Merculief, and Larry Merculieff.

We searched many archives and libraries both electronically and in person. We found materials on the Pribilof Islands in almost every state in the nation. We give special thanks to Ellen Alers, Smithsonian Institution Archives; Dave Bergevin, Smithsonian Photographic Services; Vyrdis Thomas, Susan McElrath, Gina Rappaport, and Robert Leopold, Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives; Norman Reid, Pam Cranston, and Cilla Jackson, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, Special Collections; Barbara Mathe, American National History Museum, New York City; Laura Pereira and Michael LaPides, Kendell Institute Library, New Bedford Whaling Museum, Massachusetts; Rose Speranza, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks; Mary Anne Slemmons and Heather Hadley, Alaska State Library and Archives; Carla Rickerson and John Paul Deley, University of Washington Library Special Collections; Notre Dame University Special Collection; Cleveland Museum; San Diego Historical Museum; and Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

We extend a special thank you to all individuals, libraries, museums, archives, universities, and historical societies who allowed the use of photographs to accompany biographies within the text.

Numerous individuals contributed to the editing of this book, including Professor Dan Doyle of Seattle University; Douglas Veltre, Professor Emeritus, University of Alaska, Anchorage; Raymond Hudson; Robin Maberry of Labat Services; Karla Sclater, University of Washington; Jo Antonson, Deputy Director, Alaska Office of History and Archaeology; Jackie Pels, Hardscratch Press; and Bruce Parham, Director of NARA Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Alaska. Bruce and Jo made very significant contributions toward the completeness and historical accuracy of this work. Martha Jackson proofread the final draft of this manuscript. Kristina Worthington is gratefully acknowledged for her untiring patience during the design and layout of this book and for working with Sara “Sally” Good-Hamilton and Brian Mano at the Government Printing Office to publish this book.

The support indirectly provided by Alaska’s Senator Ted Stevens and Congressman Don Young, who recognized the government’s responsibility to the Pribilof Aleut people who gave so much in support of their country during the commercial fur-seal harvest and WWII, contributed immensely toward the publication of this book. Also John Rayfield, Republican Staff Director, Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation, worked tirelessly to ensure the reality of the environmental restoration work, the transfer of federal property to the Pribilof people, and NOAA’s ability to complete its obligations under the National Historic Preservation Act. Numerous individuals within NOAA also encouraged the publication of this book. Special thanks and gratitude are extended to Craig O’Connor; Robert Taylor of the NOAA Office of General Counsel; and David Kennedy, Ellen Clark, David Westerholm, Brian Julius, Jack Dunnigan, Bill Corso, Deb Larson Salvatore, Thomas Cox, and Aneesah Whaley with the National Ocean Service for their encouragement and support. Our apologies are extended to all those other important individuals whom we failed to acknowledge, but to whom we extend our sincerest appreciation and gratitude.

Betty A. Lindsay
John A. Lindsay

GLOSSARY

Note: Sources of some of the foreign terms are provided, but they are not necessarily complete.

barabara (Siberian) — barabora, barrabara; semi-subterranean sod home [Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*, 146]

baidarka (Russian), dim. of baidara; also: baydarka, bidarka, bidarkee, bairdarkie, bydarka, and bidarky — a portable boat made of skins stretched over wood frames and widely used by Alaskan coastal Natives and Aleuts. [Dyson, *Baidarka: The Kayak*]; a small Aleut skin boat; kyak (Inuit or Eskimo) [Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*, 146; and Golovin, *The End of Russian America*, 231.]

baidar, bidar, baidara, bidarra, baidarra, or bidarra — large open skin boat, also called an umiak, used to ferry many people and/or materiel. [Golovin, *The End of Russian America*, 231; Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 317]

baidarshchik (Russian) — the head of a baidarka or iqyaġ hunting party [Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 339]. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*, suggested that a *baidarshchik* was the head of a hunting party. Golovin defined the term as “owner or skilled steersman of a baidara; overseer of a crew or group of baidaras.” [*The End of Russian America*, 231]

chigdaġ (Unangan) — waterproof parka made from thin strips of sea-lion intestine [Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 137]

creole — The word “creole” was a complex socio-economic term under the Russian-American Company. It referred to any person with any Russian ancestor, or to any “pure-blooded” Aleut educated in Russia or in Russian ways [Raymond Hudson, personal communication].

galliot — a Russian sailing vessel with short, thick masts, sails cut as narrow as possible, and rudders up to “an amazing 14 feet long” [Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 43]

iqyaġ (Unangan) — a single-hatched baidarka or kyak [Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 210]

itġayak (Unangan) — reindeer

iukola (Unangan) — cleaned dried fish used as food [Golovin, *The End of Russian America*, 231]

kamleika (Chukchi) — waterproof parka made from thin strips of sea-lion intestine [Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 317; Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*, 55]

Kamtchadales — cf. English transliteration of Russian Itel'men or Kamchadal, original inhabitants living on the Kamchatka peninsula in Russia

- laaqudaġ (Unangan) — fur seal [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 727]
- laquk (Unangan) — bachelor seal
- nidilik (Unangan) — baidara
- peredovshchik (Russian) — the head of a hunting crew or a person directing work [Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 340]
- prikashchik (Russian) or prikazchik (Siberian) — a chief manager, supercargo, or overseer. [Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 318; Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 34 and 340]
- promyshlennik (Russian); promyshlenniki (plural) — fur hunters [Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 340]
- pud — 36.11 pounds avoirdupois [Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 317]
- tanaadaqadalix (Unangan) — done visiting this land
- Tanaġ-Amiġ (Unangan) — is a name applied both to the archipelago as a whole, and specifically to St. Paul Island. The term is interpreted variously. Jochelson, *History, Ethnology*, 76 and Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*, 12 interpreted Tanaġ Amiġ to mean “The Land Uncle” or “The Island Uncle.”
- toion, toyon, tyoun, or tyone (Russian or Kamchadal) — Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, 505, and Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 318, offered that toġn is a Kamchadal word for chief or leader (Yakut). Laughlin, *Aleuts*, 148 also translated this word as “leader” [Golovin, *The End of Russian America*, 232; and Willoughby, *Alaska Holiday*, 201]
- tukuġ (Unangan) — chief [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 678]
- Unaaġin (Unangan) — Aleut word (eastern dialect) for residents or people of the Pribilof Islands [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 442]
- Unangam (Unangan) — Possessive form of *Unangan*
- Unangam Tunuu (Unangan) — eastern Aleut word for the Aleut language [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 407]
- Unangan (Unangan) — Aleut word used to characterize those Natives inhabiting the eastern Aleutian Islands; interpreted to mean “seasider,” “people of the shore,” and “islanders” [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 444, unanga: apparently “seasider”; see also Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 157; and Laughlin, *Aleuts*, 4]
- Unangas (Unangan) — Aleut word used to characterize those Natives inhabiting the western Aleutian Islands (Atka to Attu); interpreted to mean “seasider,” “people of the shore,” and “islanders”
- Unangan tanangin (Unangan) — Aleutian Islands
- Unangaġ (Unangan) — singular, an individual Aleut or Unangan [Bergslund, *Aleut Dictionary*, 444]
- verst — 0.6629 mile or 1.067 kilometers [Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 317]

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Alaska Commercial Company
ADC	Alaska Defense Command
ANCSA	<i>Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act</i>
aka	also known as
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History (New York, New York)
AMRC	Anchorage Museum at Rasmuson Center
APIA	Aleutian-Pribilof Islands Association
app.	Appendix
ASL	Alaska State Library
b.	born
bp.	baptized
BCA	British Columbia Archives
BCF	Bureau of Commercial Fisheries
ca.	circa; about; approximately
CERCLA	<i>Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act</i>
d.	died
DEC	Department of Environmental Conservation (State of Alaska)
doc.	document
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FAQs	frequently asked questions
FSA	Fur Seal Act
GDH	G Dallas Hanna (no period after G. G was his first name, which confused many people over the years.)
GPO	Government Printing Office
H.	House
LORAN	Long Range Aid to Navigation
m.	married
MMPA	<i>Marine Mammal Protection Act</i>
n [1,2,3 . . .]	footnote
NAA	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
NACC	North American Commercial Company
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
niġilan	open skin boat
NMML	National Marine Mammal Laboratory

NMFS	National Marine Fisheries Service
no.	number
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
PCA	Photo Collection Album [Alaska State Library]
pt.	part
Publ.	publication
q.v.	quod vide, “see which,” used after a term or phrase that should be looked up elsewhere in the current document or book
RAC	Russian-American Company
RCRA	<i>Resource Conservation and Recovery Act</i>
Re:	with regard to; regarding
Ref.	reference
rep.	report
RG	Record Group
RU	record unit
S.	Senate
SIA	Smithsonian Institution Archives
SIRIS	Smithsonian Institution Research Information Services
Soc.	Society
SSDI	Social Security Death Index
TDX	Tanadgusix Corporation
TPA	Two-Party Agreement
UAA	University of Alaska, Anchorage
UAF	University of Alaska, Fairbanks
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States
USBF	United States Bureau of Fisheries
USCG	United States Coast Guard
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USFWS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USN	United States Navy
USRC	United States Revenue Cutter
USRCS	United States Revenue Cutter Service
USRM	United States Revenue Marine
USS	United States Ship
UW	University of Washington
VBS	Victor Bernard Scheffer
vol.	volume
WWII	World War II

The fur-seal fisheries of St. Paul and St. George Island are the key to control all the resources of northern and western Alaska and the forty thousand Indians thereon. Whichever party—the government or the monopolists—gets control of those fisheries, with their assured income of a half a million dollars yearly, and the commercial power which accompanies it, will be virtually masters of both the trade and the Indians for the next ten or twenty years.

Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner,
Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 1869, 561.

INTRODUCTION

THE Seal Islands of Alaska, known today as the Pribilof Islands, arose from molten magma flowing through fractures in the floor of the central Bering Sea. St. George Island was created more than two million years ago; St. Paul Island's genesis began only 750,000 years before the present. Approximately 9,000 years ago, pioneers began arriving on the Alaska Peninsula and some of the 167 or so islands—the Aleutian Island chain—that stretch nearly 1,200 miles toward the Russian coastline. Little did these pioneers realize that they were headed back toward the land of their ancestral origin, the Asian continent. Habitation along the archipelago was suitable only for a people who could master the sea. The unique population of settlers with sufficient courage, stamina, and intellect to occupy the Aleutian Islands chain eventually referred to themselves as *Unangan* or *Unangas*, depending upon whether they spoke the eastern or central Aleutian dialect (a western or Attuan dialect is now considered extinct, Bergsland [1959]). In English, those words translate simply as “the people,” which is how many indigenous groups designate themselves. However, Bergsland (*Aleut Dictionary*, 444) suggested Unangan derives from “seasider.”¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, the Russians “discovered” these islands and referred to the inhabitants as “marine Cossacks,” or “Aleuts.”

In 1741, Captains Vitus Bering and Gregorii Chirikov sailed eastward from Kamchatka, Siberia, into the Kamchatkan Sea (aka Sea of Kamchatka) under the Russian tsarist expansionist philosophy fostered by Peter the Great and subsequently promoted by Empress Anna Ioannovna in 1740 and her successor, Empress Elizabeth, in 1741. Although many adventurous sailors, including Chirikov and naturalist Georg Wilhelm Steller, survived to return to Russia, Bering and others died from disease, attacks by indigenous peoples, and the perils unleashed by an extremely hostile environment. But the legacy left by these sailors encouraged others to explore what became known as the Bering Sea, including the islands between it and the North Pacific Ocean. The Aleutian Islands yielded considerable wealth in the form of sea-otter pelts, known more romantically as “soft gold.” Russian fur hunters and traders—the *promyshlenniki*—forced the Aleuts to compromise their ancestral ethos of conservation and to ply their marine-cultural skills to meet the Russians' avaricious needs.

Eventually, sea otters became nearly extinct in Alaska and elsewhere. Fortunately for the promyshlenniki, the “soft silver” of the sea bear, as Georg Steller had described it, or northern fur seal (*Callorhinus ursinus*), offered a lucrative alternative. Fur seals had been swimming through the waters of the Aleutian Islands for as long as the Aleuts could remember. At first under Russian domination, the Aleuts killed relatively small numbers, giving some of the fur-seal pelts to the Russians, who then traded them in Russia and China. As the trade value of the seal pelts increased, the Russians demanded more of them from the Aleut hunters.

No one really knew where the seals migrated, on either the north or south side of the Aleutian Islands chain, or at least the Aleuts would not admit to knowing. One night, as the story goes, Russian Navigator Commander Gavriil Pribylov supplied an Aleut *toion*,² or chief, with sufficient liquor to loosen the toion’s tongue. The Unimak chief told Pribylov a story about another toion’s son who became caught up in a tempest while hunting in his *baidarka* (kayak, or *iqyaġ*).⁴ The young Unangan hunter, *lġadagaġ*,⁵ was carried to the shore of an island—*Tanaġ Amiġ*⁶ (Aleut for “The Land Uncle” or “Land of Mother’s Brother”)⁷—to the north, where he found the breeding grounds of *laaqudaġ*⁸ (northern fur seal).

Pribylov set sail in June 1786, and soon found the islands that now bear his name. His discovery began a business venture that would last nearly 200 years. In the process, several abundant marine mammal species (sea otter, walrus, and sea lion) would be stripped of an ideal refuge; the uninhabited Seal Islands would become home to the largest Aleut community during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries; and the Aleuts of this community would develop a new cultural identity. Not until Russian navigator Gavriil Loginovitch Pribylov brought his Russian culture and alphabet to *Tanaġ Amiġ* did documentation of events, names, and places become possible for that land. The advent of Russian discovery also enabled the Unangan to begin thinking of traditional *Tanaġ Amiġ* as home.

While Russian trading companies dominated the territory and promyshlenniki mastered the Aleuts, the Russian Orthodox Church sought to provide the Natives with spiritual and intellectual well-being. Church officials, led by Father (later Bishop) Ivan Veniaminov, not only developed a written version of the Aleuts’ oral language for use in spiritual education,⁹ but also provided the first comprehensive, written documentation of Aleut life, culture, and environmental setting.¹⁰

During this early period the Russian imperial government continued to enlist talented men, similar to the early explorers Bering and Steller, to lead expeditions and gather information. British, French, Spanish, and American explorers also ventured into the territory claimed by Russians. Many of these men set down their observations, often with sketches and other illustrations. A century later, English translations of numerous early writings provided Americans with colorful documentation of the early history of what became the 49th state. Unangan/Unangas history of the pre-European contact era is essentially limited to the writings of Veniaminov and a few others, although contemporary ethnologists and archaeologists continue to bring forth new perspectives.

Even before the United States purchased the Territory of Alaska from Russia in 1867, Americans developed an interest in Alaska's natural resources, venturing north to take whales, sea otters, fur seals, fish, and ice, as well as to survey and explore. Some of these men would write of their experiences and of their encounters with the Aleuts. By the time of the purchase, however, the once highly profitable whale fishery was changing, and by 1914 it would be nearly extinct. The only sustainable natural resource of significant value within the vast territory was the pelt of the northern fur seal, as it was now known, which bred almost exclusively on the Pribilof Islands.

Soon after the United States took ownership of Alaska, fortune hunters set sail for the Pribilofs. They, like the Russians, used the islands' indigenous Aleuts to nearly exterminate the seal herds, despite the Aleuts' protestations. Fortunately, the U.S. government recognized the long-term economic value of the fur seals and other fur-bearing mammals in Alaska. On July 27, 1868, Congress passed "An act to extend the Laws of the United States relating to Customs, Commerce, and Navigation over the Territory ceded to the United States by Russia, to establish a Collection District therein, and for other Purposes." Section 6 of this Act provides "That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to kill any otter, mink, marten, sable, or fur-seal, or other fur-bearing animal, within the limits of said territory, or in the waters thereof . . ." (15 Stat. 240, 241). Subsequently, Congress passed an Act on March 3, 1869 providing "That the islands of St. Paul and St. George, in Alaska, be, and they are hereby, declared a special reservation for government purposes" (15 Stat. 348) intended to protect fur-bearing mammals in the new territory.¹¹ The government sent the military to protect the islands' Native inhabitants and to keep unauthorized persons off the islands. Revenue agents were dispatched in 1868 to evaluate Native living conditions and the vitality of the seal rookeries; however, delays prevented them from arriving until 1869. The agents also prevented traders from shipping sealskins taken as part of the Natives' subsistence harvest, until duties were paid. The revenue agents submitted recommendations on how the U.S. government should best protect and benefit from its interests on the islands. The government chose to institute an industrial monopoly on the islands to harvest the fur seal and to supply the federal treasury with a sustainable revenue stream. It also decreed that the Aleuts should remain as the harvesters of the fur seal because of their inherent knowledge and skill, thus continuing what had become their traditional vocation under the Russians.

Over the next one hundred-plus years, much fact and fiction, including some romance, would be written about the valuable fur seal industry, the businessmen and pirates who sought the wealth derived from it, and others who aimed to control the wealth. The U.S. government became the most prolific contributor to the "headquarters history." U.S. government agents of the Seal Islands justified their charge through daily written documentation and reported their perspectives on the health and welfare of the Natives. Congressional investigations of corruption and malfeasance, allegations of mistreatment of the Aleuts, and international claims to the right to take seals filled thousands of pages of government documents. Government scientists eventually played a significant role in the management of the seal herds. Science and scientists' careers do not advance without a written record, and it became voluminous.

In the Bering Sea from approximately 1884 until 1911, hunters employing the practice known as pelagic sealing, or the killing of seals in the open sea, waged slaughter on the fur-seal herd. Men from Canada and America used canoes launched from schooners to hunt seals on the water, a practice adopted from Northwest American Indians such as Pacheenahts, Nuu-chah-nultas, and Clayoquots. The United States attempted to make the practice illegal in the Bering Sea in order to protect its interest in the land harvest.

Many of the pelagic sealing vessels sailed out of Canada, although California and Washington Territory harbored their share. The Canadian involvement brought its sovereign, Great Britain, into the political fray. In an attempt to resolve the dispute between pelagic sealers and the U.S. government, an International Tribunal of Arbitration, also referred to as the Fur-Seal Arbitration, was convened in Paris, France, from 1892–93.¹² Legal preparations for the case resulted in innumerable documents, not the least of which was the sixteen-volume U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, published in 1895 by the GPO.

Newspapers and magazines in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain frequently reported on issues related to the case. Unfortunately, the tribunal's award (see text box) failed to settle the most important issue, the protection of the fur seal from extinction. The seal herd continued to decline because of both the pelagic and the land harvests. Further scientific investigations were launched by Great Britain and the United States to help resolve the conflict over whether the principal cause of the seals' decline was pelagic sealing or land harvest. Numerous scientific and popular writings, congressional hearings, and investigations continued for a few years after the signing of "The Convention between the United States and Other Powers Providing for the Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals," popularly known as the "Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911," by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan.

From 1911 until after World War II (WWII), most of the written records about the Pribilof Islands, other than scientific findings, were government documents, especially annual reports and an occasional investigation into employee malfeasance. The war brought its own tragedy to the people of the Pribilof and Aleutian islands. More stories would be written about that period than any other, except the pelagic sealing era. But events of WWII also shed light on the plight of the Pribilof Islands Aleuts, who, with the help of outsiders, began to seek full entitlement to their civil rights, including the right to self-determination that the federal government had long denied them. The Aleuts' struggle progressed slowly between 1946 and 1963, when a government administrator was brought in to undertake the transition from federal control to civil administration and private land ownership. In 1983, the government relinquished all of its responsibility for administration of the islands and management of the fur-seal industry, excepting the seal and bird rookeries. In 1984, the majority of federal lands were transferred to Native entities and commercial sealing ended when the U.S. Senate refused to ratify an extension to the 1957 "Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals."¹³ Thereafter,

the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 (MMPA), which forbade commercial harvests of marine mammals, took precedence. Struggling to develop new livelihoods, the Aleut people, including those on the Seal Islands, turned to the biologically rich Bering Sea for economic diversification. Offshore petroleum exploration during the latter twentieth century provided some potential economic relief, but that effort was short-lived. The Bering Sea fisheries, the most productive in the world, offered the best alternative. Federal aid and investments by industrial fish processors fueled the Seal Islands' future economy, and many Aleuts were able to resume an ancestral maritime-based subsistence.

Recorded history of the Pribilof Islands during the American period is replete with stories of individual courage and fortitude as well as scandal and shame. Told through the people involved, these stories are among the many colorful threads woven into the fabric of U.S. and Alaskan history.

The biographical portion of this book is a collection of sketches of remarkable persons now deceased who, either directly or indirectly, played a part in the history of the Pribilof Islands. The only exception is the inclusion of centenarian Victor B. Scheffer, who at the time of this writing still resides in Seattle. Scheffer helped define the scientific and management history of the fur-seal herd. The focus is on the period from 1867 (the U.S. purchase) to 1983, when administrative control and most land ownership on the two remote islands were relinquished to the resident Aleuts.

Many of the people included in this book never set foot on the Pribilof Islands but were significant players nonetheless. On the other hand, the Aleut inhabitants of the Pribilof Islands (Unaaġin) rarely left written records, so their legacy was more often chronicled by their Russian and Anglo contemporaries. Consequently, individual Aleuts are poorly represented among the biographies.

The biographies, which spotlight more than 200 individuals, are drawn from many sources besides standard reference works: privately published books, personal diaries, autobiographies and biographies, letters, firsthand accounts of personal experiences noted in official reports, newspaper and magazine articles, World Wide Web sites, and the archives of assorted institutions. What the sources reveal are always interesting, sometimes complex and intriguing, and often adventurous lives.

Although many of the individuals are introduced with information on birth, parentage, marriage, offspring, and death, the genealogical record incorporated herein remains incomplete for many and entirely wanting for some. When sufficient details allow, a biographical sketch is included to depict the individual's general character outside of the Pribilof experience. The reader may occasionally recognize that an individual's behavior off the Pribilofs either accounts for, or is in contradiction to, his behavior on the islands. The general biographical sketch is often followed with more specific Pribilof Islands-related experiences. Excerpts from depositions given in support of the United States case before the International Tribunal of Arbitration from 1891 to 1893 are included when they offer insight into conditions on the islands. This book relies heavily upon first-person accounts.

AWARD
of
THE TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION
CONSTITUTED
UNDER THE TREATY CONCLUDED AT WASHINGTON,
THE 29TH OF FEBRUARY, 1892
BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND*

Article 1.

The Governments of the United States and of Great Britain shall forbid their citizens and subjects respectively to kill, capture, or pursue, at any time and in any manner whatever, the animals commonly called fur seals, within a zone of sixty miles around the Pribilof Islands, inclusive of the territorial waters.

The miles mentioned in the preceding paragraph are geographical miles of sixty to a degree of latitude.

Article 2.

The two Governments shall forbid their citizens and subjects respectively to kill, capture, or pursue, in any manner whatever, during the season extending each year, from the 1st of May to the 31st of July, both inclusive, the fur seals on the high sea, in the part of the Pacific Ocean, inclusive of the Bering Sea, which is situated to the north of the 35th degree of North latitude, and eastward of the 180th degree of longitude from Greenwich till it strikes the water boundary described in Article 1 of the Treaty of 1867 between the United States and Russia, and following that line up to Bering Straits.

Article 3.

During the period of time and in the waters in which the fur seal fishing is allowed, only sailing vessels shall be permitted to carry on or take part in fur-seal fishing operations. They will, however, be at liberty to avail themselves of the use of such canoes or undecked boats, propelled by paddles, oars, or sails, as are in common use as fishing boats.

Article 4.

Each sailing vessel authorized to fish for fur seals must be provided with a special license issued for that purpose by its Government and shall be required to carry a distinguishing flag to be prescribed by its Government.

Article 5.

The masters of the vessels engaged in fur seal fishing shall enter accurately in their official log book the date and place of each fur seal fishing operation, and also the number and sex of the seals captured upon each day. These entries shall be communicated by each of the two Governments to the other at the end of each fishing season.

Article 6.

The use of nets, firearms, and explosives shall be forbidden in the fur seal fishing. This restriction shall not apply to shotguns when such fishing takes place outside of Bering's Sea, during the season when it may be lawfully carried on.

Article 7.

The two Governments shall take measures to control the fitness of the men authorized to engage in fur seal fishing; these men shall have been proved fit to handle with sufficient skill the weapons by means of which this fishing may be carried on.

Article 8.

The regulations contained in the preceding articles shall not apply to Indians dwelling on the coasts of the territory of the United States or of Great Britain and carrying on fur seal fishing in canoes or undecked boats not transported by or used in connection with other vessels and propelled wholly by paddles, oars, or sails, and manned by Indians, provided that, when so hunting in canoes or undecked boats, they shall not hunt fur seals outside of territorial waters under contract for the delivery of the skins to any person.

This exemption shall not be construed to affect the municipal law of either country, nor shall it extend to the waters of Bering Sea or the waters of the Aleutian Passes.

Nothing herein contained is intended to interfere with the employment of Indians as hunters or otherwise in connection with fur sealing vessels as heretofore.

Article 9.

The concurrent regulations hereby determined with a view to the protection and preservation of the fur seals shall remain in force until they have been, in whole or in part, abolished or modified by common agreement between the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain.

The said concurrent regulations shall be submitted every five years to a new examination, so as to enable both interested Governments to consider whether, in the light of past experience, there is occasion for any modification thereof. [portion excluded dealing with liability over seized vessels].

**Source: U.S. Senate, Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 75–80.*

During the course of their involvement with the Pribilof Islands, the authors became acutely aware of the long-overdue credit owed to the islands' Aleut population for its contribution and sacrifice toward the protection of the northern fur seal and the generation of significant revenues for the nation. As noted, surviving written records pertaining to the Pribilof Islands' Native population—letters, diaries, log books, reports—were produced mainly by non-Aleuts. One notable exception exists in the depositions mentioned above, given before the International Tribunal of Arbitration in the 1890s. Deponents included Aleut sealers, who occasionally offered Native perspectives of life on the Pribilof Islands.

Throughout the biography, the terms “agent,” “assistant agent,” and “special agent” are used as titles for the U.S. government or commercial company persons with authority over the management and/or administration of the islands. Over time, some men held more than one title as they rose in rank. Occasionally, in the Russian and early American periods, an agent was referred to as “governor.” This term of respect was merely a 19th-century colloquialism for “the man in charge,” not the equivalent of governor of the state of Alaska, for instance. Women never became agents, although many worked as teachers or nurses; several are represented herein.

The Secretary of the Treasury, usually at the direction of the President during the 1800s, appointed one agent and typically three assistant agents. All agents took oaths to uphold the duties of their assignment, and these men remained in service until relieved through official notification from the Secretary of the Treasury. Under congressional orders, the Secretary of the Treasury also sent special agents and assistant special agents on short-term assignments to gather specific information. Special agents included men such as Stephen Buynitzky, Charles Bryant, and Hugh McIntyre in 1868, Henry W. Elliott in 1890, and Joseph Stanley-Brown in 1892. By 1913, the man in charge held the title of agent and caretaker. Later the position was titled superintendent.

The volume begins with a brief history of Russian Orthodox churches on the Seal Islands, and genealogies and biographical sketches of the clergymen who served the Pribilof Islands' Native communities. The post-cession administration on the Pribilof Islands began with agent Alexander Milovidov representing Hutchinson, Kohl & Company, and two of the first U.S. government agents/assistant agents, Charles Bryant and Samuel Falconer.¹⁴ The expanded biographical sketches and genealogies of these three men follow those of the clergymen. Subsequently, the stories of other individuals who lived on, worked on, or otherwise influenced Pribilof Islands history are presented alphabetically.

-
- 1 Aleut linguist Moses Dirks purportedly interpreted Unangan as "people of the passes." Ounalashka Corporation. <http://www.ounalashka.com/Unalaska%20History.htm> (accessed June 6, 2009). Others have interpreted Unangan to mean "the people," e.g., The Alaska Geographic Society, "The Aleutians," *Alaska Geographic* (Anchorage: The Alaska Geographic Society, 1980), 82.
 - 2 P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of The Russian American Company* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1978), 5, offered the interpretation that toën is a Kamchadal (area of Siberia) word for chief. The word has been variously spelled as toion, tyone, toyon, tyoun (see Glossary).
 - 3 Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994), 210.
 - 4 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* [*Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla, 1832*], ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan (Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press, 1984), 134.
 - 5 The Aleut name lġadagaġ is spelled variously in the literature. As used herein, the name is as given by Knut Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 200. Waldemar Jochelson, *Aleut Tales and Narratives, Collected in 1909–1910*, used the name lggadaagix. See lġadagaġ biography in this volume.
 - 6 Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 134, states that the islands discovered by lġadagaġ were called Amiġ. The origin of the name Tanaġ-Amiġ is uncertain. Henry W. Elliott in *The Seal-Islands of Alaska* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1976 reprint of 1881 edition), 146, who translated Veniaminov's work, spelled the islands' name "Ateek."
 - 7 Veniaminov wrote the first full account of the legend of lġadagaġ. No archaeological or written evidence is known to exist demonstrating that any Unangan inhabited Tanaġ-Amiġ. The story of Tanaġ-Amiġ lives through a fragment of oral history or "memory culture." The value of memory culture is described in Margaret Lantis and Robert E. Ackerman, eds., *Ethnohistory in Southwest Alaska* (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1970), 157.
 - 8 Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 254.
 - 9 Richard Henry Geoghegan and Fredericka I. Martin, *The Aleut Language*, was the first attempt to translate Veniaminov's original work.
 - 10 Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*. Also see Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii*

(Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, 1994) for greater detail on the history of linguistics of the Aleut language.

- 11 There is a good discussion of this topic in the descriptive pamphlet for National Archives microfilm publication M720, Alaska File of the Secretary of the Treasury (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1968), 1.
- 12 Solicitor Edwin W. Sims, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, states, "This tribunal which concluded its labors in Paris in 1893, is usually spoken of as 'The Paris Tribunal of Arbitration,' and its findings and award as 'The Award of the Paris Tribunal.'" Edwin W. Sims, *Report on the Alaskan Fur-Sea Fisheries* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 9. We have decided to retain the phrases "Tribunal of Arbitration" and "Award of the Tribunal."
- 13 "The Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals" was the international agreement under which the fur seal had been harvested commercially since 1957, and the skins were allocated among the signing nations. The convention was signed by Japan, Canada, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States. The convention evolved from a series of treaties dating back to 1891 beginning with the *Modus Vivendi* which placed a temporary hold on pelagic and land killing of fur seals except by those Natives relying upon the fur seal for subsistence. The Modus was followed by a treaty signed on Feb. 29, 1892, between Great Britain and the United States; see also Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786-1964*, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1984), 10). Two decades subsequently, the "Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911" was concluded among the United States, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain on behalf of Canada. Japan withdrew from the convention during Oct. 1941. Not until 1955 did the four signatory nations reconvene to renegotiate a treaty. The result became "The Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals of 1957." The convention ended in 1983, when the U.S. Senate failed to ratify it. At that time, the *Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972* dictated the handling and management of the northern fur seal.
- 14 Hugh H. McIntyre and Charles Bryant were the first two special agents assigned to the Pribilof Islands by the Treasury Department, during 1868-9. However, McIntyre did not spend a considerable amount of time on the Pribilof Islands in performance of that duty, as his duty required him to travel throughout greater Alaska. In 1870, McIntyre worked for the Alaska Commercial Company, the government's first lessee to harvest the fur seals. Therefore, McIntyre's biography is presented among the larger body of biographies.



HOME OF ALASKA COMMERCIAL COMPANY
from June, 1871, to April 18, 1906

Home of the Alaska Commercial Company, 1906. (Samuel P. Johnston), Alaska Commercial Company 1868-1940, A More or Less "Documented" History, Evidenced by Papers from Governmental Files and Books; By Old Letters from Company Files; By Newspaper Articles; By Memories of Officials and Employes [sic] of Long Standing.



*Norton House - Native Barabakie.
North East Point St. Paul's Island.*

Norton House (later called Webster House); Native Barabakie and Salt House (right); Northeast Point, St. Paul Island, Henry Wood Elliott. 1873. Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska.

THE FIRST THREE MANAGERS

Alexander Milovidov, **Captain Charles Bryant**, and **Samuel Falconer** represent the outgoing and incoming administrations of the Russian-American Company and the United States government, respectively, on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, following the cession of Russian America in 1867. During the 1867–1870 interregnum, the administration of the Seal Islands was chaotic and nearly lawless. The Department of War had responsibility for maintaining order and the welfare of the Natives on the islands. The Treasury Department was to protect the government's fur-seal assets and ensure the collection of appropriate taxes. Former Russian-American Company Manager Alexander Milovidov, living on St. Paul Island, brought some stability during the transition period. The U.S. Army detailed soldiers to the islands to maintain peace, but the records reviewed by the authors did not indicate that any of these military men were exceptional individuals. In 1868–69, the Treasury sent Captain Charles Bryant and Hugh McIntyre to collect information and give advice on how best to protect the nation's revenue-bearing interests in Alaska, including its fur-seal assets. McIntyre spent little time on the Pribilof Islands, as he also traveled about the Territory of Alaska to attend to similar duties. In 1870, the Treasury Department was directed to administer the Pribilof Islands, and the War Department was withdrawn. The Treasury sent Agent Charles Bryant, who previously served as a revenue agent, to reside on St. Paul Island to represent the nation's administrative interests. Samuel Falconer was selected to be Bryant's assistant agent, residing on St. George Island. During that time the Treasury also awarded a lease to the Alaska Commercial Company to manage the fur-seal harvest and to look after the welfare of the Aleuts on the islands.



Photographer Hugh H. McIntyre described this photo as depicting “all of the American citizens” on St. Paul Island, in 1872. Left to right: Henry Wood Elliott, Alexandra Milovidov Elliott (daughter of Alexander Milovidov), Elizabeth Fish (teacher), Janetta Pierce (niece of Charles and Hanna Bryant), Charles P. Fish (meteorologist), Emma Lucy McIntyre, Charles Bryant (government agent), and Hanna Bryant. (Courtesy Hugh McIntyre, grandson of photographer Hugh Henry McIntyre.)

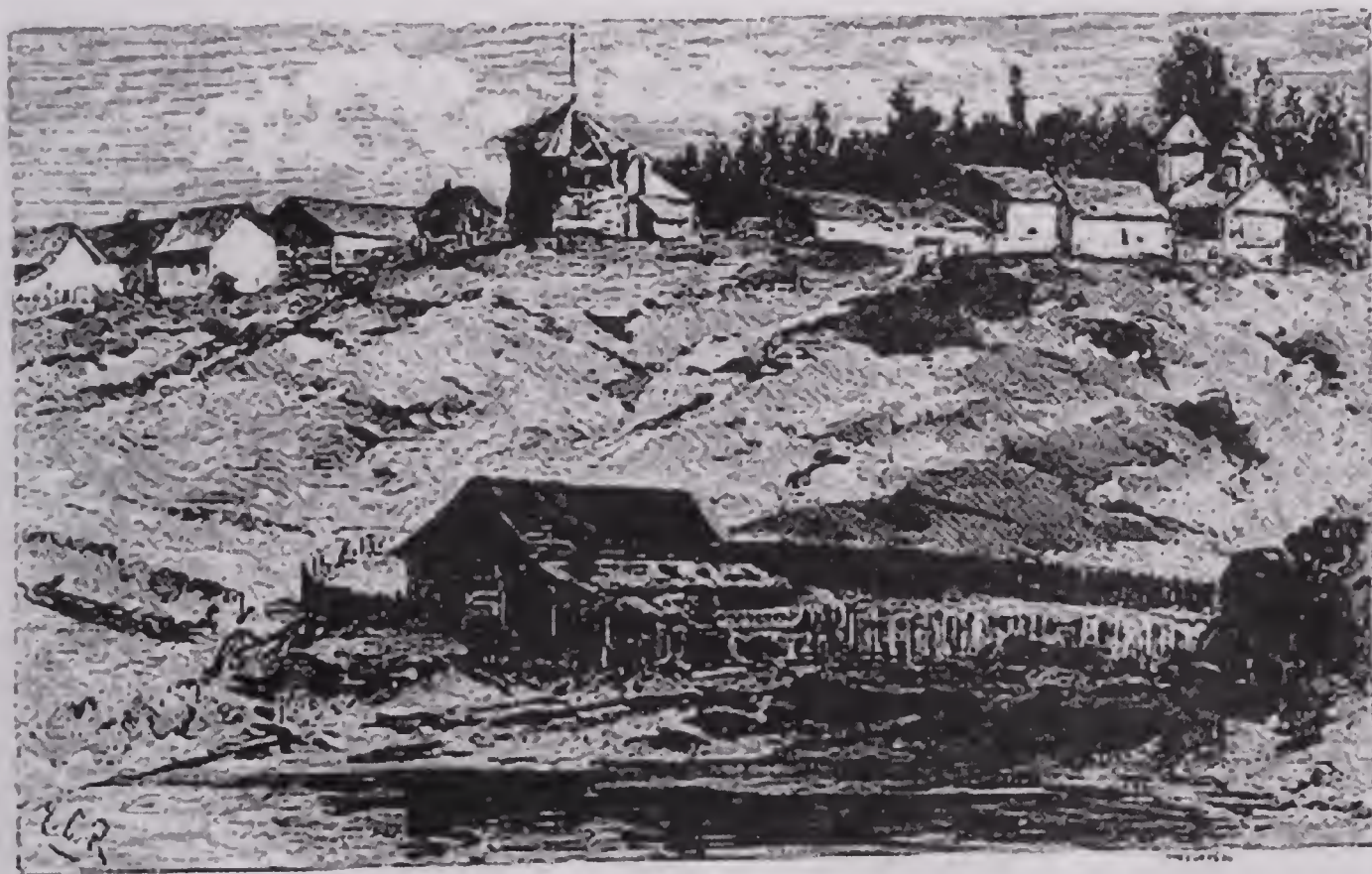
ALEXANDER MILOVIDOV (1821–1870)

(Melovidov, Melividov, Melovidoff, Melividof, Melovedoff)¹*Russian-American Company, Manager, ca. 1860–1867**Chief, St. Paul Island, 1867–1870*Genealogy²

Alexander Milovidov, the son of Alfei Gavrilov Milovidov (1789–1840) and Nadezhda Ulitovskii Milovidov,³ was born August 21, 1821, in Sitka, Alaska. Alfei Gavrilov Milovidov, a Russian-American Company employee, had emigrated from Moscow to Russian America in 1815.⁴

Alexander married Alexandra Mikailova Kaminskii. Alexandra was born at Fort Ross, California, in 1838. She was the daughter of Mikhail Ivanov Kaminskii (Kamenskii) and an unnamed woman he married at the Ross Colony. Fort Ross records state that Mikhail Kaminskii's wife was an Indian; however, the Russian-American Company populated their Fort Ross colony with Aleuts, Alutiiqs, and Kenaitze (Athabascans), although other Native Americans may have lived there. All Native Americans residing at Ft. Ross were identified with the "Indian" descriptor.⁵ Alexander Milovidov died on St. Paul Island, Alaska, on October 5, 1870.

Alexandra's father, Mikhail Kaminskii (Kamenskii), a burgher of St. Petersburg, Russia, had a vocation as a *prikashchik* (Russian: administrator or manager) at the Ross



FORT ROSS—VIEW FROM THE LANDING.

Fort Ross, where mother Alexandra Kaminskii Milovidov (1838–1895) was born. (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 195. Vol. 66, no. 392, January 1883.)

Colony in California. Mikhail resided at the Ross Colony from 1829 until 1841, when he was sent to Novo-Arkhangel'sk (Sitka).⁶

Alexandra Milovidov had a brother named Grigorii Kamenskii. Alexandra's death was described by the St. Paul Island Agent in his log:

Alexandra Milovidov died Monday, August 19, 1895, on St. Paul Island, at the residence of her son Anton Melovidov. The deceased has been ill of consumption for the past year and her death was not unexpected. Simeon Melovidov local school teacher and son of the above requested that school be dismissed until the burial of his mother which request was granted.⁷

Wednesday, Aug. 21, 1895. The funeral of Mrs. Alexandra Melovidov who died last Monday took place at 2 p.m. this afternoon from her late residence and was largely attended.⁸

[1]ALEXANDER MILOVIDOV

Alexander Milovidov, b. August 21, 1821, Sitka, Russian America; d. October 5, 1870, St. Paul Island, Alaska

m. Alexandra Kaminskii, b. 1838, Fort Ross, California; d. August 19, 1895, St. Paul Island, Alaska

[2] Alexandra, b. March 26, 1856, Kodiak, Russian America; d. 1949, California

[3] Anton, b. 1857, Kodiak, Russian America; d. June 5, 1896, St. Paul Island, Alaska

[4] Marcia,⁹ b. January 1864, St. Paul Island, Russian America; d. circa 1907, Unalaska

[5] Simeon Alexander, b. February 15, 1867, Sitka, Russian America; d. March 14, 1948, Los Angeles, California

[6] Alexander, b. September 2, 1874, St. Paul Island, Alaska; d. October 28, 1914, St. Paul Island, Alaska

Biographical Sketch

At some time between 1859 and 1861, Russian-American Company Governor Iogan Khaltusovich (Ivan Vasil'evich) Furuhjelm (1859–63) ordered Alexander Milovidov, a Creole, to replace Ivan Repin as manager of the Seal Islands. Repin's brutal behavior had demoralized the Aleut workforce and inhibited their productivity. Milovidov arrived in the spring of 1861. His Russian superiors strongly impressed upon Milovidov that he should strive to follow in the footsteps of former Manager Kass'ian Shaiashnikov,¹⁰ who had died not long before (circa 1860). Shaiashnikov was hailed as a genius and a saint, and Milovidov was exhorted to perform his duties as sensibly, efficiently, faithfully and accurately as Shaiashnikov had done. He was advised to live so righteously that his subordinates would obey him out of respect and love, as they had followed Shaiashnikov's leadership. Corporal punishment was forbidden; after Repin, no manager had power as judge, and all offenders faced trial by naval officers commanding the annual supply ship.

Milovidov inherited many pressing duties neglected by Repin. Most urgent among them included responding to grievances levied by Native sealers from Kodiak and the Aleutians demanding to leave the Seal Islands and return to their homes. Milovidov "was to remind these petitioners that life everywhere was hard but easiest on the Seal Islands where provisions were plentiful and wages the highest in the colony."¹¹

Although reprimanded in 1864 for filling only half an order for 20,000 dry skins, a failure probably due to the weather, Milovidov's comportment pleased his superiors and in 1866 they paid him a bonus of 500 rubles.¹²

In 1868, the year after the U.S. purchase of Alaska, Hayward Hutchinson of Hutchinson, Kohl, & Company, arranged for a census of the St. Paul Island Native community.¹³ In the census, Alexander Milovidov and his family are at the head of the list and listed as Creoles. The United States government conducted its first census in St. Paul Island on July 1, 1870. Although Alexander Milovidov didn't die until October 1870, his wife Alexandra is listed as a widow in the July 1870 census.¹⁴ Following Alexander's death, his eldest son, Anton, became the head of the household.

The former head of the family Alexander Melovedoff (deceased), was a Russian Creole residing on the Island as Storekeeper for the Russian American Fur Company at the time of the transfer of the Territory to the United States and removed to Sitka in 1867, where he subsequently became an American Citizen under the Treaty of Transfer, having complied with the conditions prescribed by said Treaty, after which he returned to this Island again as storekeeper for the Hutchinson Kohl & Co. in the spring of 1868, and died very suddenly in October 1870, his family remaining on the island since. A daughter of his named Alexandra married Henry W. Elliott, Assistant Treasury Agent in July 1872.¹⁵

The next island census taken by the government was dated January 1, 1873. The following was reported in the Agent's Log for the Milovidov family:

The names are written so as to give the sound as they are pronounced in Russian.

Anton Meeloveedoff born 1857 in Kodiak, 18 years old

Alexandra, his mother, born California, 38 yrs old

Simeon, his brother, born Sitka, 6 years old

Marcia, his sister, born St. Paul, 8 years old

Solomayah, adopted in the family, 16 years old¹⁶

Alexander Milovidov's life story, although brief, was one of opportunity and intrigue at the time of transition from Russian to American sovereignty. Opportunity came through his involvement with Captain Gustave Nybom (see Nybom's biography) and the newly formed Hansen, Nybom, & Co. following the demise of his employer, the Russian-American Company. Some intrigue between Nybom and the Milovidov family was evident in a 1922 letter from Henry Elliott to his oldest daughter, Grace, whom Elliott affectionately called "Appy." In the letter, Elliott relayed his knowledge of the family story involving Grace's grandfather Alexander Milovidov and Gustave Niebaum (Nybom).

Dear Appy: You ask about that debt of Capt Niebaum to Mother's father. The exact status of it, I never could get from anyone; but this much came to me quite direct. When Alaska was transferred Oct. 1867, to the possession of the U.S.A., Capt. Niebaum was in command of a small vessel belonging to the Russian American Company which was busy supplying the Seal Islands with store and supplies from the Sitka depot and bringing the salted seal skins down from the islands to Sitka. When the Russian American Co. at Sitka sold all of its outfit to Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. of San Francisco Oct. 1867, it covered some 67,000 salt [sic] seal skins then in the warehouse on St. Paul's Island.

It seems, however, that Mother's father, who was the "Governor" and Russian agent in charge of the islands, took some 70,000 seal skins during the summer of 1867, which were not listed in this Sitkan inventory or bill of sale to Hutchinson Kohl and Co. Captain Niebaum with Melividov's consent put these skins into his vessel, and had them under

hatches before Hutchinson, Kohl Co.'s steamer, the Fideliter, arrived at the islands, and took the 67,000 salt skins which had been taken in 1866 and were lying in the salt houses on the islands. The Fideliter arrived later in March 1868, she took the 67,000 skins aboard and learned of the other 70,000 which had been taken on board of Niebaum's vessel. An understanding was made then between Niebaum, Melividov and Hutchinson, Kohl. & Co., whereby Niebaum and Melividov were to have half the proceeds of the sale of those 70,000 skins (they were then worth about \$3.00 per skin).

Mother's father, Melividov died a few weeks after this deal was made¹⁷ and Captain Niebaum was the only witness or surviving partner to that deal. I never could find out the details. Mrs. Melividov (Mother's mother), never got more than \$5,000 or \$6,000 from Hutchinson Kohl & Co. She ought to have received at least \$40,000 and would have done so if Melividov had not suddenly died just as that deal was made.

I did not know anything about this Niebaum-Melividov deal until long after I married Mother. I incidentally learned of it from Capt. Niebaum's partners Sloss and Capt. Kohl in the Alaska Commercial Co. along as late as 1881 or 1882. Then, in 1890, I asked Dr. H. H. McIntyre about it when I met him here. He told me substantially what I have stated at the opening of this subject above. I am satisfied that Mrs. Melividov never got what was really coming to her and of course there are no records which would enable any one to get it for her or her heirs.¹⁸

[2] ALEXANDRA (AKA ALEKSANDRA) MILOVIDOV (MELOVIDOFF)

Genealogy

Alexandra Milovidov, b. March. 27, 1856, Kodiak, Russian America; d. 1949
m. Henry W. Elliott (July 21, 1872), St. Paul Island, Unalaska Diocese

- [2a] Grace
- [2b] Flora
- [2c] Marsha
- [2d] Frank
- [2e] Ruth
- [2f] Edith
- [2g] Narene
- [2h] Lionel
- [2i] John
- [2j] Louise¹⁹

(Note: Alexandra Milovidov Elliott's biography is presented under the surname of "Elliott.")



Alexandra Milovidov (1838–1895) and granddaughter (Grace Elliott?). (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: Abial P. Loud, ca. 1887. RG 57, Charts and Photographs, no. 18.)

[3] ANTON MILOVIDOV (MELOVIDOF, MELOVEDOFF)

Genealogy

According to the St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1896:

"Anton Melividof [sic] died this afternoon about 4 p.m. He leaves 3 orphan daughters, Alexandra, Marcia and Olga: Olga is at present with her Aunt Mrs. Shaiashnikoff at Atka. Alexandra and Marcia are at St. Paul and have become dependents and charges of the lessees."²⁰

Anton Milovidov, b. 1857, Kodiak, Russian America; d. June 5, 1896, St. Paul Island, Alaska
m. Agripina Safematoff, 1876, Unalaska, Alaska;²¹ b. Atka, Alaska

d. October 25, 1890. "Mrs. Antone Melevidof, St. Paul Is., . . . buried October 28 with whole Is. population present and participating in the ceremony."²²

[3a] Alexander, b. December 24, 1876. Hamden W. McIntyre, godfather

d. April 2, 1879, St. Paul Island, Alaska²³

[3b] Alexandra, b. 1882, St. Paul Island, Alaska

[3c] Olga, b. 1886, St. Paul Island, Alaska

[3d] Marcia, b. June 25, 1887, St. Paul Island, Alaska

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Anton Milovidov emulated his father as an intelligent and demonstrated leader. As an employee of the North American Commercial Company, he deposed for the Fur-Seal Arbitration, which convened to settle an international controversy over the rights to and manner of harvesting fur seals. Excerpts from his deposition offer a glimpse into his life on St. Paul Island.

I [Anton Melovedoff] am 38 years of age and I was born on Kodiak Island, Alaska. I came to St. Paul Island in 1864, the first time, and in 1869 the second time. I have resided here since 1869 and I have been constantly employed among the Alaskan fur-seals in all that time. I have had a large and varied experience in all the details of the business as it has been carried out on St. Paul Island, and I have done service in all the departments from the work of a boy to that of First Chief of the Island. I can read and write the English, Russian, and Aleut languages and I can interpret them into one another. I have read a considerable amount of the controversies on the Seal Question. . . . I became First Chief in 1884, which office I resigned in 1891.



Anton Milovidov. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: Abial P. Loud, ca. 1887. RG 57, Charts and Photographs, no. 15.)

In the Russian times, before 1868, the seals were always driven across the Island of St. Paul from North East Point to the village salt house—a distance of 12 1/2 miles—but when the Alaska Commercial Company leased the islands they stopped long driving and built salt houses near to the hauling grounds, so that by 1879 no seals were driven more than 2 miles.

The killing of females [fur seal] is a crime on St. Paul Island, and our Church teaches that it is a sin to kill one, and our people know that the death of a cow seal means one pup less for meat in years to come.²⁴

As Anton Milovidov stated in his deposition, he became first chief in 1884; he lost his position on September 16, 1885, but regained it on June 10, 1887.²⁵ He again lost the first chief's position in 1891 because, as he stated in his deposition for the International Tribunal of Arbitration, he was "working in the interests of the Company rather than that of the Government."²⁶



*Left to right: Anton Milovidov, Alex Hanson, Simeon Milovidov.
(Courtesy TDX Corporation.)*

[4] MARCIA MILOVIDOV (MELOVIDOV)

Genealogy

Marcia Milovidov, b. January 1864, St. Paul Island, Russian America; d. ca. 1907, Unalaska Village, Unalaska, Alaska

m. Alexander I. Shaiashnikov (Shaiashnikoff) (ca. 1880), Unalaska; b. August 1858, Unalaska; son of Father Innokentii Shaiashnikov and Mariia Alekseev

[4a] Maria Shaiashnikov, b. 1882 Unalaska

Marcia Milovidov married Alexander (Aleksandr) Shaiashnikov²⁷ of the prominent Shaiashnikov family on July 30, 1879, after leaving St. Paul Island with her family to visit at Unalaska. She returned to St. Paul annually during the sealing season to visit her mother and other relatives. Marcia welcomed nieces and nephews to live with her at Unalaska, including Olga Milovidov, her brother Anton's daughter; Nadieda Shaiashnikov, her god-child and daughter of Assistant Priest Zachar Shaiashnikov; and Tatiana, whom she ad-

opted on June 2, 1887. On August 15, 1888, Marcia agreed to care for a St. Paul Island girl named Ellen Krukoff, orphaned with the death of her mother, Natalie Krukoff. In 1890, niece Nadieda returned to St. Paul to live with her uncle, the Rev. Paul Shaiashnikov, who agreed to support her. Marcia also cared for Shaiashnikov's nephew Nicolas, born November 1890, and niece Tewska, born January 1892. Both children were born at Unalaska.

Following Marcia's death in 1907, Alexander Shaiashnikov married a nineteen-year-old woman named Ephresenia. The couple had five children: Inakenti, William, Nicoli, Angelina, and Maria. Alexander Shaiashnikov, age 73, again had become a widower by 1930.²⁸

[5] SIMEON ALEXANDER MILOVIDOV (MELOVIDOV, MELOVIDOFF)

Genealogy

Simeon Alexander Milovidov b. February 15, 1867, Sitka, Russian America; d. March 14, 1948, Los Angeles County, California

m. Alexandra Diakanov (spring 1891), Unalaska Diocese; b. February 1867, Akutan, Russian America. Her father born in Finland, mother born in Russian America²⁹

[5a] Margaret, b. March 18, 1892, St. Paul Island, Alaska. "There is born to Simeon Meli-vedov and wife a daughter afterwards christened with the name "Ludmilla."³⁰

d. January 4, 1972, San Mateo, California

m. Ulderic Peter Peloquin, b. June 29, 1890, Westbrook, Maine; d. November 14, 1976, San Mateo, California

[5a-1] Elmer Uldrick Peloquin, b. July 30, 1916; d. January 12, 1993, Napa, California

[5a-2] Janette Theodora Peloquin, b. January 1918; d. October 14, 1997, San Mateo, California³¹

[5a-3] Flora Margaret Peloquin (Beltrami), b. January 7, 1920; d. January 17, 1987, Sonoma, California

[5b] Frank Christopher, b. August 11, 1894, St. Paul Island, Alaska; d. August 5, 1966, Pasadena, California

m. Clara Elva Lieke, b. January 4, 1895, Pennsylvania; d. December 15, 1984, Shasta, California

Family living in Pasadena, California, during the 1930 U.S. Census; children identified included:

[5b-1] Vivian J., b. 1921, California

[5b-2] Beverly L., b. 1922, California

[5b-3] Elva F., b. 1929, California

[5c] Alexander Simeon, b. May 28, 1896, St. Paul Island, Alaska; d. May 17, 1961, Tacoma, Washington (buried Mt. View Cemetery, Tacoma, Washington)

m.1. Nancy Elizabeth James (1920), b. 1903 in Wales, United Kingdom; d. February 1983, Tacoma, Washington

[5c-1] Alexander "Alex" Steele

b. 1924, Lawrence, Kansas

m.1. Shirlee Huettner (1949), b. July 31, 1923 Yakima, Washington; d. October 30, 1992, Seattle, Washington

m.2. Elisabeth Merkl Tebeau (1980), b. 1935, Germany

- [5c-2] Margaret "Margarie" Irene, b. 1921
 m. Edward Simpson
 m.2. Lucille Burrell (1930), b. April 5, 1907; d. April 8, 1999
- [5d] Simeon Alexander Jr., b. June 7, 1899; d. April 26, 1971, San Francisco, California
 m. Cills of Contra Costa County, California³²
- [5d-1] Margaret Ann, b. May 24, 1946, San Francisco; d. March 23, 1977, San Diego, California³³

Biographical Sketch

Simeon Alexander Milovidov received his teacher training at Oakmont College, San Francisco, California.³⁴

In 1888, at the age of twenty-one, Simeon A. Milovidov testified before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries during its investigation of the Alaska Commercial Company.³⁵ He said that he had been born at Sitka and moved to St. Paul Island at three months of age. He began his island education at the age of five and continued until age fifteen, learning arithmetic and how to read and write English at the St. Paul school. During his early adulthood, the government monitored Simeon Alexander Milovidov's travels and role as an island school teacher. The following notations regarding Simeon's travels are based on comments in the St. Paul Island Agents' Logs and respective agents' annual reports.

August 4, 1886: departed for college at age 19.

May 31, 1887: returned from school at Napa [California].³⁶

August 18, 1888: departed for the winter on steamer *St. Paul* to attend school in San Francisco.

June 1, 1889: returned on steamer *St. Paul* from San Francisco.

September 2, 1889: began teaching on St. Paul Island.

July 21, 1889: Anton & Simeon buy instruments for St. Paul Island band.

August 10, 1890: embarked for San Francisco on the *Arago*.

June 25, 1891: Simeon arrived at St. Paul Island, Alaska, with his wife on steamer *St. Paul*.

September 2, 1891–April 28, 1911: Simeon served as the school teacher on St. Paul Island.

December 3, 1891 (Agent Williams' annual report³⁷): "Mr. Simeon Melivedoff [sic], a native sealer has been placed in charge of the schools on St. Paul Island by the lessees. His compensation, I understand, has been fixed at \$50 per month."

January 1, 1892: Simeon Melovidov, the teacher, made his school report today for the months of September, October, November and December, showing an attendance of 50 pupils; boys 20 and girls 30, total 50. Average attendance 99 percent. Branches taught—Spelling, Reading, Writing, Geography and Arithmetic.³⁸

Simeon Alexander Milovidov's son, Alexander Simeon [5c], left St. Paul Island on June 29, 1911, to attend the Chemawa Indian School at Salem, Oregon.³⁹ Then on August 25, 1911, Simeon Alexander Milovidov [5] and the rest of the family (wife Alexandra, daughter Margaret, sons Frank and Simeon Jr., and Marcia, daughter of his brother Anton who died in 1896) departed St. Paul Island aboard the vessel *Homer* bound for San Francisco.

The pending event and the departure were noted in the St. Paul Agent's Log.

Mr. Simeon Melovidof, the school teacher here for many years, will remove with his family to the States for the purpose of putting his children into school and otherwise providing for their future.⁴⁰

Simeon Alexander Milovidov began teaching at St. Paul Island during the fall of 1889, and continued to serve the community until 1911. Other than what the agent reported as shown above, we are curious as to why the Milovidov family chose to leave the Pribilofs in 1911. The family's youngest child, Simeon Jr., was thirteen years old at the time of their move, and an eighth grade education was the norm for the time on the Pribilofs and in America. Also, the government provided lodging and most of the food, and the elder Simeon's salary was \$1,200 per annum, which was the same as the island's physician, H. C. Mills.⁴¹ We conclude that Simeon had saved a considerable sum of money, as many of the islands' Aleut workers had,⁴² and may have been drawn to California where his mother had been born, and where his sister, Alexandra Elliott, age seventy, was living in Pleasanton with her daughter Grace Elliott, age fifty. He may also have been lured to a nearby vineyard developed by his former Alaska Commercial Company bosses Gustave Niebaum and Hamden McIntyre, both of whom had worked at St. Paul Island.

The 1920 U.S. Census placed the family in Sonoma, California, where Simeon, then fifty-two, owned a poultry farm located at I Street Extension. Simeon Jr. married Nancy Elizabeth James, and the couple resided at the home of Simeon Sr. along with Simeon Jr.'s



Simeon Alexander Milovidov, July 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-07754.)



St. Paul Island orchestra of violins, cello, bass, drum, and trumpet. Anton Milovidov (1), drummer; Simeon Milovidov (2); Nicoli Krukoff (3); Alex Hanson (4); and Karp Buouterin (5). (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-382.)

brother Frank. Frank married Clara Lieke. Sister Margaret had married Ulderich Peloquin, and the couple had three children whom they named Elmer, Jeannette, and Flora.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Simeon Alexander Milovidov, as had his brother Anton, deposed for the International Tribunal of Arbitration. Simeon Alexander's deposition provides some autobiographical material.

I am twenty five years of age, and I was born at Sitka, Alaska. I came to St. Paul Island in 1867 and resided here ever since. I have a practical knowledge of and am familiar with the fur-seal industry as it is carried out on St. Paul Island. I became an able sealer in 1879, and worked at it ever since, except in the winters, when I was at school. I have driven seals and skinned them and prepared the skins for shipment. I am at present the school teacher on St. Paul Island, and I can read and write English and Russian, as well as the Aleut language.⁴³

[5C] ALEXANDER SIMEON MILOVIDOV (MELOVIDOV, MELOVIDOFF)

Genealogy

Alexander Simeon Milovidov met Nancy Elizabeth James in England during World War I while in the U.S. Navy. Nancy immigrated to the United States after the war, and they married at Lawrence, Kansas.⁴⁴

Two children were born to the union of Alexander Simeon and Nancy James: Alexander "Alex" Steele and Margaret "Margarie" Irene.

Biographical Sketch

Alexander Simeon's love of music was developed at an early age with his family's encouragement. In 1889, his father Simeon Alexander [5] and his Uncle Anton Milovidov [3] had bought violins and played in the St. Paul Island Band. Alexander Simeon started his musical career while attending the Chemawa Indian School at Salem, Oregon. He graduated from Chemawa circa 1915. Alexander Simeon Milovidov became second violinist with the Indian String Quartet and toured during 1917 with the Chautauqua lecturer Richard H. Kennedy.⁴⁵

The 1920 U.S. Census recorded Alexander Simeon living in Kansas City, Missouri. He worked as a printer (a printer's apprentice, according to his son Alexander Steele [5ci]) at a publishing company. As a professional musician, he performed in the Orpheum Circuit, in vaudeville, and in Hollywood movies. His music experience became a steppingstone for his life's later work as a teacher. He taught music at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas,⁴⁶ in Oregon, and finally in Tacoma, Washington,⁴⁷ where he became well known as the high school music teacher and band leader. He developed a junior symphony orchestra and taught all orchestra and band instruments including the Hawaiian and Spanish guitar.⁴⁸

Alexander Simeon's son, Alex Steele Melovidoff, enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps in December 1943. He received his initial training at Iowa State Teacher's College, Cedar

Falls, Iowa, then went for primary flight training at Oxnard, California, and finished his training at Stockton, California. He was assigned to the Las Vegas Army Airfield to fly B-17's and later B-24's. In November 1944, Alex was shot down in Austria. The Germans held him as a prisoner of war until May of 1945.⁴⁹



Alexander Simeon Melovidoff was the founder and president of the Tacoma Conservatory of Music. For many years he conducted a summer band concert series at Point Defiance Park. Mr. Melovidoff is depicted in the photograph with "his All-Tacoma Band as they appeared in 1947. Their first concert in the park that year was on June 29th. They played 15 numbers." ("Tacoma Band Starts Concert Season Next Sunday," Tacoma Times, June 26, 1947, 13. Courtesy Tacoma Public Library 14494.)

THE INDIAN
STRING QUARTET
AND
MR. RICHARD H. KENNEDY
Lecturer and Reader

"A Saucy Music of the Masters and the Wild Men of the Primitive Indian"

The Indian String Quartet

THE Indian String Quartet, with Richard H. Kennedy, as lecturer and reader, brings to the Chinatown and Livestock public an unusual and unique attraction. They measure up to the highest standard of entertainment and should be heartily recommended to committees. For Chinatown they fill the program for afternoon and evening. The best works of the great music masters are presented by these Indians with wonderful skill and fine interpretation. Their Indian music expresses all the moods of their primitive forefathers. It takes you back into his tribal settlement and gives the story of his life through his word and fascinating music.

The Quartet is composed entirely of young American Indians whose understanding of the fineness of their music has been developed to the greatest possible degree. They have been educated in government schools. Each member of the Quartet represents a different tribe: Fred Cardin, first violin, comes from the Chinook tribe in Oklahoma; Alex Melovidov, second violin, from Pribilof Islands, in the Bering Sea; and is a member of the Aleut tribe; William Palin, viola, from the Flathead tribe of Montana; and Willie Reddie, cello, is a member of the Iyakh tribe of Wrangell, Alaska. They are a most rare combination of talent and give such expression to their music that they never fail to enthuse and delight their audiences.

THE LECTURES

Richard H. Kennedy, a man of wide experience, a capable speaker, and a born lecturer. He is a graduate of Harvard University, and presents to the public the results of great musical research, which is a splendid education. For their story and history together with a selection of songs they make his lectures of such interest and gripping interest that he is never again. The work in connection with the Quartet is always adapted to meet the demands of the occasion. His lectures are:

THE LECTURES

THE STORY OF THE INDIAN
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN

MANAGEMENT

MANAGEMENT
MANAGEMENT
MANAGEMENT

Program guide introducing the "Indian String Quartet" and "Alex Melovidov, second violin, from Pribilof Islands."

23



Leaf from a Chautauqua program guide introducing “Mr. Alex Melovidov, Second Violin.”



Alex Steele Melovidoff being interviewed at his home in Lakewood, Washington, about his father, Alexander Simeon Melovidoff. Left to right: Alex, Paul Hillman, John Brooks (cameraman), and Betty A. Lindsay, November 10, 2004. (Photo: John A. Lindsay, NOAA.)

[6] ALEXANDER MILOVIDOV

Alexander Milovidov, b. September 2, 1874, St. Paul Island, Alaska; d. October 28, 1914, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 m. Salome Pahomoff (August 1892), Unalaska, Alaska; daughter of Osse and Varvarie Pahomoff
 b. August 15, 1875, St. Paul Island, Alaska

The 1892 government Agent's Log for St. Paul Island recorded Alexander Milovidov's quest for a wife. On August 14, "Alex Melovidov went on board the *Corwin* on his way to Unalaska in search of a wife." In two short weeks, he returned married to a St. Paul girl who had been at school in Unalaska. On September 4th the Steamer *Bertha* arrived at St. Paul Island "with mail and the following people were landed: Alexander Melovidov and wife née Salome Pohomoff (from the school at Unalaska)."

- [6a] Antone, b. December 19, 1893, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - m. Alexandra Vickalof, (July 20, 1913), Unalaska; b. May 3, 1895, St. George Island, Alaska
- [6a-1] Natalie, b. August 30, 1914, St. Paul Island, Alaska
- [6a-2] Ilarion, b. November 1919
- [6a-3] Agrippina, b. July 3, 1924
- [6a-4] Alexander, b. August 26, 1926
 - m. Susan (surname and date unknown)
 - Children: Myron, Ivan, Doreen, Charles, Anthony, Angelina, Melanie
- [6b] Alexandra, b. February 13, 1902, St. Paul Island, Alaska
- [6c] Alfai, b. June 13, 1903, St. Paul Island, Alaska
- [6d] Joseph, b. March 10, 1907, St. Paul Island, Alaska
- [6e] Marcia, b. October 23, 1909, St. Paul Island, Alaska
- [6f] Vincent, b. October 21, 1910, St. Paul Island, Alaska

CHARLES BRYANT (1820–1903)*Whaling Captain*

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Territory of Alaska, 1868–1869

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Seal Islands, 1870–1877

Genealogy

Charles Bryant, the son of William Bryant and Mary (Johnson) Bryant, was born May 9, 1820, in Rochester, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. In 1851, midway through the twenty-one years he spent at sea as a whaler, Charles Bryant married Hannah Eldridge (1822–1892), the daughter of Peleg Eldridge and Hannah (Briggs) Eldridge of Taunton, Massachusetts. Charles and Hannah Bryant had no children of their own, but raised their niece Janetta Pierce, daughter of Josiah Pierce and Hannah (Bryant) Pierce.⁵⁰ Captain Charles Bryant died on July 2, 1903, aged 83. Charles Bryant is buried in the Bryant family plot in the Sherman Cemetery at Rochester, Massachusetts.⁵¹



Captain Charles Bryant's family gravesite, Sherman Cemetery, Rochester, Massachusetts, October 2003. (Photo: John A. Lindsay, NOAA.)

Biographical Sketch

Captain Charles Bryant testified in Washington, D.C., on March 20, 1876, before the Committee of Ways and Means of the U.S. House of Representatives. The committee had directed an investigation into matters relating to the lease granted to the Alaska Commercial Company for the right to kill fur seals on the Pribilof Islands.

My name is Charles Bryant; my occupation at the time of my appointment was farming, but the principal occupation of my life-time has been catching whales; my place of residence was Fairhaven, Mass. . . . I went first [to the Pribilofs] in April of 1869 and remained until September as Treasury agent of the Government. . . . In the summer of 1870, I went out as special agent to relieve the necessities of the natives and take care of them. In consequence of all trade being interdicted there, and their not being allowed to kill seals, they were in a condition of great want and necessity. I was sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, on the steamer *Lincoln*, to supply their wants and necessities until such time as Congress took action. At the time I left, Congress had taken no action in regard to the leasing of the islands.

(Q) . . . Suppose any of the natives should want to leave the islands, are they kept there against their will? (A) No, sir; they are always at liberty to leave; that is a standing rule.⁵²

Charles Bryant first went to sea in 1840 as a twenty-year-old seaman on the *Montezuma*. From 1844 to 1847 he served as a seaman on the *Champion* and from 1848 to 1850 as third mate on the *Abraham Barker*. He was second mate on the *Gideon Howland* from 1850–1853 and captained that vessel from 1853 to 1857, then was captain of the *America* from 1857 until he retired in 1861. Charles Bryant purchased a farm in Fairhaven, Bristol County, Massachusetts, where he lived when not at sea. The U.S. Census for 1860, the year before he retired from whaling, listed him as a farmer.

While serving in the Massachusetts legislature in 1867 and 1868, Bryant made the acquaintance of U.S. Senator Charles Sumner, whose April 9, 1867, speech before Congress favoring the proposed purchase of Alaska was based in part on letters from Bryant.⁵³ Sumner cited Bryant's expert knowledge of Alaskan waters, including the "Behring Sea," and that recognition became widespread when newspapers throughout the country

printed Sumner's now-famous "Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the cession of Russian America to the United States." In part, Sumner said:

Here is a letter . . . from Charles Bryant, Esq., . . . for eighteen years acquainted with these seas, where he was engaged in the Whale Fishery. After mentioning the time at certain places as reason for the acquisition of these possessions, he says: But the cheapest value, and this alone is worth more than the pittance asked for it, consists in the extensive Cod and Halibut fish grounds.⁵⁴

Sumner's speech did not credit Bryant with any mention of the fur seal, although Sumner specifically identified the "Prybelov" islands⁵⁵ and recognized their potential value.⁵⁶ In the short term the Pribilof Islands would provide the most valuable natural resource derived from the Alaska purchase, and Bryant would help make it so.

In a letter to an "Esteemed Friend," Bryant recounted his experiences traveling to Alaska in the employment of the government, excerpted here:

Sitka Alaska Jan 5th, 1869

Esteemed Friend,

I left New York on the 16 of Sept in the good steamer Ocean Queen with about seven hundred passengers two hundred of which were in the first class cabin . . . arriving in San Francisco Oct 9th having made the run in 23½ days there was plenty of agreeable society books, games, music, and dancing on board. . . . Leaving San Francisco Oct 30 after a stormy passage we arrived in Sitka Nov 23rd having been 25 days on our passage the weather stormy, the sea rough and plenty of seasickness for my colleagues. The *Reliance* is a topsail schooner 240 tons measurement officered by a Capt and four lieutenants and manned by forty seamen. . . . in sixty eight days, I have traversed two oceans traveling eight thousand miles and had put the breadth of the whole continent between myself and home and here I stood in Alaska [like a] piece of human driftwood borne on the crest of the advancing wave of prayers and [thrown] on the remotest bound of civilization but a truce to romance [–] stern realities surround us as you will learn before I close.

. . . you want to know something about the other subject the resources of the Territory here I can only touch points there has been about a million in value carried from here in furs which is largely in excess of what the territory can supply without exhaustion, furs are now about as high as in San Francisco, its lumber I have not yet seen but two kinds only one of very great value the other the common Norway spruce, but of this in future the great coal mine about eighty miles from here is immense cropping out over a large extent of territory close to the shore where there are safe bays and harbors with every natural facility for shipping it. But it has proved to [sic] resinous for steamery its intense heat evolved burning out furnaces and smokestack to soon when we get an improvement to protect or guard against these consequences it will be invaluable. It would be so now for blasting or smelting purposes I am told by those who have been to see it that along its face where it has been opened its [seams are shaped] like veined marble composed of resin in some places six inches in thickness . . . You remember what I said about whales taking shelter in the straits and bays around these Islands, everything I learn confirms my former convictions



Captain Charles Bryant's gravestone, Sherman Cemetery, Rochester, Massachusetts, October 2003. (Photo: John A. Lindsay, NOAA.)

all traders report seeing in July August Sept Oct immense numbers so close together as to render it unsafe for boats to pass among them but I have seen no one that knows what kind they were.⁵⁷



Charles Bryant at the Bay View Inn in Mattapoisett, Massachusetts. Date unknown. (Courtesy Marc Goddu.)

After Captain Bryant's retirement from the Massachusetts legislature on July 30, 1877, he acquired and operated the Old Meigs Tavern at Mattapoisett, Massachusetts. The tavern was built in 1799.⁵⁸ He renamed it Bay View Hotel, which became the Mattapoisett Inn and since 2005 has been the Kinsale Inn, advertised as the oldest seaside inn in the United States still operating in its original structure.⁵⁹

A writer named Catherine Cabot befriended Charles Bryant at Mattapoisett and interviewed him at length, planning to write his biography. Cabot expected to derive a considerable sum of money from the publication.⁶⁰ However, it appears that she never succeeded in publishing the full story, but she did publish the following article about Bryant in an 1895 issue of *New England Magazine*.⁶¹ Unfortunately, Captain Bryant's records and his autobiography taken by Ms. Cabot have disappeared.

Two other biographies of Captain Bryant were published, in 1897 and 1899; and a fourth was written, but not published, by a Mattapoisett historian in 1967. A comparison among the last three biographies reveals how historical facts can become altered in time. The 1897 biography was written as follows.

Charles Bryant was born May 9, 1820 in Rochester, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, the son of William Bryant and Mary Johnson. He began to learn the sail-maker's trade in New Bedford when sixteen years of age, and worked at it for four years and a half, shipping then as a sail-maker on the whaling brig *Montezuma* which cruised in the Atlantic Ocean,



Charles Bryant in rocking chair at the Mattapoisett Inn. Date unknown. (Courtesy Marc Goddu.)

and was out eighteen months. His next engagement was as boat steerer on the ship *Julian*, also a whaling vessel, which was one and a half years out from the home port, cruising in the North Pacific. He was subsequently engaged as third mate of the ship *Nimrod*, which was out thirty-four months in the Pacific Ocean, returning as second mate; as second mate on the *Ohio*, which was gone three years in the same waters; as mate of the ship *Euphrates*, which was out from port nearly three years; and lastly, as mate of the whaling ship *John Howland*, which cruised in the Okhotsk Sea and the Arctic Seas, being gone forty-four months. [continued on p. 38]

NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE

AN
ILLUSTRATED
MONTHLY

Vol. XI. No. 5.

JANUARY

1895

CONTENTS.

THE NEW YEAR PEAL	Frontispiece
BURLINGTON, VERMONT	G. G. Benedict 347
Illustrated.	
ALONG THE DUST-WHITE RIVER ROAD. A Poem	S. Q. Lapius 563
RALEIGH'S LOST COLONY	James Phinney Baxter 565
Illustrated from drawings made in Virginia in 1585 by John White.	
A CHAPTER OF ALASKA	C. E. Cabot 588
Illustrated.	
A MEMORY. A Poem	John E. Butler 596
THE PASSING OF THE SQUIRE	Edward Porritt 597
BY WAY OF PANAMA	Helen Marshall North 602
HIDDEN LEDGES. A Poem	Rosa H. Knorr 608
RADCLIFFE COLLEGE	Helen Leah Reed 609
Illustrated.	
TUNE'S CHERRY TREE. A Story	Annie E. P. Searing 625
A WAYFARER. A Poem	Susie M. Best 627
THOMAS OF PARKWORTH'S. A Story	Clifford Hoffman Chase 628
CHRIST CHURCH BELLS	Ralph Adams Cram 640
Illustrated from drawings by B. G. Goodhue.	
RECOLLECTIONS OF LOWELL MASON	Rev. S. F. Smith 648
Illustrated.	
LOWELL MASON	Francis H. Jenks 651
Illustrated.	
EDITOR'S TABLE	668
OMNIBUS	671
"Lively Yet," Harry Romaine. — "Sixteen," Annie S. Hawks. — "Along the River's Reedy Shore," Arthur Fairfax. — "Lyra," James G. Burnett.	

WARREN F. KELLOGG, PUBLISHER

5 PARK SQUARE

BOSTON.

\$3 A YEAR.

Copyright, 1894, by Warren F. Kellogg.
Entered at Boston Post Office as Second Class Mail Matter.

25c. A NUMBER

A CHAPTER OF ALASKA.

By C. E. Cabot.

PREVIOUS to the year 1867, the land situated at the extreme northwest corner of our North American continent was to the people of our country practically unknown. It was at that time called Russian America, and was the outpost of its parent country, its only industry that of the fur trade, which was carried on by an organized company of traders known as the Russian American Fur Company. In time, as the rapid growth of our Pacific coast developed new needs, a company was formed in California to furnish ice in quantities, to be brought from Russian America to the port of San Francisco and from there distributed. In furtherance of this project the plan was conceived by the ice company to lease the province from its owners. This matter was in due course privately laid before the suitable legislators in Washington, at whose councils the importance of its commercial value to our country as a source of revenue became more and more apparent; and Mr. Seward, then our secretary of state, with the far-seeing wisdom of able statesmanship, proceeded to enter into preliminary negotiations with the Russian government, through its minister, Baron Stoeckl, for the purchase of Russian America. The matter was practically confined to the knowledge of the two prime ministers and to the few others whose interests favored privacy in its consideration until the time should be

ripe to report it to the senate for ratification.

Those were troublous times at the capital; the senate was watching the President's supposed dangerous designs, and the people were watching the senate and anxiously waiting the issue. But amid all the clamor of angry debate, Mr. Seward in the State Department was quietly preparing to carry out his long-cherished plans for the annexation of Russian America. The "54° 40' or fight" measure of 1846, which would have carried us to the southeast boundary of Russian America, had failed through the efforts of those opposed to any further northern extension of our boundaries. In 1860, in a speech at St. Paul, Mr. Seward, with sure prescience, had said: —

"Standing here and looking far off into the northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg, and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean; they will yet become the outposts of my own country — monuments of the civilization of the United States in the northwest.'"

Later, during our civil war, his observation of the disadvantages under which we labored for lack of advanced naval outposts strengthened his determination to obtain such a foothold of power. And now at last, in 1867, he found the way opening before him. Russia was to us a friendly neighbor; for her own safety she would in no case allow her American province to pass into the hands of any European power through whom it might become to her a future menace. Under American control it would be to her a safeguard through its more rapid development, and to the United States it would become an important stronghold for commercial and naval operations on our Pacific coast. The subject presented so many mutual advantages, instead of conflicting interests, that all minor considera-

A CHAPTER OF ALASKA.

589

tions were easily adjusted; the two prime ministers, Seward and Gortchakof, were not long in coming to an agreement, and its satisfactory conclusion seemed now well assured.

On Friday evening, March 29, the Czar's consent to the cession of the territory was received by the Russian minister, who hastened at once to the residence of Mr. Seward, as the importance of the case made it necessary to take immediate action before the end of the session now near at hand. Charles Sumner, then chairman of the committee on foreign relations, was at once summoned, together with the officials and secretaries necessary to prepare the matter for submission to the senate; in less than two hours the brightly lighted windows of the State Department indicated that business was going on there as at mid-day; and with so great despatch was it conducted, that by four o'clock on Saturday morning the midnight treaty was engrossed, signed, sealed and ready for transmission by the President.* A few hours later, when the message was announced in the chamber, great was the surprise of all when the secretary ejaculated rather than read, "A treaty for the cession of Russian America," — a surprise still further increased when Mr. Sumner, a leading opponent of the President, rose to move favorable action, asking that a hearing be assigned for it on the following week. At the hearing in executive session the treaty was almost unanimously confirmed, conditional on an appropriation to be made by Congress to pay for the purchase within a year. The treaty provided that the territory should be surrendered to the United States as soon as a qualified official should arrive from Russia to perform that duty. Count Peterschoff was appointed for this purpose; and in September, 1867, accompanied by General Rosecranz and the necessary military force, he proceeded to Sitka to perform the transfer. With the usual ceremonies attendant on such occasions, the Russian

flag gave place to our own, and Russian America became United States territory. At Mr. Sumner's request, the name Alaska, already belonging to the peninsula of that country, was retained and adopted as that of the whole territory.

The treaty was ratified April 9, 1867. The United States had taken possession of the new territory, but had not paid for it. Measures were necessary to be taken at once to formulate some suitable plan of government which could be maintained for the best good of the native people there belonging and for the increase of our own revenue as might be. We had acquired a peculiar possession, needing peculiar and hitherto untried forms of government. It was a crisis in which no one seemed to know quite the best thing to be done nor the best way to proceed; the most that was known of the region was that it was unknown and ice-bound. But as in all history, the right man, the God-sent man, has always been found for the emergency, so in this case, one who had retired from his long whaling voyages in the Pacific seas, which had furnished abundant opportunity for thorough and complete observation of every form of natural phenomena thereto pertaining, whose brain had become a well-filled storehouse of valuable knowledge available for just this or similar occasion when it should arise, who had in the retirement of his private life been sought for and elected a member of the Massachusetts legislature, there becoming acquainted with some of the leading men in public affairs, and through them with scientific experts and with influential Washington legislators, thus by successive steps making the necessary connecting links in the chain of events which was to bind our new possession into harmonious and suitable relations with already existing conditions, and to open out new avenues of interest, of profit and of usefulness, — this one of all others in our country best fitted for the emergency awaiting, after his many years of almost unconscious preparation, was found well equipped and ready for his country's service at her call of need. Upon him devolved the task to investigate, to formulate and to carry to

*The above detail of the working out of the midnight treaty is substantially as given in the "Story of the Life of William H. Seward," by his son. The illustration, from the original painting by Leutze, is used by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Derby & Miller, New York, N. Y.



THE MIDNIGHT TREATY. FROM THE PAINTING BY LEUTZE.

BY PERMISSION OF DERBY & MILLER.

A CHAPTER OF ALASKA.

591

completion plans for mutual benefit,—the work of a statesman and of a philanthropist, of a man sound in knowledge of the world's affairs, of good judgment and of unimpeachable integrity, unselfish and incorruptible.

Providentially the man and the hour had met. Hugh McCulloch, then secretary of the treasury, at the instance of several eminent men, after due conference with Charles Bryant, appointed him as special agent subject to the authority and supervision of the Treasury Department which had assumed charge of affairs in our new territory, with instructions to proceed to the Pribylov Islands, the home of the fur seal industry which had proved of so great value to its former owners, to investigate the conditions there existing, and to report upon the necessary steps to be taken for the subsistence of the people and for the protection and furtherance of our own interests as well. In this relation Captain Bryant, in pursuance of his duties on the islands, resided there for several years, during four presidential terms, and under the supervision of seven successive treasury secretaries, instituting and perfecting the various systems of living, of education and of industry which have continued to the present time. It is of him in this peculiar relation that the present paper treats.

Born in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, of the sturdy Pilgrim stock whose independence and integrity impressed its character so strongly on the beginnings of our New England history, his earlier years were passed, like those of all sons of the industrious farmers whose occupation was confined to achieving not only a livelihood, but the comforts of that time, in the multitude of duties more or less arduous and shared by all alike, with but little schooling except that obtained from the open book of nature surrounding and enriching the minds of all its pupils who had eyes to observe and ability to learn its lessons. Doubly fortunate was he in the fact that the large farming country in which his boyhood years were passed was also a seaport (now long since in its decadence), whose industry of ship-building furnished an opportunity for



CAPTAIN CHARLES BRYANT.

profitable maintenance to the lads whose desires or whose needs prompted them to seek for such outside the home life; and beyond this employment the next step out and away into the world was by the whaling industry, the source of many large fortunes during the thirty years or more in which it flourished so prosperously in the years following 1830. From the farming towns all over New England it recruited its workers, offering to them attractive inducements to see some part of the great world outside of and beyond their circumscribed opportunities for knowledge; and among others we find our country lad, his brain teeming with glorious day-dreams of future possibilities, exiling himself from his boyhood home with its beloved inmates, hoping thus to secure a surer and larger competence for their future when the disability of increasing years should render them less able for their laborious and constant work. Six voyages were made by him during the eighteen years from 1840 to 1858, covering all latitudes from sixty degrees south to the frozen barrier of the Northern Arctic Sea in latitude seventy-two degrees, through all seas inhabited

by whales; and in pursuit of this calling he visited most of the various islands therein situated, making himself familiar in every instance where it was possible for him to do so with the manners and customs of the people and with their native language.

In 1867 and 1868 he was called to the Massachusetts legislature to represent the district in which he then resided. Here again in quite a different field were this man's talents of observation, of well-cultivated memory and of disposition to usefulness in whatever line of life-work he was called upon to fill to stand him in



A GROUP OF BEHRING SEA OFFICIALS
IN 1872.

good stead. Not lightly did he regard the fulfilment of any duty intrusted to his care; and in the pursuance of his official duties the impress which he left upon the minds of his associates was to open up to him further opportunities and heretofore undreamed-of possibilities. Here he came in contact with other scientific minds; and through a vote of his own favorable to the appropriation of a sum of money for use by Agassiz in the preservation of the remarkable Brazil collection, his own wide and thorough knowledge of the family of fishes of nearly every kind became known to the men who shortly were to seek this knowledge absolutely un-

attainable through any other of our own people.

One morning in the spring of 1868 the press all over the country spread abroad the surprising announcement of Mr. Sumner's submission to the senate of Mr. Seward's treaty (as it was called) for our purchase of Alaska; and great the wonder grew. Laughable were the comments and ridiculous the criticisms of those all uninformed, the general public feeling being one of doubt as to any possible benefit which could accrue to us from the possession of so vast an adjunct to our landed possessions. Some witty ones made merry in rhyme as extravagantly set forth as possible, as may be seen in the following verses from a Boston paper at that time:—

"Know ye the land where the iceberg and myrtle
With early geen peas and walrus combine?
Where the Esquimaux sups upon truffles and
turtle,
And the white polar bears upon Esquimaux
dine?
Where the roses are blooming all the year
round,
And the oranges ripen with snow on the
ground?
Where the polar bear howls in the barley and
wheat,
And the settlers are howling for something to
cat?
Oh, know ye that land? 'Tis the land of the
ice;
'Tis a big Russian land at a rushin' big price."

and also these from San Francisco:—

"Lean of flank, and lank of jaw,
See the real Northern Thor!
See the awful Yankee leering
Just across the Straits of Behring,
Leaning on his icy hammer
Stands the hero of this drama;
And above the wild duck's clamor
In his own peculiar grammar,
With its lingual disguises,
Lo, the Arctic prologue rises:

"Wa'll, I reckon 'taint so bad,
Seein' ez 'twas all they had;
True, the springs are rather late,
And early falls predominate;
But the ice crop's pretty sure,
And the air is kind er pure;
'Taint so very mean a trade,
When the land is all surveyed,
There's a right smart chance for fur chase
All along this recent purchase;
And unless the stories fail,
Every fish from cod to whale;
Rock, too, mebbe quartz; let's see —

"A Group of Behring Sea Officials in 1872." Actual photo date Sept. 1868, San Francisco. Left to right: Charles Bryant, Special Agent to Alaska; Hugh H. McIntyre, Agent to Alaska; Hon. Hiram Ketchum, Collector to Alaska; Samuel Falconer, Deputy Collector to Alaska; Captain H. Hendricks of Cutter Reliance. These were the first U.S. Treasury agents assigned to the newly acquired Territory of Alaska. (Identification found in Falconer Notebook of Hazel Falconer, Bismarck, North Dakota.)

A CHAPTER OF ALASKA.

593

'Twould be strange if there should be —
Seems I've heerd such stories told;
Eh! — why, bless us — yes, 'tis gold!"

On the public announcement of the intended purchase, Captain Bryant's interest in the matter was so great that he at once consulted several prominent men how best to take action, which resulted in their telegraphing to Mr. Sumner that one of the members of the Massachusetts legislature was thoroughly familiar with the region of Alaska, and asking if his information would be of value. Mr. Sumner replied that, although he had volumes of Russian records, the practical evidence of a living witness would be invaluable. Captain Bryant therefore immediately sent to Mr. Sumner such portions of his private journals as bore directly upon the case, which testimony was made use of in Mr. Sumner's argument favoring the purchase, and portions of it were printed entire, which proved of great value in the consummation of the treaty. Mr. Sumner afterward referred publicly to Captain Bryant's aid at that time, in these kindly words: "Gentlemen, next to myself you owe it to Captain Bryant that we were successful in purchasing so valuable a territory."

The Treasury Department, on assuming control of affairs, at once fitted up a revenue cutter for active service, whose charts were referred to Captain Bryant for accurate revision, as here again he alone could furnish the information needed; and in September, 1868, he himself, acting as agent for the Treasury Department, set sail for the Seal Islands, via Panama, to San Francisco, thence to Sitka. But at that point he found himself farther from his destination than if he had remained in San Francisco. In March, 1869, however, he reached the islands by a chance merchant vessel; and after passing the entire sealing season in a careful and thorough study of existing conditions, he returned to Washington to lay his report before the Treasury Department, in which report he recommended methods of necessary legislation.

Owing to delay in affairs at Washington, the final consummation of our purchase did not take effect until July 27, 1868; and at that date, acting on authentic

information regarding the indiscriminate slaughter of the seals by various raiding parties from many ports, immediately following the transfer of the islands, and before our own officials could arrive there, Congress, in the absence of any knowledge of the habits of the seals and the needs of the people, passed a law prohibiting all killing.

Up to the time of Captain Bryant's arrival at the Seal Islands in 1868, nothing had been known of the habits of the fur seals, though they first became known to commerce through the discovery of their nurseries on the rocky islands around Terra del Fuego and in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans; and in this direction, therefore, a close study had to be made of their needs and conditions. The natural laws controlling their life were found to be inexorable, differing in important degree from those governing all other varieties of their species. As their young are not amphibious before fifty or sixty days old, it is necessary for their successful rearing that they should be born on land and remain there until able to swim. Special conditions of climate are requisite, such as are found on these islands alone, situated where the colder current from Norton Sound meets the warm Japan current that passes through the openings between the Aleutian Islands, producing a humid condition of atmosphere through the summer months, often registering ninety-six per cent of obscuration of the sun. The male seals begin to land in May, the whole herd following in increasing numbers, staying until November, when they return to the deep waters and remain until the next spring. During these months on land, if the mothers are killed in their brief absences from their young necessary to obtain food for themselves, the young seals perish. The males while on land partake of no food, subsisting entirely on the store of fat and oil laid up in their blubber through the winter season when they annually return to feed in the open waters between the islands and the mainland. It is in these waters alone that an amount of food is found of fish and of marine life necessary to sustain them for the ensuing season. Some conception of the vast

quantity of animal life which exists in these waters may be obtained from the knowledge that each of the five million seals that leave the islands to feed requires at least six pounds of fish per day, — thirty million pounds of food daily for all. It is on their passage through and near these straits that the seals have been wantonly slaughtered by raiders who hunted them in vessels.

The full-grown male seal weighs between two and three hundred pounds; the full-grown female, about eighty pounds. Never more than one seal is produced at a birth, its weight being about five pounds.

A short time before Mr. Seward's death, he explained to Captain Bryant the details of a plan for making a treaty with Russia, by which the two nations should have the joint control of those northern waters and their fisheries, saying that it was a source of deep regret to him that his successor in office in the State Department had allowed the matter to lapse. At the time we bought Alaska he had already formed this plan, his attention being called to its necessity by the fishery troubles then existing and by his desire to guard against any future contingency that might arise in that direction. He had therefore carefully compiled all possible data and statistics for use when the matter should be ripe for action, — a matter the importance of which grew on his mind with every day of his life, and which he had learned to consider one of the greatest acts of his statesmanship, destined to be regarded in our future history with ever-increasing appreciation of his wisdom and foresight in its successful achievement.

In March, 1870, Captain Bryant was sent to the Pacific coast on a private mission for the government; and while there, learning from reliable sources of the destitute condition of the natives resulting from the enforcement of the law passed by Congress the previous year, prohibiting all killing, — for without commerce the people would need to depend absolutely upon the seals for food, fuel and clothing, — he laid the matter at once before the Treasury Department, on which he was detached from the private mission, and was ordered to proceed at

once to the Seal Islands on a revenue vessel with supplies for the natives, there to take charge until Congress should enact the necessary laws for suitable protection.

In Captain Bryant's preliminary report of 1869, he submitted first and chief of all his conviction that the care and protection of the seals by well-regulated methods would tend not only to support the natives comfortably, but to pay a considerable revenue to the United States by the adoption of a proper system of management and control. Grafting a plan, therefore, on the former somewhat inadequate methods of the Russian government, he recommended that the islands be leased to some single company for the right to take a certain number of seals under proper restrictions and conditions, with reference to the rights and needs of the people and the requirements of the Treasury Department. This course would be necessary in order that the officer in charge of the islands might have full authority to secure the enforcement of the conditions; for if more than one party were allowed to trade with the natives, their competition would give rise to irregularities which could not be traced or fixed upon any one, and the result would be prejudicial to the welfare of the people. Captain Bryant's plan as submitted to our government was adopted with modifications as needs arose; and as a result of his recommendations the islands were leased to the Alaska Commercial Company under certain conditions, in addition to which the company voluntarily agreed to furnish a resident physician on each island, with all the medicines necessary for the gratuitous care of the natives; to furnish also materials and skilled labor to aid them in building their cottages; and at a later date they also imported a library of Russian books for the use of those who could read them for the benefit of all.

In October, 1870, the first vessel of the Alaska Commercial Company arrived with its load of supplies for the natives, bringing its own authority as lessee and also official instructions for Captain Bryant to execute the plans as already set forth by him. At this time there were two hundred and seventy people on St. Paul's

A CHAPTER OF ALASKA.

595

Island, the headquarters of the settlement, mostly Aleuts from the Aleutian Islands, with a proportion of creole blood, or a mixture of Russians and natives, most of whom had been brought from Sitka on the transfer of the territory. This creole element was of great service from having seen better conditions of life, and from having acquired sufficient knowledge of the Russian language to be able to speak it; this was our only means of communication with the natives, the Aleutian language being too difficult to acquire by speech. The native people are undoubtedly of the same origin as the Japanese, their ancestors having probably drifted in vessels to these shores where they found the conditions of life severe and strange, and at so remote a period as to have lost the use of their native language; but no marked change has occurred in their physique, they having been frequently recognized by native Japanese as of their own race, though speaking an unknown tongue.

Congress having thus in 1870 authorized a fixed condition of the affairs of the islands by leasing them to the Alaska Commercial Company for twenty years, it next became important to administer the civil affairs through a regular staff of officials; and for information in this direction Captain Bryant was summoned to Washington in 1871 to confer with the heads of the Treasury Department as to the best methods to be pursued. As a result it was determined that the staff consist of four officers, — the agent, one first assistant and two second assistants. As it would be best that on the score of health each one should leave the islands every second year, it would be necessary that two competent officers should be always in charge with the necessary knowledge for the proper performance of the duties required; and Captain Bryant, as duly accredited agent of our Treasury Department, in the spring of 1872, was permitted to personally select his own assistants, and was himself invested with full official authority.

To realize more clearly the wide scope of this undertaking, we will consider the geographical situation of our new purchase. Alaska itself is two thousand eight

hundred miles from east to west, and over seven hundred miles north to south, or about twelve times the size of New York state; but stretching away and beyond Alaska in a southwesterly direction is a long chain of islands, the western extremity of which is farther west of San Francisco than is the distance from that city eastward to the coast of Maine.* And two hundred miles north of this chain, situated nearly in the middle of Behring Sea, lies the Pribylov group known as the Fur Sea Islands. They are four in number, St. Paul, St. George, Otter and Walrus, the two latter being only small outlying rocks of St. Paul's Island. These islands were to prove by far the most valuable part of our purchase, from the fact of their being the yearly resort of the fur seal in enormous numbers, from the wise management of which as a source of revenue our government hoped to secure valuable returns. They are of volcanic formation, seemingly of more recent eruption than the Aleutian chain, and are distant three hundred miles from the nearest point of mainland on the north.

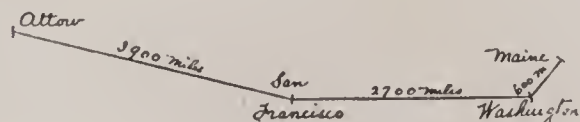
As to the part allotted by our special agent to the people themselves in the conduct of their affairs, he improved upon the former Russian methods, without decided change, and appointed one of the leading chiefs to act as his executive officer, whose duty it was to report to him at night all the occurrences of the day, as to the number of seals killed and all other matters requiring his cognizance. This plan was gradually developed and modified from time to time as the conditions seemed to direct and as new necessities arose. As Captain Bryant reported to the department at Washington only

* Wolf Island, Maine, and Attow, the western extremity of the Aleutian chain, are the extremest distances of the United States possessions. They are 7000 miles apart.

[From San Francisco to Wolf Island, 3300 miles.
" " " " Washington, 2700 "
" " " " Attow, . . . 3900 "

The Pribylov Islands are 200 miles north of the Aleutian chain.

Attow is so far west that it laps over into east longitude.



once a year, he had ample time to test the value of his experiments and to prove them; when found satisfactory, they were legalized by the government on his submission. In this simple manner affairs were conducted systematically step by step and without any friction. In cases of misdemeanor which required judicial action, three chiefs were constituted a council to examine and to report their opinion and decision, subject always to the agent's approval. So just and honest were these men that seldom were any changes necessary to be made. Their veracity in all matters coming up for settlement Captain Bryant testifies he never had reason to question, and he never knew of an attempt at evasion. They were men who in any civilized community would have been natural leaders of social law and order.

To these simple people, from out the mists that surrounded their isolated island home, had appeared in substantial vision the apostle of the era of better things. To their sick he had ministered, their children he had educated, their civil government he had perfected. In all material comforts through him they lacked nothing, and him they revered equally with their religious director. Patriarchal

in its simplicity was his attitude toward them in his efforts for their welfare as a community; physically, mentally and spiritually, through him had their dormant faculties been awakened, and they had grown to their full stature. Naturally their feeling for him had come to be one of unbounded love and gratitude.

Their final parting I will give in Captain Bryant's own words: "The relations between the people and myself had become so close and had continued so long that the parting was a heartfelt one on both sides. They all attended us to the beach on our departure and gathered around us, loath to have us leave them. Many shed tears, and I must confess I was very near it myself. When the final adieus were said they all assured us that they should go to the church to pray for our safe passage and happy arrival home, and that they should never pray for themselves without remembering and praying for us. The last sound of their voices as we left the shore was *Ese Bogh am* (God bless you); and our last sight of them was as they stood upon the cliffs waving their handkerchiefs as our ship steamed away into the distance. I would rather have their benediction than that of the highest bishop in the world."



Deciding then to retire from the sea, Mr. Bryant purchased a farm at East Fairhaven, where he resided some twelve years; but fortune had not willed that he should retire to private life so soon, and he was called from his farm to undertake a mission to Alaska to report on the fur-seal interest in that vicinity. He was given charge of the islands in the Behring Sea, receiving his appointment from Hugh McCulloch, then Secretary of the United States Treasury, and spent the winter of 1868 at Sitka, returning to his home in September 1869. In March 1870, he was sent again to the islands in the seal region and given authority to act as governor of the natives receiving his appointment from George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury. There he remained until 1877, when he returned to the old Bay State and settled in Mattapoisett, his home up to the present time.

Captain Bryant was married in 1851 to Miss Hannah Eldridge, daughter of Peleg and Hannah (Biggs) Eldridge, of Taunton, Mass. He has no children.⁶² He has long been interested in public affairs, and has held a number of offices of trust. In 1867 and 1868, while a resident of Fairhaven, he occupied a seat in the State legislature; and in Mattapoisett, he has served as a member of the Board of Health, and as a member of the School Board for four years. He is a man of ability, who efficiently performs all duties entrusted to him.⁶³

The 1889 biography used the colonial term “governor,” which was commonly applied in Russian America and the early Territory of Alaska to men in authority. The usage was misapplied in Bryant’s 1899 biography, which labeled him the “First Governor of Alaska.”

Capt. Charles Bryant, born in Old Rochester [Massachusetts], near Rounseville’s Mill, and now residing in Mattapoisett, had the distinction of being the “First Governor of Alaska.” Many years ago, while in Boston as a member of the Legislature, he made the acquaintance of [Louis] Agassiz and [Senator] Charles Sumner. After the Alaska purchase, Sumner wrote to Agassiz to know where he could find “that Arctic whale captain who knew so much about seals.” The result was that Captain Bryant was put in charge of the seal fisheries at Sitka, retaining that office for a number of years.⁶⁴

The term “governor” was also applied to two other Pribilof Islands agents, but those writings limited the agents’ influence to the Seal Islands: “Practically speaking,” says one such reference, “the Government agents are the Governors of the islands in connection with the management of the Seal Business.”⁶⁵

The obituary of Special Agent William Gavitt called Bryant “former broker and Governor of Seal Island, Alaska.”⁶⁶

As is apparent from these writings, the labels “Governor” and “Agent” were used synonymously to describe the government agents during that period.

In the fourth biography, Mattapoisett historian Charles Mendell applied the title of “Governor” to honor local celebrity Charles Bryant. The term remains in use today by some residents in the Mattapoisett and Rochester areas of Massachusetts who are quite proud of their hometown hero. Mr. Mendell’s unpublished biography reads:

YEARS AGO

CAPTAIN CHARLES BRYANT, FIRST GOVERNOR OF ALASKA

Few people today remember one of Mattapoisett’s most distinguished citizens, Capt. Charles R. Bryant, the first governor of Alaska, which is this year celebrating the centennial of its purchase from Russia by the United States in 1867. Capt. Bryant also played a prominent part in the decision to buy Alaska, then spent ten years administering the territory, and upon his return retired to Mattapoisett where he lived the last 25 years of his life in what is now the Mattapoisett Inn on Water Street.

Capt. Bryant was born on a Rochester [Massachusetts] farm in 1820, one of a family of seven. The farm boy early became acquainted with Mattapoisett by picking fruit in the summer months and carrying it to Mattapoisett—on foot most of the time—to Harlow and LeBaron’s general store (building now housing Dr. Mysliwy’s office) to be sold to the ship carpenters in the shipyards along the waterfront. Before long he was employed by the store as general errand boy. In this way he became familiar with all the hustle and bustle of a busy seaport and with the constant arrivals and departures of whalers and the constant tales of whaling.

At the age of 20, he shipped on a New Bedford whaler, the *Montezuma*. In the next 18 years he made six voyages covering the Pacific Ocean, as he used to say, from latitude 60 degrees south to latitude 72 degrees north, from the Antarctic to the Arctic. His second voyage, on the Ship *Champion*, took him to the Northwest Pacific Coast, as did his four subsequent voyages. It was on these voyages that he acquired that intimate knowledge of the Alaskan coast and Aleutian Islands that later made him a logical choice as the government’s first administrator of the new territory.



*Mattapoisett Inn, Mattapoisett, Massachusetts.
Date unknown. (Photo: John A. Lindsay, NOAA.)*

On this second voyage on the *Champion*, the ship's master was killed by the breaching [breaking]⁶⁷ of a tackle-fall and young Bryant was evidently promoted to boat steerer or harpooner. At any rate, on his next voyage he shipped as third mate on the ship *Abraham Barker*, and on the following voyage as second mate of the Ship *Gideon Howard*. His two final voyages he sailed as captain, first of the *Gideon Howland* and second of the ship *America*. On this voyage Capt. Bryant carried a steam whale boat to be tried as an experiment, but for some reason it was never used. (Perhaps nobody knew how to run it.)

Sometime between voyages Capt. Bryant found time to marry Miss Hannah Eldredge of New Bedford. When he returned on the *America* in May of 1861, he retired from the sea and bought a farm and built a house in East Fairhaven where he and his wife went to live. In 1867 and 1868 he was elected to the state legislature. It is interesting to speculate whether Capt. Bryant considered his active life over and was looking forward to many peaceful years of retirement on his farm. If so, he was in for a big surprise.

Down in Washington Secretary of State Seward and the powerful Senator Sumner had achieved passage through Congress of a bill to purchase Alaska from Russia for \$7,000,000. Evidently Capt Bryant, and other whale men, had been called to Washington to give testimony before the bill was passed, for later Senator Sumner stated publicly: "next to myself you owe it to Capt. Charles Bryant that we were successful in purchasing so valuable a territory."⁶⁸ After the Purchase, this vast new territory of Alaska was placed under the administration of the Treasury Department, and an administrator had to be found. Treasury Secretary McCulloch, acting on the recommendation of Senator Sumner, appointed Capt. Bryant as Special Treasury Agent to govern Alaska.

When Capt. Bryant sailed for Sitka in September, 1868, the task confronting him was enormous. . . . Bryant sailed to the Pribylofs, he found complete anarchy. Taking advantage of the absence of any law or orders, raiders had taken over and were slaughtering seals at a rate leading to extermination. The arrival of the USS *Wyanda* (and the military troops) put an end to this and allowed Capt. Bryant time to survey the problem, draw up a comprehensive plan of action, and return to Washington in 1869, to file his report with the Treasury Department. Incidentally, by this time the first transcontinental railroad had been completed, so the traveler to and from the Pacific no longer had to spend three or four months at sea nor to double Cape Horn.

In Washington, Capt. Bryant's report met with complete approval, Alaska was made a reservation [only the Pribilof Islands were a reservation, not all the Alaska Territory] under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary Boutwell placed Capt. Bryant in charge. . . . For the latter years of his stay in Alaska, Capt. Bryant's wife and niece journeyed up to live with him. The captain reported that the last winter they were there was the coldest for 60 years and the temperature in February averaged four degrees above zero.

After serving nearly eight years under three presidents and seven different secretaries of the treasury, Capt. Bryant resigned and with his wife and niece returned to Fairhaven on July 30, 1877. Soon thereafter he moved to Mattapoisett, bought the old Meigs tavern (present Mattapoisett Inn) and lived there with his wife and niece for the next 25 years. He died on July 2, 1903, aged 83.⁶⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

At the insistence of Professor Louis Agassiz and Benjamin Pierce, Superintendent of the Office of Coast Survey, Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch appointed Captain Charles Bryant the first Special Agent of the U.S. Treasury assigned to the Pribilof Islands. Bryant's appointment came in 1868, and he traveled to Sitka, Alaska, prior to his arrival at St. Paul Island during the spring of 1869. Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre also received an appointment as agent in 1868, and he too arrived in 1869, but McIntyre spent little time on the islands (see Hugh McIntyre's biography). Bryant's assignment was to protect the interests of the Natives on the islands, who were allegedly receiving harsh treatment at the hands of freebooting sealers, and the government's tax revenue interest in the fur seal. Bryant's observations and recommendations to the Secretary of the Treasury received significant credit as the basis for legislation leading to the leasing of the Pribilof fur-seal harvest to a private company.⁷⁰

While awaiting passage in Sitka to the Pribilofs, Captain Bryant had received a communiqué (see next page) from Secretary of the Treasury McCulloch directing him to expeditiously proceed to the Pribilofs and to gather intelligence on how the Russians had conducted business on the islands.⁷¹

Presumably, the Native Chief (Alexander Milovidov?) on St. Paul Island gave the following statement, dated September 1, 1869. It was cited as a translation and enclosed with a June 14, 1870, report by Lieutenant Winslow B. Barnes of the U.S. Revenue Marine Service.⁷² Whether the document was addressed to Lieutenant Barnes or Captain Bryant is unclear, but it was a strong statement of the Pribilof Aleuts' unhappiness with their new situation.

Written Statement by an Unnamed St. Paul Island Native Chief

On your arrival at this island you read your instructions in our presence.

Those instructions were immediately translated to us, and we learned from them that the Secretary of the Treasury left to your judgment and intrusted [sic] you to designate the number of seals we can kill this year.

You also handed us a translation of the order of 1868, by which the killing of seals was prohibited.

The fulfillment of this order would have not only brought us to extreme poverty, but would have deprived us of means of subsistence.

We have no money for changing the place of our residence, and the prohibition of seal-killing will cause our ruin.

You decided upon a certain number of seals to be taken for our subsistence. Knowing that the fixing of the number of seals was left to you, we take the liberty to request you to increase the number of seals to be killed this season, and beg to explain hereby the reasons which prompt us to do so.

Twelve cents a day is not sufficient for our food, and besides food we want warm clothing for the cold winter, and if we do not provide them our families will suffer from the rigor of the climate. Our houses must nearly all be repaired.

Most of us have debts which we consider it our duty to pay before expending for ourselves. We have a church and a school which we support. We have widows and orphans who require the support of the community. Finally, we can not subsist on seal meat alone.

The rigor of the winters and the discomfort of our dwellings made us acquire the habit of drinking tea, which warms and stimulates us. We are accustomed to this beverage, and it is difficult for us to dispense with it.

We request you to give due attention to our wants, and trust that you will perceive the necessity of increasing the number of seals you have decided may be killed in one year.⁷³

Captain Bryant and his assistant, Agent Hugh H. McIntyre, may have known of the Native Chief's letter when they reported to Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell on November 30, 1869, but they may not have seen it until June 1870 when Lt. Barnes released his report. Regardless, Bryant's response to Secretary McCulloch's earlier instructions for information on conditions in the Pribilofs Islands did not agree with the Native Chief's expressed concerns. For example:

Since the transfer both flour and bread have been sent to the islands in large quantities, and the stores are well supplied with necessary articles at reasonable prices, so that the people feel the change of government to have been to them a benefit, and all express satisfaction with their present condition.⁷⁴

ox/b

Treasury Department,

February 6 1869.

Sir:

Herewith for your information I transmit a copy of the instructions given Lts. Barnes and Henderson for the prevention of Seal hunting on St. Paul and St. George islands.

You are desired to collect and communicate as speedily as possible all the information to be had from documents, or from traditions of the natives, respecting the rules enforced by late Russian fur company in seal hunting on those islands, and also in connection with the

trade in other furs.

Capt. Chas. Bryant,
Special Agent.
Sitka
Alaska.

Very Respectfully:

Wm. C. Cress
Secretary of the Treasury.

Letter from Secretary of Treasury Hugh McCulloch to Captain Charles Bryant. (Pribilof Islands Coll., folder 9, Charles Bryant, University of Alaska Archives, Fairbanks, Alaska.)

41ST CONGRESS, }
2d Session. }

SENATE.

{ Ex. Doc.
{ No. 32.

L E T T E R
OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of December 20, 1869, the reports of Captain Charles Bryant, late special agent of the Treasury Department for Alaska, and H. A. McIntyre, special agent of the Treasury Department.

JANUARY 26, 1870.—Referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *January 20, 1870.*

SIR: In response to the resolution of the Senate, under date of the 20th ultimo, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the reports of Captain Charles Bryant, late special agent of this department for Alaska.

The report of H. H. McIntyre, called for by the same resolution, has already been transmitted to the Senate.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. S. BOUTWELL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX,
President U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

REPORTS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES BRYANT.

FAIRHAVEN, MASS., *November 30, 1869.*

SIR: Having returned from Alaska, where I was ordered as special agent of the Treasury Department in September, 1868, to examine into the resources of the Territory, and the character and habits of its various tribes, I have the honor to submit the following report:

On account of the great diversity in the physical features of the Territory, the widely varying nature of the products of the different sections, and the very marked difference in the character and habits of the various tribes, I have deemed it necessary to describe each portion of the country in detail, in order that a proper idea of the whole Territory may be gained; and as my attention was more particularly called to the interests of the fur-seal trade in Behring's Sea, I will begin with the islands of St. Paul and St. George.

THE PRIBILOV, OR SEAL ISLANDS.

The Pribilov group was discovered in the year 1785, by Captain Pribilov, who came from Russia to take charge of the trading post at Unalaska. Observing large numbers of seals passing north through the Aleutian Islands in the spring, and returning in the fall, he conceived the idea that some unknown land to the northward was visited by them, and accordingly fitted out an expedition which resulted in the discovery, in June, 1785, of the island, named for the vessel in which he sailed, St. George. In the following year, in a clear day, the people left on St. George saw another island to the northward, which, from the day of its discovery, was named St. Paul.

St. Paul Island is triangular in form, sixteen miles long, and about four and one-half miles wide. It is of volcanic origin, and consists of a cluster of cones formed by the cracking of the earth's crust and the pouring out of the melted matter of the interior. These cones through the center of the island have an elevation of from two to four thousand feet, and a diameter at the base of from half a mile to a mile and a half, while those along the shore are much smaller, having a diameter of one-eighth to one-half a mile at the base. These cones seem to be wholly composed of clink-stones, which are cracked in many places, either from contraction in cooling or by the action of frost. Where the cones project into the water they form rounded points, flanked by a belt of loose rocks between them, and the water varying from five to forty rods in width. Between these points the shores are composed of loose sand. The narrow peninsula projecting two and one-half miles from the island in a southwesterly direction, and forming the harbor known as Southwest Bay, was formerly an island, which has gradually connected itself with the larger island, to which it is attached by the formation of an immense bank of fine sand, which has been thrown up by the action of the water. At the present time, the small cove near the village, and by way of which goods are lightered to the store-houses, is slowly filling up, so that a sand-bank now appears where one year ago a vessel drawing six feet of water was lying at anchor.

Near the center of the island one of the cones shows the rim of the crater of an extinct volcano some thirty rods in diameter. Around its base are several deep fissures, communicating with dark caves. This portion of the island is composed wholly of clink-stones and lava, covered with a growth of moss.

St. George Island is situated about forty miles southeast from St. Paul. It is about twelve miles long by four miles wide, and very irregular in shape. Its general features are the same as those of St. Paul, except that the shores are bolder and the mountains crossing it are less conical. The island bears the appearance of having been much larger at one time, the surrounding portions appearing to have been again submerged after the upheaval, leaving the shores bold and prominent. It is only on the sloping shores of the depressions through the center that the seals are able to obtain a footing, as at all other points the surf breaks against the base of the cliffs.

Two small islands, known as Walrus and Otter Islands, and situated near St. Paul, complete the Pribilov group.

Previous to my arrival, no meteorological records had been kept on the islands. My own observations give the mean temperature of the months of June, July, and August, respectively, at 48°, 51°, and 50° above zero, and I was informed that during the last winter the mercury was twice congealed. Snow falls from October to April; but except at

ALASKA.

3

those points which are protected from the wind, does not attain any great depth. During the months of March and April, vast masses of ice, which have formed during the winter in Behring's Sea, pass to the southward. The weather at this season is very severe, the storms being long and violent. But little fog was experienced on the island of St. Paul during last summer, though it could be seen a few miles distant the greater part of the time, and the sun was generally partially obscured by the humid atmosphere. The climate does not admit of agricultural pursuits, but there are at least one thousand acres of first class grazing land along the southeast shore of St. Paul. Last year a horse and four cattle were placed on the island by the parties doing business there. Directions had been given to have a quantity of hay prepared, but as the wet weather prevented this from being done, the animals were forced to subsist on the dry grass of the marshes. Contrary to the general expectation, the spring found them in good condition, the abundant supply of wild rye heads having proved a most nutritious food. Sheep and goats have been added to the stock, during the present season, and all are doing well. I have been thus minute in description, as it has been asserted that the islands are barren rocks, destitute of vegetation.

THE FUR SEAL.

The seals resort to the Pribilof Islands during the summer months, apparently for the sole purpose of reproducing their species. To this end each age or class contributes its share of labor or care, remaining on shore or in the water as may be necessary. In order to fully understand the duties of the various classes, a description of the animal seems to be necessary at this point.

The male seal attains its full growth at the age of six years, when it measures from seven to eight feet in length, and from six to seven in circumference. Its color is a dark brown with a gray over-hair on the neck and shoulders, and its weight is from six to twelve hundred pounds. These alone occupy the rookeries with the females.

A full-grown female measures from four to five feet in length and three feet in circumference, and weighs from one to three hundred pounds. It differs in shape somewhat from the male, in having a shorter neck and greater fullness of body in the posterior parts. Its color when it first leaves the water is a dark "steel-mixed" on the back, and lighter about the breast and sides. After being on shore a few days, its color gradually changes to a dark brown on the back and assumes an orange hue on the breast and throat, and is, therefore, easily distinguished from the male. The female attains its full size and brings forth young about the third or fourth year. The yearling seals weigh from forty to sixty pounds, and are of a dark brown color, with a lighter shade about the throat. The intermediate ages from one to six are readily distinguished by their difference in size and form. The reproductive organs of the male are developed in the fourth year of its age, but it has not yet acquired sufficient strength to maintain its place in the breeding rookeries, which are occupied exclusively by the old males and females with their pups. These rookeries are located on the belt of loose rock, between the high-water mark and the base of the cliffs, and vary in width from five to forty rods. The stretches of sand beach between the rookeries are occupied by the young seals as temporary resting places, or by the sick and wounded as neutral ground, on which they may remain undisturbed. The old males return each year to the same rock as long as they are able to maintain their position. It is vouched for by the na-

tives that one seal came for seventeen successive seasons to the same point. The male seals under six years of age are not allowed on the breeding rookeries, and they are generally found in the water swimming along the shore during the day, and at night on the uplands above the rookeries, where they rest scattered about like a flock of sheep. Where a long continuous shore-line is occupied by the rookeries, narrow passages are left at convenient intervals, through which the young seals may pass unmolested to and from the uplands. At times a line of seals may be seen for hours passing in single file through these open spaces. If at any time, from sudden fright, they attempt to cross the rookeries at any other point, a general engagement ensues, resulting in the killing and wounding of large numbers, and if the females with their pups are on the rookeries, many of the latter are crushed by being trampled upon. Constant care is necessary, therefore, on the part of the officer in charge, or of the native chiefs, to prevent any unusual demonstration to alarm the rookeries.

The special duty of the old males, or wigs, as they are commonly called, is to receive the females on their arrival, and to watch over and protect their young until large enough to be left to the care of their mothers and the younger males, or bachelors, as the latter are termed.

From the first to the middle of April, when the snow has melted from the shore and the drift-ice from the north ceased running, a few old male seals make their appearance in the water around the islands, and after two or three days' reconnoissance, venture on shore and examine the rookeries, carefully smelling them. If everything is satisfactory thus far, after a day or two, a few climb the slopes and lie with heads erect listening. At this time, if the wind blows in the direction of the rookeries, all fires are extinguished and all unnecessary noises suppressed. These scouts soon depart, and after a few days return with large numbers of the male seals of all ages. The rookeries are taken possession of by the old males, who drive the younger ones into the water, or to the uplands inside the rookeries. In locating for the season, the old males each reserve about one square rod of ground for the convenience of their future families, and that they may have sufficient room in which to execute their awkward movements in defending themselves against the attacks of their neighbors. Male seals continue to arrive daily for some time, the greater part of whom are old wigs, who fight their way to their old places, or prepare to defend some newly selected ground against any former occupant that may claim it. They acknowledge no right save might, so that the quarrel is incessant day and night, and the continual growling sounds like the approach of a distant railroad train.

About the middle of June, the males have all arrived and the ground is fully occupied by them. Soon after this the females begin to come, in small numbers at first, increasing as the season grows later, until the middle of July, when the rookeries are full and many of the reservations of the old males overcrowded with their respective families. When the females first arrive many of them appear desirous of returning to some particular male, and frequently climb the rocks overlooking the rookeries and utter a peculiar cry as if endeavoring to attract the attention of some acquaintance. Changing their place at intervals, this cry is often repeated until some bachelor perceives her and she is driven to the rookeries and quickly appropriated. It seems to be the sole duty of the bachelors at this season to compel the females to take their places in the rookeries, and often against their will. When the female reaches the shore, the nearest male meets and coaxes her with a peculiar clucking noise until he gets between her and the water, when his tone changes, and, with a

ALASKA.

5

growl he drives her to a place in his family. This continues until the lower row begins to get full, when those higher up from the shore, watching their opportunity when their neighbor is off his guard, rob his family to augment their own. This they do by taking the female in their mouths and carrying her to their own ground. Those still higher up pursue the same plan until all the space is occupied. Frequently a struggle ensues between two males for the same female, both seizing her at once, and either pulling her asunder or terribly lacerating her. After the ground has been covered the old male devotes his time to keeping order in his family and driving away intruders. Within two or three days after their arrival the females give birth to one pup, each, which is of a very dark brown color, and weighs from six to twelve pounds. The mother manifests a strong attachment for her young and distinguishes its cry, which resembles the bleating of a lamb, among thousands. Soon after the birth of the pup the female receives the male on the rocks, but it is doubtful whether this connection is often perfect. She is subsequently allowed to go into the water, where she is followed by the young males, by whom the connection is repeated. Upon her return to the rookeries she is from this time allowed greater freedom, and goes at will from one point to another. By the middle of August the females have all brought forth their young, and the old males, who have constantly occupied their places for four months without food, resign their charge to the bachelors and go into the water for the apparent purpose of feeding. The assertion that the seals live so long without food seems so contrary to nature, that I will state that I took special pains to examine daily a large extent of rookery and note it carefully. The rocks on the rookeries are worn smooth and washed by the surf, and any discharge of excrement could not fail to be seen. I found in a few instances a single discharge of excrementitious matter on the arrival of the seals, but nothing subsequently to indicate that any food is taken; nor do they leave the rocks at any time except when compelled by the heat to seek the water to cool themselves.

On their arrival in the spring they are very fat and round, but at the end of four months are thin and of little more than half their former weight. I also examined the stomachs of several hundred young seals, but was unable to find any traces of food in them.

The udder of the female is situated about half-way between the fore and hind flippers, and is furnished with four teats. The milk is of a yellowish white color, insipid to the taste, and is said to contain no sugar. The pups nurse but seldom, and when separated from the mother for thirty-six hours seem in no haste to seek nourishment on her return.

About the middle of July the great body of the last year's pups arrive and occupy the slopes with the younger class of males, while the young females join the older ones on the breeding rookeries. The females go into the water to feed when the pups are some six weeks old, leaving them on the uplands; nor do the young seek the water until they are several months old, and even then seldom from choice, but are forced to learn to swim by the old males. About the last of October the seals begin to leave the island, the young and females going first, and the old males following them. By the first of December all have departed. In November the young seals stop to rest for a few days on the Aleutian Islands, where several hundred are annually killed by the natives.

MANNER OF KILLING.

While the young seals are resting on the slopes above the rookeries,

as I have already described, a party of hunters, armed with elubs of hard wood, approach them and creep quietly between the rookeries and the shore, and at a given signal start forward at once and drive the animals inland in a body. When at a sufficient distance from the water, a halt is made, and as many of the undesirable seals selected out and sent back as possible. Only those of the ages of two and three years are considered prime skins. The remainder of the flock is then driven to the slaughter ground, which is sometimes several miles distant. It is necessary to drive them inland some distance in order that the smell of blood may not alarm the rookeries, and it is also a matter of convenience to have the seal carry his own skin to a point near the salt houses; but the driving must be conducted with the greatest care, as, when the animal is overheated, the fur loosens and the skin is rendered worthless. On arriving at the killing ground, a few boys are stationed to prevent them from straggling, and they are left to rest and cool, after which a small number are separated from the flock, surrounded, and driven closely together, where they are confined by treading on each other's flippers. In this position the desirable animals are quickly killed by a light blow on the nose from the hunter's club, and all others are allowed to enter the water at the nearest point, whence they return to the spot from which they were driven; this is repeated until the whole flock has been disposed of. In the skinning, every man is expected to contribute his share of labor, as all receive a portion of the proceeds of the sale of the skins. As the seals are not considered as being wholly at rest for the season until the females arrive, great care is required in selecting the proper place from which to drive, early in the season, and this is exercised by the chief, or one of his subordinate officers, who has the whole direction of this part of the business.

In the month of May, only such small numbers as are required for eating are driven; in June they become more numerous, and are then driven for their skins, although the percentage of prime skins in any flock is very small. About the middle of July the females go from the rookeries into the water, and there is a season of general unrest among all classes of seals, during which, for a period of about ten or fifteen days, none are killed.

About this time the yearling seals arrive, and these, together with a portion of the females, mix with the young males, greatly increasing the difficulty in distinguishing the proper animal for killing, and it is necessary for the chief, or his deputy in charge, to designate each seal to be slaughtered; only the strong interest which the natives feel in their preservation can insure the proper care in the selection. September and October are considered the best months for capturing the seal. In addition to the skin, each seal yields about one and one-half gallons of oil, and the lining membrane of the throat, and portions of the intestines, which latter are indispensable to the Aleutians at all points, being used in the manufacture of water-proof clothing, without which they could not venture at sea in their skin boats.

It will be seen from the foregoing description of the habits of the seal, that their preservation and increase are very simple matters, the only requirements being that the animals shall not be unnecessarily disturbed at any time, and that, for killing, the males only shall be selected; and I will add that the increase is more rapid, when a portion of the males are killed each year, since, by the constant fighting of this sex, when in excess, many of the young are trampled upon and destroyed.

ALASKA.

7

MANNER OF CURING THE SKINS.

The skins, on being taken to the salt houses, are packed in square bins or *kenches*, with the flesh side up, on which a quantity of salt is scattered. Here they are allowed to remain one or two months, when they are removed and folded with a quantity of clean salt, and firmly rolled and tied for shipment, only requiring a small additional quantity of salt on being removed from the islands.

NUMBER OF SEALS.

There are, on St. Paul Island, at least twelve miles of shore line, occupied by the breeding rookeries, not less than fifteen rods wide, with an average of twenty seals to the square rod. This gives the whole number of breeding males and females at 1,152,000; deducting from this number, one-tenth, for males, and we have remaining 1,036,800 breeding females, which number may, with care in killing, be largely increased from year to year, until the islands shall ultimately be fully occupied by them.

The number of breeding animals on St. George is estimated at nearly one-half as many as occupy St. Paul. In addition to those on breeding rookeries, we have the large number of young seals, scattered about at various points, and swelling the total number of animals on the two islands to not less than three or four millions.

I will remark here, that the peculiar, humid atmosphere, and unvarying summer temperature, induced by the meeting of the warm ocean currents from the south and the colder ones from the north, seem to render these islands the favorite resort of the seals in preference to those of the Aleutian group.

It is the opinion of the native chiefs, and of the late officers of the Russian-American Company who have been stationed on the seal islands, that 100,000 skins may at the present time be taken from both islands without diminishing the annual production.

PRICE PAID AND RECEIVED FOR SKINS.

The late Russian company allowed the natives ten cents each for seal skins, delivered by the side of the vessel for shipment, which, of course, included the labor of salting, packing, &c.

The American traders who engaged in the business in 1868, paid about thirty cents each for the skins delivered at the salt houses, and from fifty cents to one dollar per day for all labor performed in preparing them for market. During the last season the sum of forty cents each has been paid for the small number, amounting to about sixteen thousand, on St. Paul, at the date of my departure from the island the last of August, killed for the sustenance of the natives.

London is the principal market for raw seal skins, where the average price, previous to 1866, was about three dollars per skin, but, as they became fashionable for ladies' wear, in 1867 the price rose to seven dollars per skin. The large number taken in 1867 and 1868, amounting to about three hundred thousand, have again decreased the London valuation to three and four dollars each.

BUILDINGS ON THE ISLANDS.

The late Russian company's buildings are situated on the peninsula

of St. Paul Island, and comprise three dwelling houses, one storehouse for goods, and one large warehouse for salting and storing skins. They are all built of wood, and were much out of repair when the transfer took place. The parties occupying them at the present time have since repaired them at an expense nearly equal to their original cost. Parties doing business on the islands last summer, erected several new buildings on both islands.

The village of the natives, grouped about the company's buildings, comprises some forty huts on St. Paul, and about half as many on St. George. They are built of turf and thatched with grass. Each house has two or three apartments, in the inner one of which the family, often comprising ten or fifteen persons, live in a space seldom exceeding the dimensions of fifteen feet long by twelve feet wide, and six feet high. Some of the houses are neatly kept, but being built partly under ground, all lack light and ventilation. There being no wood on the islands, seal blubber is used as fuel, the smoke of which is very disagreeable. Considerable lumber has been distributed among the natives during the past summer, but a large additional quantity is needed to enable them to make their houses comfortable.

INHABITANTS.

The population of St. Paul comprises 248, and St. George 127 natives of the Aleutian family. This includes a few men brought from Kadiak Island last summer, and who express their intention to return to their native place. All are members of the Greco-Russian church, and are presided over by a subordinate of the priest at Unalaska. They carefully observe all rites and ceremonies of the church, which goes far in relieving the monotony of their lives. The leading men are sufficiently educated in the Russian language to be able to read and write, and keep their accounts of labor correctly. The marriage obligation is strictly observed, and the women are modest and reserved in their deportment. Under the Russian company, the islands were governed by agents residing here, who exercised absolute authority in the administration of the affairs of the company. The natives were held as serfs, and allowed no claim of ownership to property, or to any interest outside the company. A chief or foreman was designated by the agent, and to his direction all were expected to submit. The work of taking the seals is performed exclusively by the men, but the women have considerable out-of-door work in the way of carrying the skins to the storehouses, and bringing fresh water from a distance for the use of their families. The firm of Messrs. Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., composed, in part, of the officers of the late Russian company, who came to the island in the spring following the transfer, retained in their service the former agents, foremen, and natives, and continued, as far as practicable, the old system, and so continue to do up to the present time, as this seems to give the greatest satisfaction to the natives, who are averse to changes.

In the summer of 1868, the natives, observing that too large a number of seals were being killed, and being fearful that migration would result, applied to their former officers for assistance, who informed them that their power had ceased, and that they were subjects of a government where the people regulated their own affairs. This suggestion they acted upon, and proceeded to elect a chief and council of two, as the former objected to taking the responsibility of government unaided. These officers control their communities in all ordinary matters, but the voice of the people is heard on all important questions. Following this

ALASKA.

9

election, the men organized in classes, according to their respective worth and ability. On St. Paul Island, the first class comprised twenty-one men, who were acknowledged to be the best workmen, and of the best moral standing; the second class, of sixteen, comprising those less willing to work, and the third class of six men, made up of the idle and vicious. All are obliged to work in taking seals, and the proceeds of their labor constitutes a public fund, out of which the priest is paid \$130 per annum, and the chiefs \$40 each for extra services, and the remainder is divided pro rata among the different classes, after appropriating for those who are unable to work. This system has worked harmoniously thus far, and the only criminal offense recorded is that of drunkenness and abuse of family, for which the offender was confined in the salt-house for two days; since which he has given no trouble. Theft and all petty crimes are unknown. I have been thus minute in detail, in order that it may be understood that the natives of the islands, under a proper officer, are able to defend the interests of the government with little expense.

FOOD OF THE INHABITANTS.

The principal food of the islands is seal meat, from the recently killed animals, in summer, and in winter, from the frozen carcasses of those killed very late in the season, and preserved for future use. After removing the skin of the seal, the blubber, from one to four inches thick, and completely enveloping the carcass, is taken off, and the muscle remains without any undue intermixture of fatty matters.

The flesh of the yearling seal is somewhat darker than beef when raw, and nearly black when cooked. It is juicy and tender, but lacks the firmness and sweet flavor of beef; in highly seasoned dishes it is relished by all; the soldiers preferred it to salt rations at all times. A five weeks' old *pup*, roasted, is esteemed a great luxury. The meat of the sea-lion, which is taken in small numbers, is considered superior to that of the seal. Halibut may be caught in large numbers a few miles from the islands, and small water fowls and snipe are obtainable in their season. Breadstuffs were formerly supplied in limited quantities by the Russians, chiefly in the form of rye, muground, and which the natives were obliged to prepare as best they might with the limited facilities at hand. Since the transfer both flour and bread have been sent to the islands in large quantities, and the stores are well supplied with all necessary articles at reasonable prices, so that the people feel the change of government to have been to them a benefit, and all express satisfaction with their present condition.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks concerning the preservation of the seal, and of the requirements of the natives, that one is dependent on the other; that is, the seals can be preserved only by placing it in the interests of the natives to guard them as the source whence their support is to be derived, while it is evident on the other hand that, if deprived of the benefits of the seal fisheries, they would have no means of subsistence. I believe that nothing less than the interests of some parties in the seal trade will serve to protect the simple-minded natives in their rights without incurring great expense to the government, and I am of opinion, therefore, that the best method of securing the desired object is to give to one responsible company the right of purchasing on the islands, at proper prices, according to their market value, a stated number of skins—say, for the present, 100,000 annually—in return for which privilege said company shall give security for the payment of a proper tax to the government, and to provide for the natives by the sale of goods at reasonable fixed prices, or by the gratuitous distribution of

supplies when necessary, and also to care for the sick, and maintain schools on the islands for the education of the children.

THE SEA-LION.

Along with the fur-seal the sea-lion is found in considerable numbers on the Pribilof Islands. It is the largest of the seal family, and frequently measures thirteen feet in length, and weighs from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds. Its habits are similar to those of the fur-seal. It is covered with a thick growth of light brown hair, without fur, but the skin is of considerable value as an article of commerce in the western part of the Territory, being used by the natives to cover their boats. All the Aleutian Islands, and a large extent of the mainland coast, are dependent on the Pribilof group for their supply of skins for this purpose.

The principal sea-lion rookery is on the north end of St. Paul Island, whence the animals must be driven ten or twelve miles to bring their skins to the drying-frames, where they are prepared for market. The animal is much more powerful and savage than the fur-seal, and the hunters are frequently seriously injured in capturing it. In killing the larger animals it is necessary to use the rifle, as it would be dangerous to approach them with the ordinary seal-club. Their flesh is preferred to that of the seal as an article of food, and nearly every part of the animal is made use of in the manufacture of the various articles necessary to sea-otter hunting. From one to two thousand sea-lions are taken annually.

In 1870, the Treasury Department appointed Captain Bryant as agent to oversee the beginning of the fur-seal fishery operation, which effectively began in 1871 under a twenty-year lease granted by the United States to the Alaska Commercial Company.

Bryant's annual report, dated July 14, 1870, stated in part:

Sir: In compliance with the instructions of the Department of May 24, 1870, ordering me to take charge of the sealing islands and to provide for the immediate wants of the inhabitants, if found in a condition of necessity, I called on the chiefs at each island to give me a statement of the actual wants of the population.

From the information so obtained and from the absence of provisions in the stores of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. and William & Havens, it became apparent that measures should be taken for supplying from such stores as were put on board the revenue steamer *Lincoln* in prevision of that emergency. I therefore requested the commander of the *Lincoln* to land on the islands all the bread and flour which might be possibly spared from his vessel as well as the items specially ordered. . . .

I am happy to report that thus far the conditions have been fully complied with. The store has been well stocked with goods of good quality and sold at low prices.⁷⁵

According to Bryant's May 19, 1871 report, island conditions had improved remarkably.⁷⁶

It appears that no other agent's Pribilof experiences have been written about more than those of Bryant's, excepting Henry Wood Elliott's. Elliott served under Captain Bryant during 1872-1873, and he is often credited with saving the northern fur seal from extinction. Elliott often criticized Bryant's management style and his seemingly poor un-

derstanding of the seals' natural history (see Henry Elliott biography). In 1873, William Dall countered Elliot's criticisms about Bryant. Excerpts of Dall's letter follow:

Nov. 14, 1873

My dear Prof. [Spencer Baird]

I have hurried writing to you on account of a matter which has just come to my knowledge and which if it be not checked may lead to incalculable mischief and injury to the Government. I hear Henry Elliott has preferred charges against Capt. Bryant with a view to having him ousted. I do not know the specific nature of the charges. But I do know and will vouch for the following facts.

Bryant is a perfectly honest man. This I will stake my existence upon. If it had been otherwise, I have frequently heard members of the Alaska Commercial Company say, "The damned old fool might have been rich long ago."

Nevertheless he may have, and I think, has been guilty of some indiscretions the main ones being that he has allowed the prince of scoundrels Dr. McIntyre to persuade him into appointing unworthy men as deputies, notably Falconer, (who is a great friend of Elliott's) and who was a defaulter in his accounts when in the Government service at Sitka, and I have been told escaped there by bribing the inspector. Falconer is and has been in the pay of the Alaska Commercial Company.

I understand that Bryant was also persuaded to allow the killing of about 1000 seals more than the law allows but this rests upon the authority of members of that company and the reason given was that a certain number of skins had been spoiled out of the legal number. Nevertheless, whatever mistake in judgment may have been made by him I am persuaded that no very serious injury to the interests of the Government can happen while Bryant is there.

Elliott has been made a complete fool of by playing upon his vanity, and is doubtless perfectly honest in his statements.

I understood that a strong effort will be made this winter to replace Bryant by Falconer whose character has already been alluded to or by the son of Senator Morton. The latter young man is doubtless an honest young donkey, but has been for several years receiving \$5,000 per annum for doing nothing, from the Alaska Com'l. Co. it is intimated here on account of services rendered by his father in getting the original bill passed by which the Company got the lease. It is absurdity to suppose he would be anything but a pliant tool in their hands.

You may use this letter in any way which in your judgment will promote the interests of the Government.

Yours very truly,

Wm H. Dall

Acting Asst. U.S. Coast Survey

In charge Alaska Coast⁷⁷

Twenty years later, Henry Elliott would be criticized by scientists and politicians in ways similar to his criticisms of Charles Bryant (see Elliott biography).

In 1890, after his retirement, Captain Bryant published an article in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* about his experiences and interpretations of life on the Pribilof Islands.

ON THE FUR SEAL ISLANDS.

BY THE FIRST SPECIAL TREASURY AGENT.



SHORTLY after the cession of Russian America to the United States, the latter government began to take active measures for the protection of the few fisheries of the islands of the ceded territory, and thus it happened that I, as one who had had eighteen years' experience as a whaler in the North Pacific, became a factor in the plans for protection. My knowledge of the natural history, conditions of life, and currents of the North Pacific had brought me into communication with Professor Louis Agassiz and with Professor Benjamin Peirce, who was at the time Superintendent of the Coast Survey, and at their instance I was appointed by Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, first to report on the fur-seal fisheries and then to organize a system by which the interest of the islanders could be guarded and the seals protected against unnecessary destruction. The system established by me is still in active force. I reached the Fur Seal, or Pribyloff, Islands early in March, 1869, but it was not until the spring of 1871 that order was finally brought out of the confusion into which the fisheries had been thrown by the change in ownership, and we began operations under the lease granted to the Alaska Commercial Company. I had found the natives disorganized and terrified concerning their future, as the irregularities practiced by the various parties who had raided the islands for seals in the previous year had threatened extermination both to islanders and to seals; and the plan of fishing finally adopted was grafted on the general method which the Russians had observed, and in which the natives, who knew it, would therefore be likely to have confidence.

The Russians had maintained a head agent on the islands, with whom had been associated two creole subordinates who had been sufficiently educated in the counting-houses of Sitka to keep the accounts with the natives and to direct them in killing the seals and preparing the skins. A certain sum was allowed the islanders for compensation. The head agent employed three or four of the most capable men to direct parties at work, and the driving and killing of the seals had been left mainly to these. Their method had been to drive the

seals as near as possible to the salting-houses, in order that the labor of carrying the skins might be made as light as possible; and they had become sufficiently expert in their work to understand that by killing the smaller seals the work would be lighter, though no discrimination was made as to the quality of the skins in the animals killed. The number of skins taken annually had varied from forty thousand to sixty thousand.

That the Government agent in charge of the islands might have full power to enforce and supervise all operations, it seemed best to leave to some responsible company the right to take a stated number of seals under restrictions and regulations that would best subserve the interests of the United States and of the natives themselves, who were to have the exclusive right to kill the seals and salt the skins.

When the sealing began in the spring of 1871, it soon became evident that the clumsy methods in vogue were open to very great improvement. To take the necessary number of seals to fill out the annual catch, the whole working force of the islands was kept busy from the 1st of June until September, the women helping, particularly in carrying the skins to the salting-houses. These had been built too far from the landing, and as soon as possible they were moved nearer to the beach, in order to facilitate the transfer of the skins to the boats on shipping. As the skins prepared for shipment, and all the salt necessary for curing them, had to be carried on the backs of the natives across a broad beach of soft sand and through the shallow water to and from boats, a railway of light iron rails was eventually built, to be laid in movable sections, with high-wheeled flat-cars. Mules, carts, and harnesses were brought to the islands, and whenever the skins were to be carried to the salting-houses from the slaughter-grounds the boys and girls, for the sake of the ride back in the empty carts, were ready to load them. This relieved the women of the necessity of all outdoor work in sealing time, except occasional journeys for the necessary supply of seal flesh for food. Later, when we had taught them to make bread and had introduced various articles of food, seal flesh and blubber, which had been formerly almost the sole means of sustenance, were used much less frequently. Under the lease held by the Alaska Commercial Company the number

ON THE FUR SEAL ISLANDS.

903

of seals to be killed annually was limited to 100,000; and at 40 cents a skin, the sum allowed the natives for each skin brought in, \$40,000 was annually divided among the islanders employed in the killing of seals. We learned when the returns for the first season's catch were made that the skins were assorted into fourteen or fifteen classes. A small number—less than ten per cent.—ranked as first-class, at \$14 a skin; about the same per cent. fell to less than \$2.50 each, while the general average was about \$5.87. This discrepancy in the value of the skins called attention at once to the question of what constituted the difference in quality between a skin worth \$14 and one worth only \$2.50. An agent of the Company was sent to London to examine the skins as they were classified for the market: the result of his examination revealed the fact that the fur of a seal was most valuable when the animal was three years old, the proportion being that at present prices a two-year-old seal would be worth \$15 or \$16, a three-year-old \$16 or \$19, a four-year-old \$16, and a five-year-old only \$2.50. As the agent had the opportunity of selecting the animals before killing, he aimed to take as many three-year-old seals as possible, making out the one hundred thousand from those two or four years old. This trebled the value of the annual catch at once. Again, it being desirable to secure the quantity with the least possible loss of life, a careful supervision of the manner of driving the seals to the slaughter-ground was instituted. Very fat seals often become overheated in driving, and die from convulsions, rendering their fur valueless for the market. In consequence of this difficulty each driver is required to carry a club and a knife, that any seal showing indications of an overheated condition may be killed immediately and skinned. These skins are collected after the herd is cared for, and are usually equal to eight or ten per cent. of the whole drive.

The cost of maintaining these fisheries is about \$10,000 a year; the revenue obtained during the twenty years that the present lease has been running amounts to \$365,000 a year. A careful count is made of the number of skins taken, each party through whose hands they pass keeping its own account. First they are counted by the chiefs, that the natives may be paid a proper sum; the Treasury officer in charge of the islands counts them when they are taken from the salting-houses for shipment; when received at the side of the vessel they are counted by the executive officer for his bills of lading; at San Francisco a revenue officer takes charge of them and has them counted; they are counted again at the warehouse in San Francisco, where they are packed

in one-hundred-gallon tierces and shipped to New York, and thence to London, where they are counted twice again before they are ready for sale. An important element in the economy of the business is that, by reason of the many improved methods used in capturing and handling the seals, the time required for this work has been materially shortened. Formerly the work was continued from the 1st of June until September, but now the whole time required for taking the one hundred thousand skins and shipping them has been shortened to forty-five days. This gain in time also increases the value of the skins, as the fur is far brighter when the seals first land.

The present lease to the Alaska Commercial Company expires July 1, 1890. When the lease was granted, in 1870, the bids were governed by the average price of sealskins in London, which had never exceeded \$6. Under the terms of the lease the Company paid the Government an average price of \$3.65 per skin. If the business was profitable at that rate, the Government should now obtain a much larger share, in consideration of the trebled value of the skins in the London market at the present time. As there should be a large increase in the number of seals now available, owing to the improved methods of killing which reserve all the females, a far larger number might now be killed annually—perhaps twice as many. The seals occupy as breeding-grounds about eight miles of coast-line, and at the beginning of my stay on the islands I estimated the number of breeding females to be fully 1,130,000. When I left, eight years later, a similar method of computation gave 1,800,000 breeding females on the ground.

The males come to the islands the 1st of May and remain until about the 20th of July, when they scatter slowly, although a large number of them remain as late as November. The males appear on the ground first, and soon after their arrival they begin to locate about a rod apart, forming a line the entire length of the shore. The younger and weaker males, beaten back by the stronger, coast along, entering the bays, and haul up on the hillsides and in the valleys. The greatest number at any one time upon St. Paul, the largest of the islands, is on the 20th of July, when we have estimated the number to be five millions. The seals really walk on four legs, raising their bodies from the ground as they move. Under favorable conditions they travel about a mile and a half an hour, and the longest drive we ever made was eight miles. As England alone has the necessary skilled labor for preparing the skins for final sale, she receives an amount of profit from the fur-seal fisheries equal to the whole profit of the United

States in the islands, and she therefore is equally interested in the question of wanton destruction of the seals. Under such circumstances an international agreement for the protection and regulation of the trade ought not to be difficult to obtain.

The Fur Seal Islands lie nearly in the middle of Behring's Sea, the nearest mainland being three hundred miles away to the north. When discovered in 1789 they were uninhabited, although traces of firebrands gave proof of earlier visitors. The islands are four in number — St. Paul, St. George, Otter, and Walrus, the former being the largest, though but fifteen miles long. It is triangular in shape, and furnishes ninety per cent. of the whole number of seals. The average mean temperature for the year is about the same as that of New England, though it is cooler in summer and warmer in winter. The islands are of volcanic origin, but around the shores accumulations of marine sand have been washed up by the sea, which high winds have driven over the rocky surface, forming a light soil. The moist climate has clothed this with a thick vegetation, and in the valleys and lower plains a wild grass resembling rye abounds, which furnishes excellent feed for horses and sheep. On the hillsides great masses of purple lupine grow, and a thick moss-like plant is found, which bears a delicious berry, and is much used for making wine as well as for cooking purposes.

On the whole group of Aleutian Islands there were 8000 people, and on the Fur Seal Islands about 400. A few of the men from the latter had been to Sitka on Russian vessels, and two or three had been taught enough of the Russian language to allow them to act as clerks in keeping accounts with the natives, but the great body of the people had never been from home. They had no money, and trade was chiefly a barter. The houses were merely turf huts, half underground, and the only fuel was seal blubber, and seal flesh and blubber almost the only food. For lighting their huts they also used seal oil, in small dishes with floating wicks, and of course the ceilings were always sooty. The necessity for improved habitations was evident, and later when the sealing company holding the lease offered to build houses and permit the natives to live in them free of rent, no time was lost in accepting the generous proposal. Before I left St. Paul there had been built small cottages of three rooms sufficient to house every family on the island. The people were so convinced of the necessity of keeping their habitations underground for warmth that at first we could not convince them that houses could be made comfortable in any other way. We passed through various stages of unsatisfactory yieldings to this preju-

dice, but our last houses were the best, and were built on high ground, uncompromisingly above the earth. A skillful mechanic was brought out by the sealing company, and under his guidance the natives soon became sufficiently expert to assist very materially in building. After a row of foundations, the length of the street, had been made ready, the people were divided into three gangs, who were soon able to put up one of these houses and finish it in a day. One gang laid the sills and floors, another set up the frame and boarded the house laid the day before, and the third shingled the roof and clapboarded the walls of the one framed two days before. We introduced furniture as quickly as possible, and it was not long before the islanders were as comfortably situated as are the average employees in any manufacturing community.

It was interesting to note the difference in character crop out as the community gradually took upon itself civilization. Some were naturally prudent, and easily saved a surplus; others would be in debt at the end of the year. In 1877 a small proportion of their number, perhaps ten per cent., had invested about ten or twelve hundred dollars with the Fur Company; another ten per cent. were always in want; the remainder spent what they received. The best paid class, the ablest workers, received over four hundred dollars each for their season's work, and as they could obtain a large part of their food from the resources of the island without cost, and received their houses furnished, rent free, their needs were few. To foreign ways in clothes and fashion they inclined very naturally. The year before my coming sealing-parties had brought to the island considerable quantities of ready-made clothing as an article of trade, and the men were consequently fairly well dressed; but only a small quantity of cloth suitable for dresses had been taken, and the women had not begun to make their clothing in any regular form. But in time, with some assistance, their ready adaptability made them a very well-dressed people. Before I came away the wives of those who had been saving sent their measures to Sitka with orders for silk dresses for church wear, and the young men arrayed themselves in broadcloth, wore gloves and well-blackened boots, and carried perfumed handkerchiefs.

As my time was not fully taken up with my duties, and good fortune brought to me an abiding place of unusual size for St. Paul, I seized the happy chance of making my house a meeting-place for the people, and especially for the children. Later we fitted up a school-room, which we also made a place for social entertainment, and kept the school open eight months in the year. We were greatly assisted

in our school duties by illustrated books and papers sent to us; for so unvaried and barren was the scenery of the island, which was all of the world these children had ever seen, that it was well-nigh impossible for them to comprehend physical objects of the simplest nature. What a mountain might be was beyond their understanding, and the difficulty of explaining the appearance of a great forest to children who knew no vegetable growth larger than the purple lupine on their gentle slopes was greater than one can tell. It was necessary, however, to exercise the strictest censorship in our illustrated lessons, as it was difficult for all to comprehend caricature even in its simplest forms; even the most impossible pictures they believed represented facts.

I found the people living in separate families, and, as far as I could see, there was no more immorality among them than would be

found in any decent civilized community. The women were modest in deportment, the children obedient and respectful to their parents, and the men always manifested a disposition to assist me in all my efforts.

In character they were mild and gentle, with the expression of settled melancholy habitual to those races which have no amusements. In this respect, however, they changed greatly as opportunity developed the merriment latent in their nature. The children when first taught to speak did so in a serious way, and the utter absence of anything like hearty laughter in a group of them always affected me strangely. It seemed as if their avenues of expression were closed to pleasure, and later, when they had learned the simple games I taught them, it was a great satisfaction to me to hear my rooms ring with their merry voices.

Charles Bryant.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain Bryant deposed for the Fur-Seal Arbitration on April 16, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C.

I am a resident of Mattapoisett, Plymouth County, State of Massachusetts, and am 72 years of age. In September, 1868, I was appointed a special Treasury agent to go to Pribilof Islands for the purpose of investigating and reporting as to the habits of the fur seal, the condition of the islands, and the most advantageous plan to be adopted for the government and management of the same. Pursuant to such appointment, I proceeded to the Pacific coast, and in March 1869 I landed on St. Paul Island, remaining there until September of the same year. I then returned to Washington and laid my report before the Treasury Department. I again went back to the islands in July, 1870, and remained there until the fall of 1871. Then, in April, 1872, I again arrived at the islands, this time in the capacity of a special agent of the Treasury Department in charge of the seal islands. I was upon the islands as such agent from that time and during the sealing season from 1872 to 1877.

When I first visited the seal islands in 1868 [1869?] the natives were living in semi-subterranean houses built of turf and such pieces of driftwood and whalebones as they were able to secure on the beach. Their food had been prior to that time insufficient in variety, and was comprised of seal meat and a few other articles, furnished in meager quantity by the Russian Fur Company. They had no fuel, and depended for heat upon the crowding together in their turf houses, sleeping in the dried grasses secured upon the islands. Forced to live under these conditions they could not of course make progress towards civilization. There were no facilities for transporting the skins. They were carried on the backs of the natives, entailing great labor and hardship. . . .

Very soon after the islands came into the possession of the American Government all this was changed. Their underground earthen lodges were replaced by warm, comfortable wooden cottages for each family; fuel, food, and clothing were furnished them at prices 25 percent above the wholesale price of San Francisco; churches were built and school houses maintained for their benefit, and everything done that would insure their constant advancement in the way of civilization and material progress. Instead of being mere creatures of the whims of their rulers they were placed upon an equal footing with white men, and received by law a stipulated sum for each skin taken. So that about \$40,000 was annually divided among the inhabitants of the two islands. In place of the skin-clad natives living in turf lodges which I found on arriving on the island in 1869, I left them in 1877 as well fed, as well clothed, and as well housed as the people of some of our New England

villages. They had school facilities, and on Sunday they went to service in the pretty Greek Church with its tastefully arranged interior; they wore the clothing of civilized men and had polish on their boots. All these results are directly traceable to the seal fisheries and their improved management.

In addition to this the Alaska Commercial Company, as previously stated, had introduced far better facilities, such as boats, horses, mules, and carts, for transporting the skins, and improved methods of caring for them.”⁷⁸

SAMUEL A. FALCONER (FALKNER) (1831–1915)

*Deputy Collector of Customs, Territory of Alaska, U.S. Department of the Treasury,
September 1868–September 1869*

Purser, Hutchinson & Kohl Steamer Constantine, September 1869–October 1870

*Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, October 1870–
October 1876*



Samuel Falconer, 1870. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)

Genealogy

Samuel (Falkner) Falconer⁷⁹ was born September 19, 1831, at Lancaster, Glengarry County, Ontario, Canada, the son of James Falkner (1798–1859) and Anne Hay Falkner. He lived on the Falkner homestead at Lancaster until his marriage to Ellen McKenzie of Williamstown, Ontario Township. Samuel and Ellen Falkner had three children: Ellen Elizabeth; Annie, who married Fred Fleming; and Alexander “Sandy” Falconer, who became owner of a hardware store in Deloraine, Manitoba, Canada.⁸⁰ The family records presently acquired do not make clear whether Ellen McKenzie Falkner died before or after Samuel came to the United States in 1863.

In California in 1880, after his Alaska service, Samuel was married again, to widow Josephine Erwin Beckman (1850–1905). Joesephine had two children by her previous marriage, William and Lillian Beckman. Lillian (1870–1946) married German-born Baron Albert von Steiger, who was killed by Yaqui Indians near Ures, Mexico, February 25, 1906,⁸¹ while traveling to his Mexican gold mines.

The 1885 Dakota Territory census showed the Samuel Falconer family residing in McLean County with three children under the age of five: Ida, Frank, and Alfred. Ida “Daisy” was born September 17, 1880, in California, and eventually married Albert Swanson of Iowa in 1905 at Wilton, North Dakota. She died March 6, 1978, at the age of ninety-eight. Frank Robert (“Francis”)⁸² was born in January 1883 in the Dakota Territory. Alfred Manley was born in April 1885 in Dakota Territory and died in Minneapolis,

Minnesota, in 1948. A fourth child, Howard, was born into the Falconer family in November 1886, also in Dakota Territory; he married, had two children and later moved to Seattle, Washington.⁸³

Biographical Sketch

At the age of thirty-two, in July 1863, Samuel Falconer crossed the St. Lawrence River and landed at the Port of Ogdensburg, St. Lawrence County, New York. The Civil War had begun in 1861, but it is not apparent that he entered the military service.

Beginning in 1868, Samuel Falconer served the government in Alaska for eight years.⁸⁴ He was Collector of the Port at Sitka during the Ulysses S. Grant administration and later represented the federal government looking after the seal fisheries in the Pribilofs.

President Andrew Johnson issued an Executive Order August 26, 1868, designating Sitka a port of entry in the newly acquired District of Alaska.

The port of Sitka in said Territory, is hereby constituted and established as the port of entry for the collection district of Alaska, provided for by said act; . . . the shippers giving to the Collector of Customs at the port of shipment, bonds in which it shall be conditioned that articles will, on their arrival at Sitka, be delivered to the Collector of Customs or the person there acting as such, to remain in his possession and under his control until sold or disposed of by such persons as the military of chief authority in said Territory may specify.⁸⁵

In his annual report of December 1, 1868, Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch announced “the appointment of a collector [Samuel Falconer] to reside at Sitka, who left for his post in September last.”

A gentleman from this Department accompanied him to assist in establishing the collection service on a proper foundation, and in perfecting arrangements for the prevention of smuggling. Recognizing also the vast importance of reliable information on matters not immediately connected with these objects, but having nevertheless a most important bearing upon them more or less direct, another agent, long familiar with that country [Charles Byrant], was at the same time dispatched with directions to apply himself to the ascertainment of its natural resources, the inducements and probable channels of trade, and the needs of commerce in the way of lights and other aids to navigation. He was



Samuel Falconer, sons Howard and Frank, and Frank's wife Katheryn with baby Jean. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)



Ida "Daisy" Falconer. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)



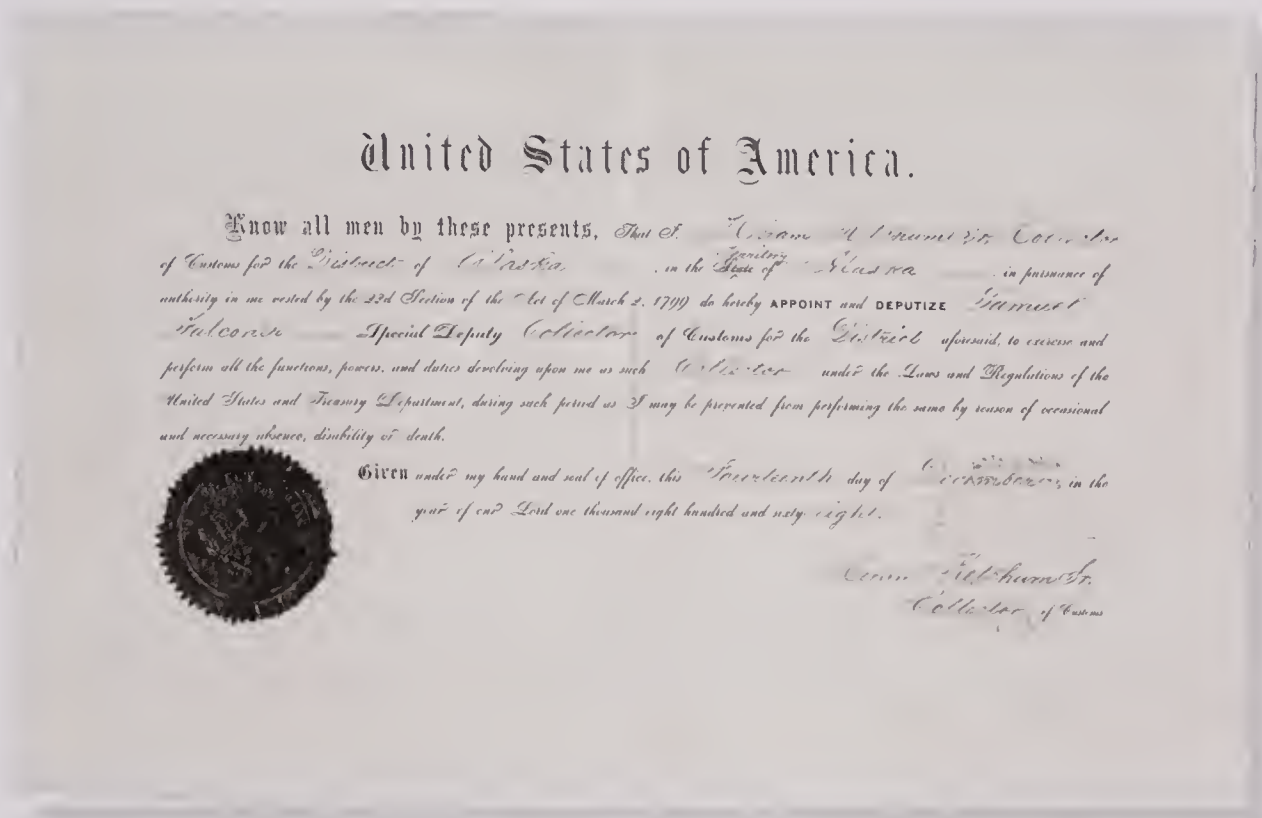
ALASKA.

M. LORENZ,

Captain Abial Loud (1), center with bowler hat; to his left, Mrs. Bryant (2), niece Janette Pierce (3), and Captain Charles Bryant (4) in full beard; and Samuel Falconer (5), right of Janette Pierce. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: M. Lorenz. RG 57 Charts and Photographs of Abial P. Loud, ca. 1885—ca. 1889, no. 18.)

also particularly entrusted with a supervision of the fur interests and the enforcement of the law prohibiting the killing of the most valuable fur-bearing animals.⁸⁶

Hiram Ketchum Jr., Collector of Customs for the District of Alaska, officially appointed Samuel Falconer on December 14, 1868, as Special Deputy Collector of Customs for the District of Alaska in the Territory of Alaska.⁸⁷ Ketchum and Falconer, along with Charles Bryant, as noted in Bryant's January 5, 1869, letter (see Bryant's biography for excerpts of the letter), had left the port of New York on September 16, 1868, on the steamship *Ocean Queen*, headed for San Francisco enroute to the Territory of Alaska.⁸⁸



Hiram Ketchum's appointment of Samuel Falconer as Deputy Collector of Customs, District of Alaska, December 14, 1868. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)

Once settled into his position at Sitka, Falconer took part in the social life of the town. An invitation from Madame Kadvilavansky, the wife of Archpriest Pavel Kadvilavansky (1834?–1878) of Sitka,⁸⁹ read: “Madam Kadvilavansky presents her compliments to Mr. Falconer and requests the pleasure of his company at the house of Mr. Ivanoff at half past six o'clock this evening Monday December 21st 1868.”⁹⁰

Other events included a military ball. Captain Charles Bryant wrote of Sitka's federal presence at the time: “It consists of the military garrison and its necessary accompaniments of soldiers [or] about three hundred including officers, next in rank is the civil service, this is represented by one collector of customs, one deputy, two special agents; one for revenue purposes the other for general observation and one clerk.”⁹¹ The colorful invitation to the ball given by the “Officers of the Army, Navy, Revenue Service and the Citizens of Sitka” on February 8, 1869, was sent to Falconer by the “Committee of Arrangements” consisting of U.S. Army—William M. Dennison and Charles P. Eagan; U.S. Revenue Service—J. R. Delan; and U.S. Navy—E. W. Bridge.⁹²

Madam Kadvilavansky presents her
compliments to Mr Falconer and requests
the pleasure of his company at the
house of Mr Stanoff. at half past
six o'clock this evening

Monday December 21st 1868.

Madam Kadvilavansky's invitation to Samuel Falconer, December 21,
1868. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)

The pleasure of your company is solicited
at a Ball to be
given by the Officers of the
Army, Navy, Revenue Service,
and the Citizens of Sitka on
Monday evening, February 8th 1869.
at the residence of General Davis.
Dance, from 7 to 10.
Dancing commences at 7.30. P.M.
Unmasking 10. — 11

Wm. N. Dennison U.S.A.

J. R. Delan. U.S. Rev.

E. W. Bridge U.S.N.

Chas P. Eagan U.S.A.

Committee of Arrangements.

Samuel Falconer's invitation to the military ball, Sitka, February 8, 1869.
(Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)

Samuel Falconer's duties as Deputy Collector of Customs gave him the right to confiscate illegal cargo, such as liquor coming into the Territory of Alaska. One of his confiscations was protested by the captain of the bark *Monticello* in 1869.

Sitka, Alaska Tery Feby 27 1869

Mr. Samuel Falconer

Deputy Collector of Customs

Sitka, A. T.

Sir:

We, the undersigned, Master and Supercargo of the Am. Bark *Monticello*, now lying in the port of Sitka and bound for St. Pauls' island and other ports in Alaska Territory, do hereby protest against the seizure under your authority of one qr. Cask of whiskey (40 galls). We claim that the said whiskey was put on board the said Bark at Honolulu H. I. in good faith in ignorance of any law prohibiting the importation of liquor in the said Territory—that on ascertaining the existence of such a law we represented to you our readiness to execute sufficient bonds, that the said whiskey should not be landed in the Territory or used in trading with Indians. We further claim that we had not up to the time of the seizure of the said whiskey violated any law not having made any attempt to land the same and [not] having intention of violating any law.

J [Jeremiah] Potts Master of Bk [Bark] *Monticello*

I Bates Dickson, Supercargo of Bk *Monticello*⁹³

The *Monticello* was next seen at St. Paul Island on March 26, 1869, by Inspectors of Customs, Mr. La Grange and Joseph Wilson, who arrived prior to Special Agent Charles Bryant to take possession of the island for the government. "On our arrival we found the bark *Monticello* laden with trading goods from the port of Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands."⁹⁴ We at once notified the captain, in accordance with our orders that he could not land his cargo, and he immediately departed."⁹⁵

In 1882, following his Pribilofs experience, Samuel Falconer settled in North Dakota and engaged in the ranching and stock-raising business along the Missouri River, eight miles from Wilton, North Dakota.⁹⁶ The township bore the name Falconer. A post office with Samuel Falconer as postmaster was established April 14, 1884, on the Old River Stage Road between Bismarck and Washburn. On June 4, 1890, he received a deeded homestead of 160 acres in Falconer, North Dakota.

The Falconer long, low log house, which served as a home and post office, was about 10 miles southeast of Washburn.⁹⁷

Falconer swore to his intention to become a citizen of the United States on April 12, 1883, in Burleigh County, Dakota Territory; his citizenship was sealed February 7, 1889, at the same location. After he had led a farmer's life for over twenty years, the citizens of Wilton elected Samuel Falconer Justice of the Peace in their April 8, 1912, election, according him the title of Judge Samuel A. Falconer. He held the position until his sudden death in 1915.⁹⁸

Sitka, Alaska Territory Feb'y. 27th 1889.
 Mr. Samuel Falconer,
 Deputy, Collector of Customs,
 Sitka, A.T.

Sir:

We, the undersigned,
 Master and Supercargo of the Am. Bark
 Monticello, now lying in the Port of Sitka
 and bound for St. Paul's Island and other
 Ports in Alaska Territory, do hereby protest
 against the seizure under your authority of one
 gr. Cask of Whiskey (40 Gall). We claim that the
 said Whiskey was put on board the said Bark at
 Honolulu H.I. in good faith, in ignorance of any
 law prohibiting the importation of liquor in the said
 Territory - that on ascertaining the existence of such
 a law we represented to you our readiness to enter
 into sufficient bonds that the said Whiskey should
 not be landed in the Territory or used in trading with
 Indians - We further claim that we had not
 up to the time of the seizure of the said Whiskey
 violated any law - not having made any attempts.

The protest sent by
 officers of the bark
 Monticello to Deputy
 Collector of Customs.
 (Courtesy Elizabeth
 Healey.)

Samuel Falconer's
 Certificate of
 Citizenship,
 February 7,
 1889. (Courtesy
 Elizabeth Healey.)

	
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Dakota Territory.	District Court.
SIXTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT, BURLEIGH COUNTY.	
Be it Remembered, That on the <u>seventh</u> day of <u>February</u> in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and <u>eighty nine</u> , <u>Samuel Falconer</u> appeared in the District Court, said Court being a Court of Record, having common law jurisdiction, and a Clerk and Seal, and applied to the said Court to be admitted to	
BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
pursuant to the provisions of the several Acts of the Congress of the United States of America, for that purpose made and provided; and the said applicant having thereupon produced to the Court such evidence and taken such oaths as are by the said acts required;	
Thereupon it was Ordered, by the said Court, that the said applicant be admitted, and he was accordingly admitted by the said Court to be	
A Citizen of the United States of America.	
In Testimony Whereof, The Seal of the said Court is hereunto affixed, this <u>seventh</u> day of <u>February</u> one thousand eight hundred and <u>eighty nine</u> in the one hundred and <u>thirtieth</u> year of our Independence.	
By <u>William H. Hall</u> Clerk. <u>Levan Ross</u> Deputy.	

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

According to a news article in the Wilton, North Dakota, newspaper *Wilton News*, Samuel Falconer was requested to meet with President Rutherford B. Hayes and Secretary of State James G. Blaine in 1892, some sixteen years after his Pribilof Islands career ended.

An investigation of alleged irregularities in the seal fisheries during the administration of President Hayes, required the presence of Mr. Falconer in Washington City as an expert witness and while in the Capital City he met many prominent men, including President Hayes and James G. Blaine.⁹⁹

Falconer received a letter from Secretary Blaine dated and posted on April 7, 1892, calling him to Washington, D.C.:

It is desired on behalf of the United States Government that you will come to Washington in order to make a statement of your knowledge of fur seal matters on the Pribilof Islands. It will be most convenient to the Government if you can reach here on or about the 14th or 15th instant. On your arrival in Washington please report to Mr. John W. Foster at the Department of State. You will be paid your traveling expenses and a per diem while in this city. I have to request that upon receipt of this letter you will advise Mr. John W. Foster, at the Department of State, by telegraph, when you may be expected. The telegram will be paid here.¹⁰⁰

Two weeks after the Blaine letter was written, Samuel Falconer deposed for the Fur-Seal Arbitration at Washington, D.C., on April 19, 1892. His testimony, recorded by Samuel Brown, provided an historical outline of his government service in the Territory of Alaska and on the Pribilof Islands.

I am 61 years of age, and am now a wool grower by occupation. My residence is Falconer, McLean County, State of North Dakota. In 1868, during the month of October I went to Sitka, being located there as deputy collector of customs, in which position I remained until September, 1869. I then was employed until September, 1870, as purser on board the steamer *Constantine*, plying monthly between Port Townsend and Sitka.

In 1870, in the month of October, having been appointed assistant Treasury agent for the seal islands in Bering Sea, I proceeded to said islands, and from that time until August, 1876, I remained constantly in charge of St. George Island, excepting during the winter of 1874–75. For a few days during each one of these years I visited St. Paul Island, never remaining there for any length of time. . . .

In 1873, I assisted Prof. Henry W. Elliott in making his measurements and estimates of the number of seals on St. George Island. We set up stakes at some distance from the breeding rookeries while they were occupied. Then when the seals were gone we sighted along these stakes to determine the back lines of the rookeries and measured the areas thus determined with a tape line, using our judgment by observing the nature of the ground to determine the curvature of these areas. We then calculated from our observations three seals to a square yard, and multiplying the yards in the areas measured by three made our estimate.¹⁰¹

Henry W. Elliott's calculation of the average number of fur seals per square yard eventually proved grossly inaccurate.¹⁰²

Pribilof Islands Experience

After serving as Deputy Collector of Customs in Sitka and later purser aboard the Hutchinson & Kohl vessel *Constantine*, Samuel Falconer was appointed Assistant Agent for the U.S. Department of the Treasury and was assigned to the Pribilof Island of St.

George. Agent Charles Bryant made the appointment and apparently possessed authority to do so, although he required confirmation, as explained in his letter from St. Paul Island to the Honorable George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D.C., dated October 19, 1870.

Sir: On the 9th instant¹⁰³ the steamer *Constantine*, belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company [formerly owned by Hutchinson & Kohl], arrived here, bringing to me a letter of the collector of customs at San Francisco. . . . I found on board the *Constantine*, as passenger, Mr. Samuel Falconer, late deputy and acting collector at Sitka, who stated to me that he had left the service of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., and would offer his services to the Government.

Having in view the desire expressed to me by Mr. Buynitzky, in July, to be relieved this fall from his temporary duties at Saint George, in consideration of urgent family matters requiring his presence at Washington, I thought it advisable to avail myself of Mr. Falconer's offer, and, by letter of the 10th instant, I appointed him, subject to the approval of the Department, assistant special agent [Assistant Agent], at a compensation of \$6 per diem; and after his filing the customary oath of office, I instructed him to proceed, together with myself to the island of Saint George. On the 12th instant we sailed over to Saint George, where he relieved Mr. Buynitzky, who was thus made free to proceed to Washington.¹⁰⁴

Falconer went to work before receiving official approval from the Treasury Secretary of his appointment by Capt. Bryant. His first report of conditions on St. George covered the period from his appointment of October 1870 to May 14, 1871. It read, in part:

I was not long a resident of the place until I found, to my astonishment, a higher degree of civilization existing among them [native population] than I anticipated; and I am happy to add in reference to this that the new arrivals who are in the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company proved to be no ways detrimental to them in their ideas but on the contrary assisted them in carrying out this order of civilization into a higher degree of perfection. Indeed, I can not speak too highly of Mr. Brown, the agent of this company, who has been very particular in carrying out the conditions of the agreement between the company and the Government, and the many other acts of kindness shown them in aid of their comfort has rendered him quite a favorite among them.

The company has furnished abundance of everything that is necessary for the comfort and sustenance of life, and from the very low prices charged on many of the principal articles has left no room for complaints.

In speaking of these people, I may safely state that I know of no class of the human race that enjoy themselves any more than they do. Scarcely has an evening passed over their heads but they have engaged in dancing or some other amusements.

On the 1st of November last a school was reestablished for the natives, the attendance of which numbers about 25, and from the advanced state they were left in by our friend Mr. Buynitzky it was no difficult task to get along with them. They are making rapid progress, and feel anxious to learn the English language. Men who have advanced to the age of 30 and 40 attend school and [are] making equal progress.

The temperature of the weather I kept, and used Fahrenheit's thermometer. For the last two months of the year 1870 the mean temperature ranged as follows: For November, 30.80; December, 28.60; for January, 1871, mean 30.04; February, 23.22; March, 14.85, and April, 32.52. . . . On the 2d of this month the ice made its appearance and landed on the north side of the island in a limited quantity, but day after day it forced its way along from the north until it made a complete bridge between this island and that of St. Paul. Indeed, I am of opinion that the whole surface of the sea to the north of this was a solid sheet of ice. In a report given by a former agent of the Territory, it was stated that the white bear was known



Josephine and Samuel Falconer. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)



Samuel Falconer and granddaughter Josephine Swanson. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)



Baron Albert Von Steiger and wife Lillian Von Steiger. (Courtesy Elizabeth Healy.)

to frequent these islands. At that time I doubted the assertion, but to-day I am ready to indorse it. Not that I have seen any pay us a visit, but it is not but what an opportunity has presented itself for them to do so.¹⁰⁵

Samuel Falconer served as assistant agent at St. George Island for a year and a half before his official certificate of appointment was received in March of 1872. Copies of Falconer's Treasury appointment and instructions letters were preserved in family papers, and are transcribed here:

Letter of Appointment

Treasury Department
March 13, 1872
Sir:

Under the provisions of the Act of Congress supplementary to the act entitled "An Act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska" approved Mar 5, 1872 you are hereby appointed Assistant Agent of the Treasury Department at a compensation of \$8.00 per diem.

You will also be allowed your necessary traveling expenses in going to, and returning from Alaska.

I am very respectfully
Geo. S. Boutwell
Secretary

Letter of Instruction Regarding Certificate of Apointment

Treasury Department
Washington, D. C. March 15, 1872
Sir:

I transmit herewith for your official use, a certificate of your appointment as an Assistant Agent of this Department. You will observe that this certificate is to be surrendered to the Department at the close of your term of office; and as it is designed to cancel the certificate given to each Agent upon his retiring from office, you are required to return the same to the Department at the proper time and previous to the settlement of your final account.

I am very respectfully
Geo. S. Boutwell
Secretary¹⁰⁶

Falconer's supervisor, Agent Charles Bryant, issued his new assistant agent the following assignments (excerpted) on April 24, 1872:

Sir: You are hereby assigned for duty and placed in charge of Saint George Island. It will be your duty to see that the laws of the United States concerning the taking of fur-seals under the lease with the Alaska Commercial Company are observed; that the natives are protected in all their rights. . . .

You are furnished with a blank book to keep a record of the following objects, said book to be kept on the island for future reference.

- 1st. To prepare a list which will give the full name, sex, age, and condition, whether married or single or widowed, of every man, woman, and child now living on the island.
- 2d. To prepare a list which will show the number of families and names of members living on the island.

88
 S
Treasury Department,

Mar 13th 1872.

Sir:

Under the provisions of the Act of Congress
 supplementary to the Act entitled "An Act
 to provide for the extermination of fur-bearing
 animals in Alaska," approved March 5th 1872,
 you are hereby appointed Assistant Agent
 of the Treasury Department at a compensa-
 tion of \$8.00 per diem.

You will also be allowed per diem
 traveling expenses in going to and returning
 from Alaska.

Appointment letter to
 Assistant Agent Samuel
 Falconer, March 13, 1872
 at a per diem of \$8.00.
 (Courtesy Elizabeth
 Healy.)

Very respectfully,
 Samuel Falconer, Esq. }
 Geo. S. Perkins }
 Secretary.

3d. Keep an accurate record of marriages, births, and deaths, and the cause of their death, as they occur.

4th. Keep an accurate record of changes and removals, arrivals of the natives to and from the island.

5th. Keep a daily journal of the weather, together with any observations or remarks that are likely to be of future use to the general interests of the island.

Assistant Agent Francis Lessen, a copy of whose instructions is here-with transmitted to you, will report to you to assist in the performance of these duties.¹⁰⁷

Samuel Falconer proved industrious in his responsibilities as assistant agent for the Treasury Department at St. George Island, as documented in his annual reports. Before his retirement in October 1876, he assisted in the development of the island's infrastructure, along with the agents of the Alaska Commercial Company. In 1872, he helped with the construction of the first wooden Native houses and a house for government employees. By 1873, he had outlined roads and plank walkways, and built barns and a workshop. He had a well dug for drinking water in 1874, and saw to the construction of a new church and school building, both completed in October 1876, just before he left government

service. Other detailed descriptions of St. George Island during this period are found in Emma J. McIntyre's letter to her mother (presented later in her biography). Emma's husband, William McIntyre, was the second assistant agent for the Department of the Treasury at St. George Island and served with Samuel Falconer. The following two segments of Falconer's 1873 and 1874 yearly reports offer an intimate, detailed picture of life on this island. From the 1873 report:

The material for the Government house, landed here by the steamer *Alexander* in August last, was erected according to plans and specifications, with this exception, a rock foundation was placed underneath the building instead of posts, as the plan provided, there being good material near at hand for that purpose. I also found it necessary to erect an addition 9 feet square inclosing the back door, and furnishing a suitable place for water, coal, etc.

The labor account for the erection of this building amounted to \$377, as per vouchers herewith enclosed; also please find bills to the amount of \$159.97 for necessary articles purchased for the use of the building in all, \$536.97.

I may here state that the foundation when complete cost about \$100 extra. Thus making an additional expense, but as there were no posts on the island suitable for the purpose I was compelled to use the rock, which is, in my opinion, well worth the difference.

The laborers were paid according as the work progressed through the kindness of the Alaska Commercial Company, and at the same rate per diem as paid by said company when employed by them.

Much difficulty was experienced during the erection from the continuous rains and general foul state of the weather. In consequence of this there was but one other building erected last season – by Mr. Adams, the company's agent, which was finely fitted up for a store, the old one having been converted into a schoolhouse. In September last the company's bark *Cyane* landed a large quantity of lumber for native houses, but their erection was prevented for like reasons already stated.¹⁰⁸

In August of 1874, Falconer addressed his yearly report directly to Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin H. Bristow rather than per protocol as an attachment to Agent-in-



Samuel Falconer in Dakota Territory.
(Courtesy Marilyn Valkenburg and Steven R. Day.)

Charge Charles Bryant's annual report, as he had previously done. Falconer's nine-page report included not just a general overview of activities at St. George Island during the previous year but also greater detail about the "habits and peculiarities of the fur seal."¹⁰⁹ Falconer had been assisted during the 1873–74 season by fur-seal expert Henry W. Elliott. (Elliott submitted to Secretary Bristow his 277-page *Report Upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska*, November 10, 1874, which was printed by the Government Printing Office in 1875.) During this time, Elliott had been critical of Agent Bryant's reporting of the fur-seal conditions in his communications to Professor Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian.¹¹⁰ One may infer from Elliott's overt behavior that he also exerted influence on Falconer to submit

his (Falconer's) annual report directly to the Secretary of the Treasury over the head of his supervisor, Bryant. Statements made by William H. Dall, Acting Assistant-in-Charge Alaska Coast, U.S. Coast Survey, in his November 14, 1873, letter to Spencer Baird support such an inference (see Charles Bryant's biography). In his letter, Dall also mentioned that Falconer was a great friend of Elliott's.¹¹¹ Falconer's 1874 report, excerpted below, described the physical nature of the island, the habits of the fur seal and the seals' breeding grounds, aspects of the seal harvesting, sea lions, and interesting details about the Native population. Regarding the Natives, one will note that Falconer's 1874 report was in marked contrast with his 1871 report, presented above, respecting the eagerness of the Native population to learn English.

There is on the south side of the island a small sea-lion rookery, where these animals number about 4,000. The greater portion of them remain around the island all winter, or until the ice drives them away. A great many are taken by the natives during this season for food, the flesh being of a much finer quality and flavor than that of the fur seal. The skins are used by the natives in the construction of *bidarkas* and *bidarrahs* (native boats).¹¹²

As is well known, the natives were brought by the Russians from the Aleutian Islands and were upon the island when it was ceded to the United States. They are of a dark copper color, with long, lank, and black coarse hair. The beard is very defective and never makes any appearance until the man is well advanced in years, and then only a few straggling hairs. Their medium height is below that of the European, with a few rare exceptions. . . . They are good natured and cheerful, at times slightly irascible, but are never cruel or overbearing except when under the influence of *quas*.¹¹³ They possess one trait of character, I think, peculiar to themselves; that is, they never harbor revengeful feelings. I have known them to express a dislike for a person, but when he had left the island, perhaps never to return, they remembered only the kindness they received at his hands and never spoke ill of him. They are industrious, but not avaricious, and always appear ready and willing to obey the summons of their chief or the agents of the company or the Government.

In their expenditures many of them are prodigal. This, however, may be partly attributed to the voluntary generosity of the company in providing for them comfortable houses rent free, furnishing them good wages for their labor, and supporting their widows and orphans.¹¹⁴

They are all members of the Greek Church and appear very much attached to their faith, which I have always encouraged, as I have found that their church exercises a strong influence over them for good.

The worst evil they are addicted to is *quas* drinking. This is a kind of beer they brew from flour and sugar, and sometimes from a small berry that grows upon the island. Their educational progress has not been very satisfactory, from the fact that they have an antipathy to the English tongue, believing that if their children grow up with a knowledge of our language and customs it will alienate them from the faith of their parents, and they accordingly encourage the absence of their children from the school. They desire that their children should acquire the Russian language first, in order that they may be enabled to read the liturgy of their church. For this purpose and when they have had school they would privately teach the Russian tongue, the children all assembling at a particular house for this purpose.

If a priest were stationed upon each island who would instruct them in both languages and give them to understand that an English education would in nowise conflict with their religious duties, they would in my opinion, encourage their children to attend school with more regularity. Their progress then would be swift and sure, as they are naturally apt scholars. The presence of a priest upon the island would also have a moral effect upon them

that would be invaluable, and I would respectfully recommend to the Department that some provision be made for one on each island.¹¹⁵

Interestingly, and apparently unbeknownst to Falconer, Secretary of the Treasury George Boutwell had three years earlier authorized the assigning of Russian Orthodox “curates” to each island at the behest of the Orthodox bishop at San Francisco. Secretary Boutwell wrote on July 19, 1871:

Sir,

The Russian Minister has, through the Secretary of State, by letter dated the 30th of June 1871, mentioned that the Orthodox Bishop John of San Francisco, deems it necessary, in order to supply the religious wants of the inhabitants of the Islands of St. Paul and St. George, that curates of the same religious faith should be sent to reside at said islands.

You are therefore authorized, under and by virtue of the powers conferred on me by the Joint Resolution of March 3, 1869, to allow two curates who may be furnished with the proper testimonial from said Bishop, to proceed to the islands named for the purpose of taking up their residence there at – one on each island.¹¹⁶

The next day, July 20, 1871, Secretary Boutwell sent a letter to Agent Bryant:

I transmit herewith for your information and guidance, a copy of the Department’s letter of the 19th instant, to the Collection of Customs at Sitka, Alaska, authorizing curates furnished with proper testimonials from the Orthodox Bishop John of San Francisco, to reside upon the Islands of St. Paul and St. George.¹¹⁷

Whether Agent Bryant shared this correspondence with Assistant Agent Falconer was not determined, nor is it clear that the Orthodox Church made any attempt to move a priest to St. George Island until Father Innokenty Lestenkof became the resident cleric in 1882.

Samuel Falconer remained in government service as assistant agent of St. George Island until the appointment on October 1, 1876, of Colonel George Marston of New Hampshire.

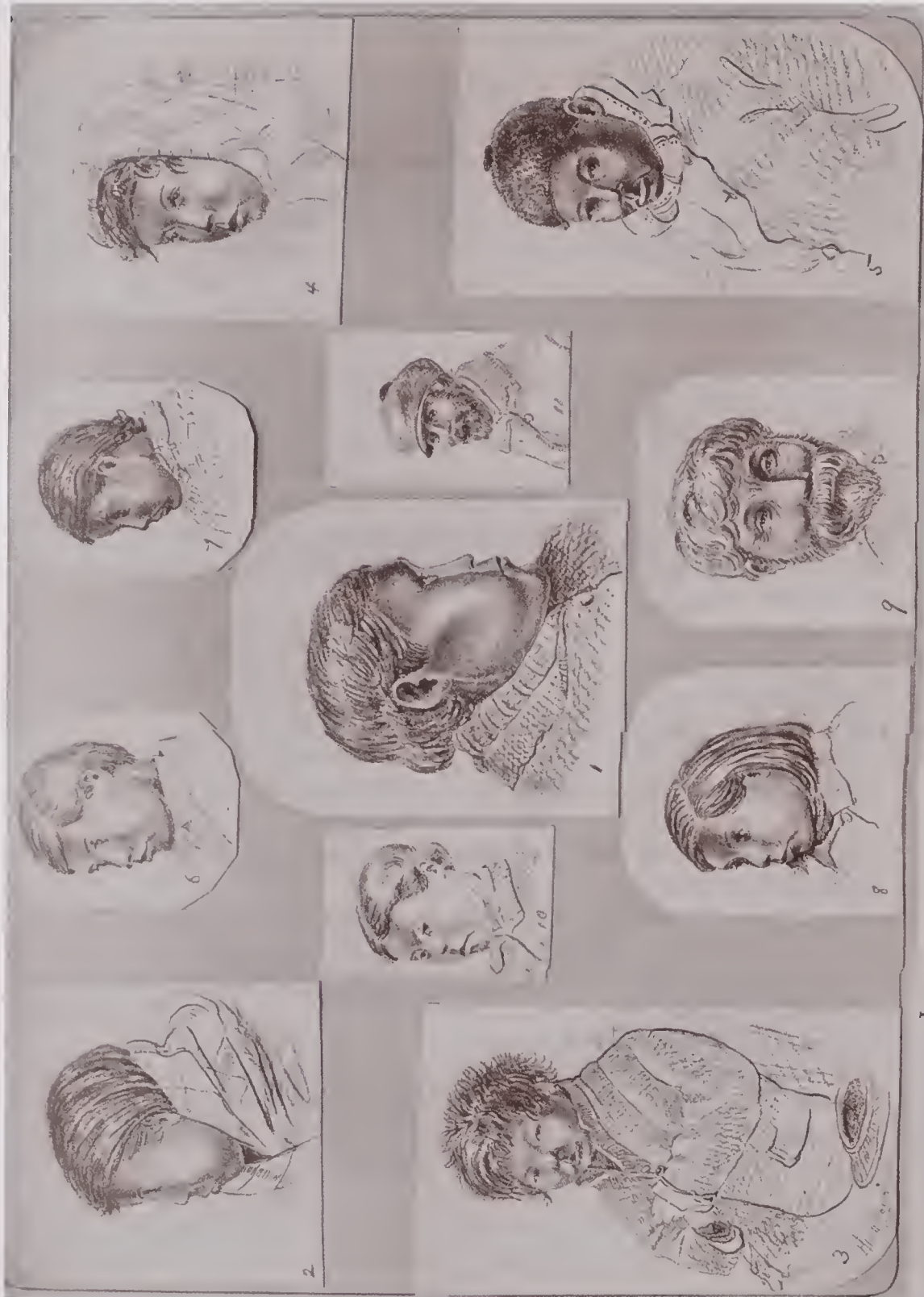
- 1 Milovidov surname spelling varies throughout the biography as found in source documents. The Register (Descendant Order) number system, established to show pedigree, is used here: [#] of descendants from the originator [1].
- 2 St. Paul Island Agents' Logs, 1873–1911; vital family data from Ancestry.com and other noted sources.
- 3 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 358.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Sannie Kenton Osborn, "Death in the Daily Life of the Ross Colony," PhD diss. (Milwaukee, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1997), 367.
- 6 Ibid., 375; note: "The Ross Colony was administratively part of the Sitka Parish," 431.
- 7 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1895, 388.
- 8 Ibid., 388–9.
- 9 A photo of Marcia, Margaret, and Alexander Melovidoff along with Nadesda and Nicolai Orloff was printed in *The Washington Post*, Nov. 11, 1890.
- 10 The spelling of the surname "Shaiashnikoff" varies among authors. Fredericka Martin employed the spelling "Kaysan Shayashnikov." The spelling used herein, "Shaiashnikov," was taken from Pierce, *Russian America*, 451. Pierce described "Kas'ian" Shaiashnikov as a longtime manager for the Russian-American Company at St. Paul Island.
- 11 Fredericka Martin Papers (unpaginated), History, box 12, Pribilof Islands folder, Arctic Encyclopedia Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Much of the information regarding Alexander Milovidov's arrival and summary of duties at the Pribilof Islands derives from an unpaginated draft manuscript by Fredericka Martin, provided courtesy of the Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Martin's draft typically lacked reference to any supporting documentation for her historical statements.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 The Hutchinson-sponsored census with the English translation is provided in Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009).
- 14 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 82.
- 15 The quoted material is taken from the St. Paul Agent's Log, Jan. 1, 1873, 15 (census section); St. Paul Agent's Log, 126, July 21, 1873 comment on Henry Elliott's marriage to Alexandra; and U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 131 n3, which provided an interesting reference to a letter dated May 1, 1864 "from the Chief Manager of the Russian American Colonies to Mr. Milovidof, Manager of St. Paul Island, vol. 1, 89"—the present authors examined *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 1, 89, but were unable to find the cited letter. The *Fur-Seal Arbitration* series contains a sixteenth volume, not recognized as volume 16 but rather titled "Facsimiles or Documents in the Alaskan Archives, Department of State of the United States, To Accompany The Case and Counter-Case of the United States as Presented to the Tribunal." Following the internal cover page, the document begins with a title, "Russian Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of the Russian American Company." The aforementioned letter attributed to Mr. Milovidof may be within this sixteenth volume. The authors have come across other citations of various page numbers within the sixteen-volume set of U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, and again were unable to find the referenced material. We conclude, rightly or wrongly, that the page numbers cited in the original draft were correct for the draft, but upon setting for publication, page numbers cited within the narrative were not changed to reflect changes in the typeset copy.
- 16 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Jan. 1, 1873, 15 (census page).
- 17 Nybom arrived in San Francisco on his brig *Constantine*, which was loaded with seal pelts, in Mar. 1868 (see Nybom's biography), and Milovidov did not die until 1870, so presumably Nybom could have concluded his arrangement with Milovidov if he had desired to.
- 18 Henry Wood Elliott correspondence on "Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Committee on the Territories" letterhead, Sunday, Apr. 2, 1922, to his daughter, courtesy of Alex S. Milovidoff.

- 19 Robert L. Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott, 1846–1930: A Retrospective Exhibition* (Anchorage: Municipality of Anchorage, 1982), 20.
- 20 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1896, 451.
- 21 Ibid., 1876, 394, 413. Anton left St. Paul for Unalaska on Mar. 16, 1876, aboard the Alaska Commercial Company schooner *General Miller*; he debarked with Agripina on May 20, 1876.
- 22 Ibid., 1890, 294.
- 23 Ibid., 1876, 486–7; and 1879, 84.
- 24 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, June 10, 1892, 142.
- 25 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 10, 1887, 4.
- 26 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 2, 335.
- 27 The reader is reminded that the spelling of “Shaiashnikov” varies in written records, and these authors have tried to simplify the reading by using a single spelling for this surname.
- 28 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, July 30, 1879, 102; May 31, 1883, 298; July 24, 1884, 347; June 2, 1887, 12; Aug. 15, 1888, 80; June 4, 1890, 225; Pierce, *Russian America*, 451–2; and U.S. Census, Alaska Territory, Unalaska Village, Unalaska, 1900–1930.
- 29 U.S. Census, 1910.
- 30 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1892, 442.
- 31 State of California, Dept. of Health Services, California Death Index, 1940–1997, Sacramento, CA.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 State of California, Dept. of Health Services, California Birth Index, 1905–1995, Sacramento, CA.
- 34 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 12.
- 35 U.S. Congress, House, “Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives,” in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 264–7.
- 36 Simeon Melovidov testified before a congressional investigation in 1888. During the course of testimony he stated that he had attended school in Napa, California, at the expense of the Alaska Commercial Company. U.S. Congress, House, *Investigation of the Fur-Seal*, 266.
- 37 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska 1* [aka *Alaska Industries*], 54th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. no. 175, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 271.
- 38 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Jan. 1, 1892, 433.
- 39 Ibid., June 29, 1911.
- 40 Ibid., June 19, 1911, and Aug. 25, 1911.
- 41 Simeon Melovidov's annual salary was \$1,200. U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor. House Resolution no. 73. To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 1,013.
- 42 The records stated that many of the islands' Natives had saved over \$2,000 in 1910. U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1,017. In 1925, Simeon Melovidoff, Sr. wrote his reflection about life on St. Paul Island. He did not account for his reasons for leaving the Pribilofs, but he did address the quality of life. “The people on the islands are allowed in large measure, to govern themselves. In former years they selected their own chiefs, who dealt directly with the people and were in turn dealt with by the government official. Now the government agents appoint a man, who acts as an overseer.” (p. 4). “They [the Natives] pay nothing for rent, taxes, medical attendance or schooling and for [the] largest part of the year they get their meat free. (p. 4). “Under Government control the natives are much better off than [the] great majority of the working class anywhere in the world. They are housed in concrete and electrically lighted, comfortable homes. There is a wireless station and movie picture shows free of charge. Now since [the] seals herd increased, their earnings will increase and in time will even become wealthy.” (p. 5) “There are no Commercial Banks, but all the natives savings are kept for their accounts—at 4% in San Francisco Banks, and the accrual interest paid them annually.” (p. 6) “Two school houses presided by two competent teachers, where only English is taught.” (p. 6). “Diet of these people in summer is mostly, fresh seal meat, cod fish, and halibut; in winters reindeer, salted meats and canned meats—canned vegetables + fruit and potatoes comprise their daily diet.” (p. 7). A photocopy of Simeon's seven-page discourse was provided to the authors, courtesy of Simeon's grandson Alexander Steele Melovidoff.

- 43 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 145.
- 44 Personal communication between Alexander Simeon Melovidoff's son, Alexander Steele Melovidoff, and Betty Lindsay.
- 45 Special Collections, Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Library.
- 46 "Haskell Institute, located at Lawrence, is one of the industrial or trade schools maintained by the United States government for the education of Indian girls and boys. The institute was founded in 1882 through the efforts of Dudley C. Haskell, then a member of Congress. The citizens of Lawrence donated 280 acres of land lying south of the city for a site and Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the erection of buildings." Frank Blackmar, ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History*, vol. 1. Chicago: Standard, 1912.
- 47 Alexander Steele interviews.
- 48 Tacoma Public Library, Photography Archive notes, series A17712-2 and A9604-1.
- 49 Alex Melovidoff speaking of his WWII experience. Oral History Tape, *Voices of WWII. Army/Air Corps/POW*. Olympia, WA: Bristol Productions.
- 50 Craig E. Bryant, "The New England Bryant Genealogy Site," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com; Boston Biographical Review, *Biographical Review Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Plymouth County, Massachusetts* (Boston: Biographical Review, 1897), 326–7; and Charles Bryant grave monument, Sherman Cemetery, Rochester, MA, Oct. 2003.
- 51 Oct. 2003 interviews with Town Administrator Jim Huntoon, Rochester, MA; Rochester Historian Pam Robinson; and Charles S. Mendell Jr. These individuals were instrumental in gathering regional biographical information on Charles Bryant.
- 52 U.S. Congress, House, Committee of Ways and Means, *Report Regarding the Alaska Commercial Company Lease of the Fur-Seal Islands*, 44th Cong, 1st sess., H. Rep. no. 623, June 3, 1876, 95–7.
- 53 David Hunter Miller, *The Alaska Treaty* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1981), 114.
- 54 Charles Sumner, "Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the Cession of Russian America to the United States," Washington, DC: Congressional Globe Office, 45–6.
- 55 Archie W. Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska* (College, AK: Univ. of Alaska Press, 1967), 64.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 102.
- 57 George Harrington Taber IV (1801–1901), Taber Family Papers, MSS36; S-g13, ser. A, S-51, folder 1, 8 pp., Old Dartmouth Historical Soc. Library, New Bedford, MA.
- 58 <http://www.ohwy.com/ma/n/n0191238.htm> (accessed May 13, 2009); and <http://www.kinsaleinn.com/> (accessed May 13, 2009).
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 "He dictated to me, when not too tired, some of the prettiest stories of his life when at sea and in foreign countries. His friend Mr. Altinson (sp.?) wrote me at that time that we could make a nice sum for both of us by their publication." Letter from C. E. Cabot to Samuel Falconer, July 16, 1903, courtesy of Elizabeth Healy.
- 61 C. E. Cabot, "A Chapter of Alaska," *New England Magazine* 11, no. 5 (Jan. 1895): 588–96.
- 62 Capt. Bryant's niece, Janetta B. Pierce, taught school on St. Paul Island. U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 1 (1898), 100.
- 63 Boston Biographical Review, *Biographical Review Containing Life Sketches*, 326–7.
- 64 Mary Hall Leonard, "Old Rochester and Her Daughter Towns," *New England Magazine*, no. 5, July 1899.
- 65 U.S. Congress, House, *Investigation of the Fur-Seal*, 153.
- 66 William Gavitt Death Notice, <http://browning.evcpl.lib.in.us/newsearch/carddetail.asp> (accessed Nov. 17, 2003).
- 67 The word "breeding" is an apparent typographic error. The authors examined the log and found the word "breaking" was used in the sentence. "Whaling Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean through the Atlantic and Southern Indian Oceans 1844–45," Captain Isaac J. Sanford, Log of the vessel *Champion*, New Bedford, MA, New England Microfilming Project, Nov. 13, 1970, PMB film no. 263, doc. no. 72, ref. 360, Old Dartmouth Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Soc. and Whaling Museum, New Bedford, MA.
- 68 Others besides Bryant have been credited with providing Senator Sumner with the arguments used to ratify the purchase of Alaska, e.g. the Billings and Belcher Voyage explorers; Russian Telegraphic Expedition members; and the Smithsonian's Spencer F. Baird, Henry D. Rodgers, William H. Dall, and Louis Agassiz; in addition, the Library of Congress provided manuscripts by explorers

- Langsdorff, Cook, et al.; see also James Alton James, *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska* (Chicago: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1942).
- 69 Capt. Charles Bryant biography transcribed with permission from the son of Mr. Charles Mendell, Mr. Charles Seth Mendell Jr., member of the Mattapoisett Historic Museum, Mattapoisett, MA.
- 70 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 9, *Appendix To the Argument of the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 212. Neither Charles Bryant nor Hugh McIntyre visited St. George Island during 1869. U.S. Congress. House. 1898. "Special Agent Bryant: Annual Report for 1873." In U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska. Vol. 1, 41. [Also published as U.S. Congress. House. 55th Cong., 1st sess. H. Doc. 92, pt. 1.]
- 71 Pribilof Islands Collection, folder 9, Charles Bryant, University of Alaska Archives, Fairbanks, Alaska. The archives identify George S. Boutwell as the signatory of the letter. However, McCulloch remained Secretary until Mar. 3, 1869. Boutwell did not become Secretary under the new administration of Ulysses S. Grant until Mar. 12, 1869.
- 72 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 15.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Excerpt from p. 9 of *Letter of the Secretary of the Treasury Communications, Reports of Captain Charles Bryant*, U.S. Congress, Senate, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., S. Ex. Doc. no. 32 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1869).
- 75 U.S. Congress, House, H. Doc. no. 92, pt. 1, 15–6.
- 76 Ibid., 21.
- 77 Letter from William H. Dall to Spencer F. Baird, Nov. 14, 1873, 4 pp., Smithsonian Institution Archives, RU 7002, box 18, folder 23, "1873." Allegations and counter-allegations about inappropriate behavior by whites plagued the Pribilof Islands, especially in the early decades. Dall had written other damning allegations within the body of this letter regarding illicit activities of the ACC, but those paragraphs in Dall's letter were excluded from the reproduction as unrelated to Henry Elliot's condemnation of Captain Bryant. The U.S. Congress eventually conducted an investigation of the ACC; we do not know whether Dall's allegations supported the investigation, but the allegations put before the investigators were found to lack merit.
- 78 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 3–9.
- 79 Samuel and his brother William changed the spelling of the family name from Falkner to Falconer not "in the late 1880's to alleviate the confusion in receipt of mail" as otherwise suggested, but sooner, as Samuel was using that spelling in 1868. One can only speculate this change occurred when they immigrated to the United States from Canada. Samuel's niece, Hazel L. Falconer, noted the 1880 date as family oral tradition in her genealogy notebook, and it was transcribed in the book *Burleigh County: Prairie Trails to Hi-Ways*, by Bauman and Jackman (Dallas: Taylor, 1978). Unfortunately, the genealogy notebook contained numerous inaccuracies about Samuel's Alaska work, and in turn these inaccuracies were included in the Bauman and Jackman publication, as well as other family history publications. For example, Samuel's appointment to the post in Sitka, his job description, and how he obtained it are reported incorrectly. Samuel's Customs appointment did not come from Secretary of State Robert Lansing, credited with the appointment, as Lansing was only four years old in 1868; he served as Secretary of State from 1915–1920. Also, Samuel never wrote a book on the fur-seal rookeries although he did assist Henry W. Elliott in measurements and gathered information for Elliott's 1873 publication. Hazel Falconer spent many years collecting family history; the notebooks of her work are with Dorothy Falconer, Bismarck, ND. Pages 139–42 are referenced here.
- 80 Sandra Anderson, Montreal, Canada; Ancestry.com; Steven R. Day, Mukilteo, Washington, phone conversation with Betty Lindsay, Oct. 15, 2005; and Hazel Falconer family history notebook, 141.
- 81 "Von Steiger Met Death Fighting with Worthless Guns Supplied by Government," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, Mar. 17, 1906, 3.
- 82 "Francis" was Frank Robert's christened name. Hazel Falconer family history notebooks, 141, courtesy Dorothy L. Falconer, Bismarck, ND, Oct. 2005.
- 83 Dakota Territory Census Records, 1885, North Dakota State University Library, Bismarck, ND.
- 84 "Pioneer Citizen Stricken Sunday. Judge S. A. Falconer Passes Away," *Wilton News* (Wilton, ND), Dec. 24, 1915, ; and North Dakota Heritage Center, State Historical Society, Bismarck, ND.
- 85 Emil Teichmann, *A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868: Being a Diary of the Late Emil Teichmann* (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, 1963), 190; and "Washington," *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1868, 5.

- 86 Hugh McCulloch, "Report of the Secretary of the Treasury," Appendix to the Congressional Globe, Dec. 1, 1868, 18.
- 87 Samuel Falconer Certificate courtesy of Elizabeth Healy Private Collection, Lynnwood, WA.
- 88 "Passengers Sailed," *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1868, 8; and U.S. Supreme Court, *Kinthead vs. United States*, 150 U.S. 483, 502–4, 1893.
- 89 Pierce, *Russian America*, 225.
- 90 Invitation courtesy of Elizabeth Healy Private Collection, Lynnwood, WA.
- 91 Taber Family Papers, 7. The two special agents referred to in the letter were Charles Bryant and Hugh McIntyre.
- 92 Invitation to the Officers Ball of the Army, Navy, Revenue Service and the Citizens of Sitka, Feb. 8, 1869. Courtesy of Elizabeth Healy Private Collection.
- 93 J. Potts Esq. Master of Bark *Monticello* to Samuel Falconer Dept. Collector protesting against the seizure of one quarter cask whisky, Feb. 27, 1869, courtesy of Elizabeth Healy Private Collection.
- 94 The bark *Monticello* of New London, Conn., was one of thirty-one whaling ships lost in the Arctic ice in Nov. 1871. "Polar Sea Perils, Particulars of the Loss of the Arctic Whaling Fleet," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1871, 2.
- 95 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, vol 1, 9–10.
- 96 "Obituary, Samuel A. Falconer," *Wilton News* (Wilton, ND), Dec. 24, 1915, front page.
- 97 Mary Ann Barnes Williams, *Pioneer Days of Washburn, North Dakota* (Washburn, ND: Mary Ann Barnes Williams, 1936), 108.
- 98 Naturalization Records, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND; Dakota Territory Census Records 1885, North Dakota State University Library, Bismarck, ND; McLean County, ND, Bureau Land Management Records, Warranty Deed; McLean Township's History, <http://www.roots-web.com/~ndmclean/McLeanTownships/>; City Clerk, City of Wilton, ND; and "Obituary, Samuel A. Falconer," *Wilton News*.
- 99 "Pioneer Citizen Stricken Sunday. Judge S. A. Falconer Passes Away," *Wilton News*, Wilton, ND, Dec. 24, 1915, 1; and North Dakota Heritage Center, State Historical Society, Bismarck, ND.
- 100 Letter courtesy Elizabeth Healy.
- 101 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 160–3.
- 102 Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780, 1984, 9.
- 103 The term "instant" was routinely used to mean "in the present month," in comparison to "ultimo" to mean "in the preceding month."
- 104 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, 38–9.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 22–3.
- 106 Secretary of the Treasury George S. Boutwell to Samuel Falconer, Mar. 1872: Appointment as Assistant Agent to the Dept. of the Treasury; Instructions in reference to certificate of appointment. Transcribed from the original, courtesy Elizabeth Healy.
- 107 U.S. Congress, House, "Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting, in Response to Resolution of the House of Representatives, Information Relating to the Seal-Fisheries in Alaska," in *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*, 44th Cong., 1st sess, Ex. Doc. no. 83, Washington, DC: GPO, 101.
- 108 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 48–9.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 110 H. W. Elliott to Spencer F. Baird, May 1873, SIA RU 7002, box 19, folder 29, 2.
- 111 William H. Dall to Spencer F. Baird, Nov. 14, 1873, 1, SIA RU 7002, box 18, folder 23, "1873".
- 112 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 60.
- 113 *Quas* has been described as a sour Native beer. Other common spellings are "quass" and "qvass."
- 114 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 60.
- 115 Samuel Falconer notebook journal, courtesy of Elizabeth Healy Private Collection; and U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 60–1.
- 116 George S. Boutwell to William Kafrus Esq., Collector of Customs, Sitka, Alaska, July 19, 1871. Pribilof Islands Coll., folder 9, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Archives.
- 117 George S. Boutwell to Capt. Charles Bryant Esq., Special Agent, Treasury Dept., St. Pauls Island, Alaska, July 20, 1871. Pribilof Islands Coll., folder 9, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Archives.



INHABITANTS OF ST. PAUL'S ISLAND--WINTER OF 1872-'73.

1. <i>Luka Mandriyan</i> , 53 years.	5. <i>Kerick Arkashan</i> , 15 years.	9. <i>Phillip Volkov</i> , 52 years.
2. <i>Paraskivie Seribneekova</i> , 14 years.	6. <i>Aggie Kooshin</i> , 17 years.	10. <i>Anoneka Meesekin</i> , 14 years.
3. <i>Nicolai Ne-derazon</i> , 9 years.	7. <i>Fevronia Ivanov</i> , 11 years.	11. <i>Demetri Vcatkin</i> , 54 years.
4. <i>Akylenu Seribneekova</i> , 10 years.	8. <i>Matroona Volkov</i> , 14 years.	

Inhabitants of St. Paul's Island—Winter of 1872-'73. *Henry Wood Elliott*, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH ON THE PRIBILOF ISLANDS

The Russian Orthodox faith, or Orthodoxy,¹ permeated Native life throughout the Aleutian Islands and became no less important in the Seal Islands. First introduced by the Russian promyshlenniki and merchants such as Gregorii Shelikov, and later (from 1794) aided by missionary monks, Russian Orthodoxy was accepted by the Unangan/Unangas as their own faith for reasons best explained by experts on the subject (see Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, 1984; Afonsky, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska, 1794–1917*, 1977; and Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission*, 1992). The Russian-American Company, established in 1799, furthered the spread of Orthodoxy beyond the Aleutians, such that it became the predominant faith in the Territory of Alaska during the 19th century.²

Russian-American Company employees, including many Aleuts, built the first chapel at St. George Island in 1833 using driftwood collected along the shoreline.³ They dedicated the chapel to *Sv. Georgii Pobedonosets*, or St. George the Victor.⁴ The little chapel survived until it was replaced in 1876.



In 1897, Alexander Kedrovsky, Dean of the Unalaska Region, with the assistance of the St. George Island priest, Father Rafael Kedrovsky, consecrated the 1876 chapel as St. George Island's first church, Church of St. George the Victorious, Holy Martyr.⁵

Sv. Georgii Pobedonosets, or St. George the Victor Chapel, St. George Island. The chapel was constructed of driftwood in 1833. Image from a stereograph taken by Alaska Commercial Company Superintendent, Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre, 1872. (Courtesy of Hugh H. McIntyre, grandson of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre.)



Chapel constructed in 1840, St. Paul Island. This image (cropped) was taken by Alphonse Louis Pinart, circa 1871. (Courtesy Bancroft Library, Univ. of California Berkeley.)



Chapel, St. Paul Island, constructed of driftwood in 1840. The image is from a stereograph taken by Alaska Commercial Company Superintendent Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre, 1872. (Courtesy Hugh H. McIntyre, grandson of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre.)

In 1934, construction began on a new place of worship to replace the deteriorating Church of St. George the Victorious, Holy Martyr.⁶ In 1936, Bishop Alexii consecrated the new Church of St. George.⁷ The St. George Island Agent and Caretaker, John W. Lipke, noted in his Annual Report of 1935:

It is the Agents understanding that all materials for the construction of this church are to be furnished by the natives, all the labor is to be furnished by the Bureau of Fisheries, and then only at times when it will not interfere with other Government [sic] work.⁸

Agent Lipke had moved to St. Paul Island by the time of the 1936 Annual Report, which was submitted by Agent and Caretaker Lee. C. McMillin, who wrote:

Natives this year [1936] are building themselves a new church. It is considerable [sic] bigger than the old one. Has a full basement and will be heated by a furnace. Material and supplies for this has been paid for from the Church funds. This is exclusive of their canteen funds. At present writing the church is nearing completion altho it will take them quite a while to finish it as they are only allowed to work in it during working hours only when it will not interfere with the Bureau's activities.

Rt. Rev. Alexy [Alexii], Bishop of Alaska, spent the winter on St. George as priest of the Church in place of Rev. Shabanoff who is out to the States on vacation. Bishop Alexy expects to dedicate the New Church before he leaves in May.⁹

During WWII, the St. George church served as a chapel for troops of all faiths stationed on the island, and its bell tower was used as a look-out post.¹⁰ Forty years after the war the Aleuts received compensation for damage inflicted by U.S. military troops upon churches throughout

the Aleutians as well as on St. Paul and St. George islands. As amended, the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Act of 1988 authorized a Congressional appropriation of \$4.7 million to restore six churches. A report by the Aleutian-Pribilof Islands Association (APIA)—*Making It Right: Restitution for Churches Damaged and Lost During the Aleut Relocation in World War II*—helped determine the level of compensation.¹¹ Finally, in 1997–98, the Church of St. George the Victorious was renovated at a cost of \$771,368.¹²

A chapel built in 1821 on St. Paul Island was dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle.¹³ Like the first chapel on St. George Island, it was constructed of wood rather than sod (many of the dwellings were of sod). In 1840, a new and larger chapel was built using funds provided by the Russian-American Company.¹⁴

In 1869, two years after the cession of Russian America to the United States, President Ulysses S. Grant sent Special Indian Commissioner Vincent Colyer to the Pribilof Islands. Colyer's report on his St. Paul Island visit included only one reference to the church:

The priest, who officiates in a neatly-built church, receives one hundred and thirty dollars per annum. He is not in orders, and hardly ranks as a deacon in the church. The priest from Unalaska occasionally comes up and administers the sacrament.¹⁵

The first full-time priest came to St. Paul Island in 1875. Under the terms of a 20-year lease awarded by the U.S. government to the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) in 1870, the ACC had the right to harvest 100,000 fur seals per year in the Pribilofs, but it also had responsibility for maintaining the welfare of the Aleut residents. In 1873, the ACC began efforts to replace the Russian-American Company chapel at St. Paul Island with a church. In that regard government Agent Charles Bryant wrote in his annual report dated September 20, 1873:

The [Alaska Commercial Company] steamer [Alexander] also brought two carpenters from San Francisco to frame and build a church for the natives, the people of both Saint Paul and Saint George having last year agreed with the Alaska Commercial Company to furnish the materials and a part of the labor for this purpose, to pay for which a fund nearly sufficient has been already accumulated, by setting aside for that object two first-class shares of the seal fund annually. The materials have since then been landed on the islands, and the church on Saint Paul has been raised and boarded, and will be completed before another year; that on Saint George will be built during the ensuing winter.¹⁶



Saints Peter and Paul Church (1875–1905), built by Hamden McIntyre, St. Paul Island, 1890s. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-245.)



St. George Village, St. George Island, 1890s. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-405.)



St. George the Victorious Church (1875–1936), St. George Island, 1890s. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-295.)

The company apparently sent two additional carpenters, Messrs. Mossman and Davidson, from San Francisco to help the Natives build the church.¹⁷ The Church of Saints Peter and Paul was completed in 1875. How much the ACC contributed to the cost is unclear, as the records were likely among those lost during the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, but much of the cost was donated by the St. Paul Island Native sealing crew.¹⁸ Several anecdotal notes about the church were found in government agents' logs, excerpted here:

June 29, 1876
Church Bells

They raised the nine bells to the Belfry of the new church today. They went up as nice as a pin, the largest but one was raised at just half past ten A.M. We stood and saw it go up into place fast and easy as one could snatch a kiss. The bells were cast in Boston, the whole weight of the nine__ (illegible)__ lbs. They cost here some \$3,000 about \$1,000 was for freight & percentage. They came from Philadelphia by the Alaska Commercial Company's new Steamer *St. Paul* as she came round to San Francisco to run on this line. The Co. Agents had told us all winter that the Alaska Commercial Co. was going to give the bells to the Church, but it turns out to be a near relative to the widows Support Stories.¹⁹

May 20, 1877
Church Dedication

The new Greek Church was dedicated today by Father Euakenta Shaisnekoff of Ounalaska assisted by Father Paul Shisnekoff of this place. Service was from 7:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. At the close of the services Father Euakenta addressed the people relative to an order of the Treasury Agent prohibiting the manufacture and use of beer on the two islands. . . . thanks were extended by the priest on the part of the people to the Alaska Commercial Company for the interest manifested by the company in the building of the church. Also, to Mr. Hamden W. McIntyre the architect and builder. The edifice was commenced in 1873 and has cost the people \$14,000.00."²⁰

The buildings on the Pribilof Islands are exposed to harsh weather, and all the buildings show it. The 1875 church soon required replacement. In 1905, San Francisco architect Nathaniel Blaisdell began work on the island's fourth place of worship. The design did not include the traditional onion domes. On August 14, 1907, Bishop Innocent (Pustynsky) consecrated the new church, located a bit north of the church it was replacing.²¹

The St. Paul church endured insults similar to those inflicted on the St. George church during WWII. On June 6, 1980, the U.S. Department of the Interior included Saint George the Great Martyr Orthodox Church and the Church of Saints Peter and Paul on the National Register of Historic Places. In 2001, funds made available by the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Act of 1988 led to the full restoration of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul. In 2007, in celebration of its one hundredth year, the St. Paul Island community, led by Father Maxim Isaac, constructed and placed a traditional onion dome atop the church's bell tower.

In 1975, community leader Agafon Krukoff Jr. summarized the importance of the church to the people of the Pribilof Islands:

The people have known Christianity all their lives, as did their forefathers. During the hard years of dictatorial rule under the Russian flag and continuing under the American flag, the Orthodox Church gave them their only hope for freedom. And now, nearly 200 years later,



Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious, St. George Island, late 1930s (Courtesy William Manderville, SG80.)



Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious, St. George Island, late 1930s. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG81.)



Right Reverend Archimandrite Theodosius blessing Zapadni Chapel, St. George Island, circa 1936–37. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG85.)



Saints Peter and Paul Church and graveyard (on right) with cemetery in background, St. Paul Island, 1952. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, 22-RB-1952-30.)

the ugliest of the hardships are gone; the Church to them has proved its strength. The Orthodox Church still stands and with a full congregation that is still supported by the whole population of St. Paul [and St. George].²²

The Russian Orthodox faith was the foundation of inner fortitude for the Pribilof Islands Unaaġin during their lives under the oppressive administrations of both Russia and the United States. For this reason, we have included genealogies when the information was readily available and biographical sketches as a tribute to the Seal Islands' clergy up to circa 1983, when direct U.S. oversight of the islands came to an end.



Ekaterina Krukoff with child outside the Government House (near right) with the new Church of Saints Peter and Paul in the background, St. Paul Island, 1907. Also shown is a Russian-American Company cannon (lower left). (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Photographs, 1907-1921.)



Procession leaving the new Church of Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island, 1907. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: Walter I. Lembkey. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Photographs, 1907–1921.)



Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, with the new onion dome constructed by Reverend Father Maxim Isaac, August 29, 2007. (Photo: NOAA, David Winandy.)

PRIBILOF ISLANDS CLERGY—ST. GEORGE ISLAND

St. George Island was served by visiting clergy from San Francisco or Unalaska until 1882, except for brief intervals during transitions. The Agents' Logs would typically note these visits, for example:

On the 29th ultimo [July 1872] the company's steamer H. M. Hutchinson touched here, having on board the Rev. Father Nickoli, who attended to the spiritual wants of the people and performed the marriage ceremony for eight couples.²³

Resident Priests on St. George Island²⁴

1882–1895	Reverend Father Innokenty (Innokenti) M. Lestenkof
1896–1898	Father Rafael Kedrovsky
1898–1930	Father Peter Kashevarof (Kashevarov)
1932–1935	Father Stefon (Stephan) Shabanoff
1935–1936	Bishop Alexii (Alexay) Panteleev
1937–1961	Archimandrite Theodosy Kulchitsky
1963–1964	Reverend Father Michael Lestenkof
1970–1978	Reverend Father Elary Gromoff
1979–1982	Father George Pletnikoff

1882–1895: REVEREND FATHER INNOKENTY (INNOKENTI) M. LESTENKOV
(LESTENKOF) (1832–1895)

Genealogy

[1] Lestenkof, Reverend Innokenty, b. 1832, Attu Island, Russian America, tall, thin, short red-dish hair, blue eyes, 40-50 ish?; d. May 14, 1895²⁵

m. Elisaveta (Elizabeth) Petrov of Atka, b. September 17, 1834, Bering Island, Russia; d. April 15, 1899, St. George Island, Alaska

[2] Dimitri (Dimitrii, Demetri, Dimitry), b. May 27, 1862, Atka, Russian America

[3] Helena, b. May 21, 1867, Atka, Russian America; d. May 14, 1894, St. George Island, Alaska

[4] Mary, b. February 9, 1870, Atka, Alaska

[5] Michael, b. September 30, 1873, Atka, Alaska

[6] Sarah, b. August 27, 1877, Unalaska, Alaska

[2] Lestenkof, Dimitri, b. May 27, 1862, Atka, Russian America; d. April 27, 1928, St. George Island, Alaska

m1. Alexandra Vickaloff (1884), b. 1868 on St. George Island, Alaska, daughter of Platone Vickaloff and Kickolea; d. February 2, 1889 of consumption

[2a] Alexander, b. September 3, 1885; d. January 3, 1886, St. George Island, Alaska

[2b] Inis (Anna), b. September 21, 1887, St. George Island, Alaska

Mark Merculief, adopted, b. 1885 of Oulian Merculief, daughter of Kuprien Merculief

m2. Alexandra Tetov (Tetoff) (August 30, 1897), St. Paul Island, Alaska, b. circa 1879, St.

Paul Island, Alaska²⁶

[2c] Constantine, b. September 27, 1898, St. George Island, Alaska; d. December 30, 1943

[2d] Peter, b. February 04, 1903, St. George Island, Alaska; d. July 08, 1903

[2e] Agnes, b. January 25, 1906, St. George Island, Alaska; d. November 26, 1906

[2f] Elizabeth, b. September 01, 1907, St. George Island, Alaska; d. March 13, 1994

[2g] Innokenty, b. August 05, 1909, St. George Island, Alaska; d. January 15, 1977

[2h] Theodore, b. June 06, 1912, St. George Island, Alaska; d. June 1996

[2i] Michael, b. October 13, 1913, St. George Island, Alaska; d. July 11, 2003

[2j] Ludmilla, b. September 06, 1915, St. George Island, Alaska; d. January 17, 1998

[2k] Alvin, b. May 11, 1917, St. George Island, Alaska; d. September 27, 1920

Biographical Sketch

Reverend Father Innokenty Lestekov was the “son of the manager [Mikhail Innokentovich Lestekov]²⁷ of the Russian-American Company post at Attu Island. He first entered church service in 1846 and was ordained a priest in 1880. He served Unalaska until his departure for St. George Island where he arrived on October 3, 1882. He presided as priest at the Church of Saint George the Victorious until his death in 1895.”²⁸



Church procession in St. George Village presided over by Reverend Father Innokenty Lestekov (center), St. George Island, 1894. (Charles S. Hamlin Papers, 728-36, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

Newly arrived in 1893, Treasury Agent-in-Charge Joseph Crowley ordered Assistant Agent Joseph Murray to recognize Rev. Lestenkoff's family as members of the St. George community. Why a family that had resided on the island since 1882 was not previously considered part of the community is unknown.

The family of Rev. Innokenty Lestenkoff [sic] shall be considered as a family of natives, and receive supplies accordingly. His son Michael, who is a member of the family, shall in the matter of the distribution of supplies be regarded as its head, and orders for the family supplies shall be issued to him. And a double ration of coal shall be issued to the family so long as sickness prevails therein as at present.²⁹

1896–1898: FATHER RAFAEL KEDROVSKY

Biographical Sketch

Father Rafael Kedrovsky was born in Russia. According to church historian Barbara Sweetland Smith, Father Kedrovsky led a lonely life at St. George Island. Fearing that the residents were members of the once fearsome Tlingit tribe, he refused to eat their food, which consisted of seal meat and birds. During his two-year residency, Father Kedrovsky inventoried the church furnishings; his foresight provided invaluable information about the early church icons and other items. After WWII that information became an essential component for undertaking the church restoration.³⁰

1898–1930: FATHER PETER KASHEVAROF (KASHEVAROV) (1857–1930)



Father Peter Kashevarof, St. George Island, December 1922. (Photo: Edward C. Johnston, neg. 1964. NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)

Genealogy

Father Peter Kashevarof, Creole son of Father Peter Phillipov Kashevarof, was born at Kodiak, Alaska, in 1857.³¹ Peter Kashevarof was the youngest of four brothers, the others being Andrew, Nicholas, and Vasillii.

Biographical Sketch

Peter Kashevarof served as a deacon at Belkofsky for twelve years before being ordained a priest in 1898 by Bishop Nicholas (Ziorov). He arrived at St. George Island the same year and remained until his death in 1930.³²



Father Peter Kashevarof in the Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Photographs, 1907–1921.)

1932–1935: FATHER STEFON (STEPHAN) SHABANOFF

Biographical Sketch

Father Stefon Shabanoff was said to have emigrated from Russia by way of China, seeking political asylum after the Russian Revolution of 1917. He eventually made his way to the United States and arrived at St. George Island on February 11, 1932. While on St. George Island, he planned to replace the sixty-year-old church with a new one. During a visit to Seattle in 1935 to purchase materials for the new building, Father Stefon was transferred to an unknown destination.³³

1935–1936: BISHOP ALEXII (ALEXAY) PANTELEEV

Biographical Sketch

Alexander Pantelev was born in Russia and ordained a priest in his hometown of Velikii Ustiug, Russia. His first assignment as a priest was at Unalaska in 1910–12. While in the Aleutians, he traveled extensively and became fluent in the Aleut language. After serving as Dean of the Cathedral at Sitka and following the death of his wife, Father Alexander took monastic vows and assumed the name Alexii. He became Bishop of San Francisco in 1927, and was named the Bishop of Alaska in the mid-1930s.³⁴

During the winter of 1935–36, Bishop Alexii arrived at St. George Island to fill the vacancy left by the departure of Father Shabanoff. Bishop Alexii departed St. George for St. Paul Island on May 13, 1936, after consecrating the new church.³⁵ During his stay on St. George he wrote music with lyrics in Aleut for various Lenten services, and he tutored the island choir, which became well-respected throughout the diocese.³⁶

1937–1961: ARCHIMANDRITE THEodosy (THEodosIOUS) KULCHITSKY (CIRCA 1885–1961)

Biographical Sketch

Theodosy Kulchitsky³⁷ emigrated from Russia to the United States in 1909 at the age of twenty-four and within four years had become a monk. On September 3, 1937, “The Right Rev. Theodore Kulschizky [sic] arrived to take up duties as Priest for St. George Native church.”³⁸

Theodosy Kulchitsky accompanied the St. George community when the Native residents were evacuated to Funter Bay during WWII. The Agent and Caretaker’s 1941 Annual Report offered the following observation:

Father Theodosy, listed with ‘Visitors’, is not an actual visitor, since he is priest of the Church here and his salary is paid by the Native Community. It just goes to show, as Father Baranoff once said, there are three kinds of people on the Pribilofs, viz. white employees, natives and priests. The same difficulty of listing him is encountered in making up the Annual Census, where he is simply shown separate from the Natives and Government Employees, with no heading.³⁹

Archimandrite Theodosy continued to serve the St. George community until his death in 1961. He encouraged several well-respected Aleut men to become church leaders, including Father Michael Lestenkof, Deacon Father Andronik Kashevarof, and Father Paul Merculief.⁴⁰



Archimandrite Theodosy, St. George Island, 1954. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC-241.)



*Nikolai Merculief, Andronik Kashevarof, Archimandrite Theodosy, and an unidentified young man.
(Courtesy Father Paul Merculief.)*

1963–1964: REVEREND FATHER MICHAEL LESTENKOF

See biography under St. Paul Island priests⁴¹

1970–1978: REVEREND FATHER ELARY GROMOFF (1901–1981)

Genealogy

The June 30, 1906, St. Paul Island Census listed Elary (Gromof) Stepetin Jr. as the adopted son of Nicoli (Nicolai) and Ouliana (Iuliania and Juliana) Gromof. Under “Remarks” in the 1906 census, it was stated that Elary Jr. was the son of Elary and Anna Stepetin.⁴² Elary Stepetin was born in 1863 at St. Paul Island and died in 1923.⁴³ Anna Stepetin (maiden name unknown) was born at Unalaska. Elary and Anna Stepetin also had daughters Ouliana Stepetin⁴⁴ and Pavla (Paola, Paula, Parla) Stepetin. Pavla Stepetin and Elary Stepetin Jr. were adopted by Nicoli Gromof (b. Atka) and Ouliana Gromof (maiden name possibly Cushing [Kushin, Kochutin?])⁴⁵ born at St. Paul Island January 2, 1869.

By 1916, Elary Stepetin Jr. took the last name of Gromoff Jr.⁴⁶ Elary Gromoff Jr. married Mary Tcheripanof of Akutan on May 1, 1923. Mary was the daughter of Motfer Tcheripanof of Akutan.⁴⁷ Elary and Mary Gromoff had three children: Smile Vick, Alexandra, and Augusta.⁴⁸ Smile Vick Gromoff was ordained Ishmael Vick Gromoff.⁴⁹ Archpriest Ishmael Vick Gromoff “served as priest for many Alaskan villages, including Atka, Old Harbor, and Unalaska. He was also an Aleut Culture and Language instructor at the Unalaska City School.”⁵⁰

The fate of Ouliana Stepetin [2] is uncertain as her name did not reappear in the Pribilof Islands census records after 1895.⁵¹ Elary Gromoff Jr. died in February 1981 at Las Vegas, Nevada, and is interred at St. Paul Island, Alaska.

- [1] Elary Stepetin, b. July 24, 1863; d. July 4, 1923
 m. Anna (surname unknown), b. February 13, 1871, Unalaska⁵²
 - [2] Ouliana (Ouleana), b. 1887
 - [3] Pavla, b. June 28, 1892; m. William (Willie) McGlashin (1912); b. Unalaska, circa 1891⁵³
 - [4] Elary Jr., b. July 24, 1901

- [4] Elary Stepetin Gromoff Jr., d. February 1981, Las Vegas, Nevada
 - m.1. Mary Tcheripanof (May 1, 1923), b. October 22, 1903, Akutan, Alaska; d. 1929, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2a] Smile (ordained Ishmael) Vick, b. June 30, 1924, St. Paul Island, Alaska; d. June 6, 1993
 - [2b] Alexandra (Alice), b. May 14, 1926
 - [2c] Augusta, b. December 6, 1927, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - m.2. Elizabeth, b. September 01, 1907; d. March 13, 1994
 - [2d] Evgania (Jeanie), b. February 27, 1935, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2e] Nicolai, died in childhood, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2f] Elary, died aged 6 months, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2g] Zenia (Zena), b. October 8, 1944, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2h] Elary Jr. (Peanuts), b. June 7, 1949, St. Paul Island, Alaska
 - [2i] Piama, b. March 16, 1951, St. Paul Island, Alaska

Biographical Sketch

Elary Stepetin Gromoff was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Pribilovians during their efforts to gain access to their inherent civil rights in the 1940s and 1950s. He was revered for his knowledge, intelligence, and leadership abilities. Elary Stepetin Gromoff provided community leadership along with his brother Gabriel (Gabe) Stepetin: they became the first president and vice-president, respectively, of the St. Paul Chapter of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Gromoff later became one of the first members of the Aleut Community Council on St. Paul. He participated in all the council meetings regarding the Pribilovians' freedom, and he wrote letters pleading with the government for better treatment of the islands' Natives.

Elary Stepetin Gromoff ran the Point Warehouse, a storage facility for government-owned tools and other supplies. (The warehouse burned down in the late 1980s.) He also owned the only ice cream shop on St. Paul Island and was caretaker of one of the island's four communal camp houses; he built and maintained the camp house at Tasmania, along St. Paul's extreme northwest shoreline. It is still, in 2008, the most remote cabin on the island.

The Father Elary Stepetin Gromoff began his religious vocation of forty-five years as a reader for the Church of Saints Peter and Paul on St. Paul Island. In February 1970,



Group of young women including second, fourth, and fifth from the left: Alexandra Orloff (daughter of Rev. John Orloff), Justina Nozekoff, and Paula (Stepetin) McGlashan. (USUAFV6-45, Pribilof Islands Photographs, 1914, 1976-0063-00196, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Heretina Kochergin, Fredericka Martin, and Alexandra (Alice) Gromoff, circa 1942. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-244, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Alexandra (Alice) Gromoff, daughter of Rev. Elary Gromoff, St. Paul Island, date uncertain. (Fredericka Martin Photo Coll., 91-223-308, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

Elary Gromoff was ordained a priest by Alaska's Bishop Thodosius (Lazor) and assigned to the Church of St. George the Victorious.⁵⁴ Father Gromoff was one of at least three members of the Pribilof Islands clergy to celebrate the Mass in Slavonic, Unangam Tunuu, and English.⁵⁵

His daughter Zenia (Zena) founded the fashionable Zena Jeans line of clothing, a company that is still thriving today. His son Elary Jr., from a second marriage, was the first Alaska Native to enter West Point Military Academy⁵⁶ and the first Native American to graduate from the Academy. One of Father Gromoff's daughters became a flight attendant on Pan American World Airways. His daughter, Alexandra (Alice), attended New York University and settled in Seattle after graduation. She married Augustine Tu and the couple resided near Lake City, Washington.

A portrait of Elary Gromoff Sr., Gabe Stepetin, Mamant Emanoff, Peter Kochergin, and John Misikin hangs in the St. Paul Island City Council chambers.⁵⁷

PRIBILOF ISLANDS CLERGY—ST. PAUL ISLAND

Resident Priests at St. Paul Island⁵⁸

1848–1875: Reverend Father Innokenty Shaiashnikov (Shaiashnikoff)⁵⁹

1875–1893: Reverend Father Paul Shaiashnikov

1893–1901: Reverend Father Nikolai Rysev

1901–1915: Reverend Father John Orloff (Orlov)

1917–1924: Father Gregory Kochergin

1924–1929: Archimandrite Gregory Prozorov

1929–1936: Archimandrite John Zlobin

1936–1960: Reverend Father Makary Baranov⁶⁰

1961–1962: Father Peter Bankerovich

1962–1964: Father Simeon Oskolkoff

1964–1985: Reverend Father Michael Lestenkof

1848–1875: REVEREND FATHER INNOKENTY (INNOKENTII)**SHAIASHNIKOV (SHAIASHNIKOFF, SHAYASHNIKOV) (1824–1883)**Genealogy

Innokenty Shaiashnikov was born on St. Paul Island in 1824. Innokenty was the son of Russian-American Company manager on St. Paul Island, Deacon Kass'ian⁶¹ Shaiashnikov and Nadezhda (surname unknown).

- [1] Kass'ian Shaiashnikov, d. January 2, 1859, Unalashka⁶²

m.1. Nadezhda (July 8, 1827); d. date unknown

[2] Innokenty, b. 1824, St. Paul Island, Russian America

[3] Mariia, bp. (baptized) July 13, 1827, St. Paul Island, Russian America

[4] Pavel, b. June 29, 1835, St. Paul Island, Russian America

[5] Petr, b. 1839, St. Paul Island, Russian America

[6] Kseniia, b. January 22, 1838, St. Paul Island, Russian America

[7] Zakharii, b. February 5, 1841, St. Paul Island, Russian America

m.2. Iustiniia Kochergin (August 4, 1850); d. March 6, 1863

[8] Mariia, b.?.; d. January 16, 1852

[9] Kassian, b. February 25, 1852

[10] Evdokiia, b. February 26, 1854

[11] Petr, b. June 29, 1855; d. September 4, 1865 [1865?]

- [2] Innokenty, b. 1824; d. April 14, 1883

m. Mariia Alekseev (August 23, 1848), Unalashka

[2a] Elena, b. 1850

[2b] Ioann, b. 1854

[2c] Nadezhda, b. 1856

[2d] Aleksandr, b. 1858

[2e] Vasili, b. 1860

[2f] Mariia, b. 1864

[2g] Ioann, b. 1865

[2h] Petr b. ?

[2i] Nikolai b. ?

Biographical Sketch

Innokenty trained for the Orthodox clergy at Atka under the Reverend Iakov Netsvetov, and became the first Alaska Native to become a priest. Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov) ordained Reverend Father Innokenty in 1848 at St. Michael. As dean of the Aleutian District, Father Innokenty served St. Paul Island and various Aleutian communities from his base in Unalaska. He is credited with translating numerous church texts into Aleut, including the Acts of the Apostles, which was initiated by Father Andrew Siztsov.⁶³ He is also remembered as a teacher with exceptional musical talent. In 1844, before his appointment as dean, he accompanied Father Iakov to begin a mission at Yukon in Russian America (Ft. Yukon, Alaska).⁶⁴

1875–1893: REVEREND FATHER PAUL SHAIASHNIKOV (1835–1896)



Father Paul Shaiashnikov in Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, 1892. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC231, neg. 46456.)

Genealogy

Father Paul (Pavel) Shaiashnikov [4] was the brother of Innokenty Shaiashnikov [2],⁶⁵ and was born June 29, 1835, to Deacon Kass'ian Shaiashnikov [1] and Nadezhda (surname unknown) of St. Paul Island.

A St. Paul Island census taken on January 1, 1873, offered the following vital data:

Paval Shiesneekov, age 38

Meesher [Mishu], his son age 13

(June 1, 1873, father and son left for Ounalska on a visit)⁶⁶

Biographical Sketch

Father Paul's father, Kass'ian Shaiashnikov, was a Creole who served as chief manager of the Pribilof Islands for the Russian-American Company⁶⁷ and is credited with using his own funds to build St. Paul Island's first chapel in 1821.⁶⁸ In 1875, after completing studies at the Cathedral School in San Francisco, Father Paul became the first resident priest at St. Paul Island and arrived in time to see the completion of the island's first church.⁶⁹ He succeeded his brother, Innokenty, who had served the island on periodic visits from his official post at Unalaska. Father Paul provided dedicated service to the people of the St. Paul Island Aleut community until 1893.

The St. Paul Island Agent's Log recorded the arrival of the Shaiashnikoff brothers aboard the *Alexander*:

Father Innocent Shaiashnikoff Arch Priest of the Russian Greek Church on affairs of business connected with the church. Also, Father Paul Shaiashnikoff and son Mishu who went from here in 1872 to San Francisco to be ordained by the Bishop there and qualified for the pastorate of this island.⁷⁰

In 1892, North American Commercial Company Agent Joseph Stanley-Brown reported his own personal conflicts with what he saw as the moral perspectives of the church and of Father Paul himself (topics such as finances, marriage or lack thereof, and education) as regards the Pribilof Islands Natives.⁷¹ Stanley-Brown's report may or may not have influenced Father Paul's replacement the next year.

The Rev. Paul Shaiashnikoff remained a resident of St. Paul Island after his replacement's arrival in 1893. He died on the island on October 14, 1896.

The church bell was tolled during his departure, a custom in the Greek Church when a Priest is dying.⁷²

The natives made a coffin, and dug the grave under the eaves of the church for Father Paul Shaiashnikoff. They took the body to the church at 5 o'clock this evening. They will watch with him in the church during the night, and bury him in the morning.⁷³

1893–1901: REVEREND FATHER NIKOLAI RYSEV (1829–1911)

Genealogy

Nikolai Rysev was born in 1829 at Sitka, Alaska. He was the son of Russian-born Stefan Rysev and Natalia Maliutin, an Aleut. Father Rysev married Marina Tapkin of Sitka in 1851, and the couple had ten children. Father Rysev died at age eighty-two on August 19, 1911. He is buried at Holy Ascension Cathedral Cemetery at Unalaska, as are his wife and son Ivan Rysev.⁷⁴

Biographical Sketch

Nikolai Rysev worked for the Russian-American Company at Sitka and subsequently served Russia in the Crimean War. In 1873, at the age of forty-four, he entered the clergy and initially served as a reader at Kodiak. Eight years later he was ordained a priest. In 1893, he relocated to St. Paul Island as the community’s second resident priest; he served until 1901.⁷⁵ The Paul Island Agent’s Log noted: “Rev. Resoff and family, parish priest arrives, August 21, 1893.”⁷⁶

On September 18, 1897, Joseph Murray recorded in the Agent’s Log:

They have some 17 Holydays of Obligation during the year, which they like to observe as they do the Sabbath; and I have promised to allow them to do so except in cases when vessels are to be discharged or laden to which they have agreed. The following named days are those which are to be kept holy:

Jan. 6th	Christmas
Jan. 13th	New Year (Russian Calendar)
Jan 18th	Baptism of Christ
Feb. 14th	Candlemass Day
April 6th	Annunciation Day
May 20th	St. John the Theologian’s Day
May 21st	St. Nicholas Day
July 11th	St. Paul’s Day
August 18th	Transfiguration of Our Lord
August 27th	Assumption of the Holy Virgin
Sept 10th	Beheading of St. John the Baptist
Sept 20th	Birth of the Holy Virgin
Sept 26th	Exaltation of the Cross
Oct 13th	The feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin
Nov 20th	St. Michael’s Day
Dec 3rd	Presentation of Virgin Mary to the Church
Dec 18th	St. Nicholas the Thaumaturgist
Palm Sunday:	Easter: Mid Pentecost: Ascension Day: Trinity Sunday. ⁷⁷

The observance of these holy days may appear silly to some “Modern Thinkers;” but it should be borne in mind that our Native people are still very far behind our modern notions of doubt and disbelief and that “Religion to them is a reality not to be doubted, or called in question, under any circumstances. But off from the world of modern thought, as they are, their only comfort in life is their firm belief in a personal God: a literal heaven and hell; death, and resurrection to eternal bliss—and I feel it to be best to enable them to take all the comfort they can out of such belief and such surroundings, and consequently I have promised to give them the holidays named.

Reverend Father Nikolai started a Russian Church School on St. Paul Island in 1898. The following letter from Rev. Rysev was transcribed by the Treasury Agent-in-Charge, Joseph Murray, into his log:

St. Paul Island, Alaska
May 9th, 1898
Mr. Joseph Murray
U.S. Treasury Agent

Dear Sir: In accordance with your request that I explain my position on the question of the proposed Russian School on St. Paul Island, I will say that my ecclesiastical superior, Rev. Alexander Kedroosky of Unalaska district, has instructed me to open a Russian School, to be opened daily, from the closing of the Public School in May to its opening in September. I herewith enclose a list of the daily lessons to be taught in the Russian School.

Very Respectfully,
N.S. Rysev
Priest of S. Paul Island Russ. Church

Reverend Father Nikolai included his list of proposed daily exercises. Reverend Nikolai mentioned about five months of church schooling, whereas Agent Murray or his assistant penned "for eight months."⁷⁸

On May 15, 1898, Agent Murray replied to Reverend Nikolai's request:

Rev. Nicoli S. Reese.

Dear Sir: In reply to your favor of the 9th inst. in which you inform me that your "Ecclesiastical Superior" at Unalaska has instructed you to open a Russian School on St. Paul Island "from the closing of the Public School in May to its opening in September;" I have to say that no school can be opened, or held, for any purpose during the period set apart by the United States Government for vacation for the children, after their attendance at the Public School during the presiding eight months.

You will remember that he [Eminence Nicholis, Bishop of Alaska] asked, as a favor, that the priest be allowed to teach the gospel in the Public School building, on Saturdays and Sundays; and that both the Treasury Agent and the Superintendent of the Company agreed to have it so; but then you tell us you have been instructed to open a "Russian" School, six days per week for eight months of the year [the log book has an entry in the margin indicating "eight" should read "four" months]; and you [word illegible] use a list of daily exercises for thirty hours per week, out of which four hours only are to be given to the study of the English language.

The Bishop complained of nothing except the want of time in which to impart religious instruction to the children; and he asked that two days—Saturday and Sunday—be given up for that purpose and it was done.

The latest instructions received from the government is that: "None but English language shall be taught in the Schools." Yet in spite of the regulation, Rev. Kodrovsky orders you to open a "Russian" School for eight months and to confine the children there every day of the week; thus making it impossible for them to have a single day's exercise during the year!

There is no desire on the part of the United States or its Agents to meddle with the doctrines or dogmas of any Church, or, in any manner, to abridge the rights of the people in their mode of worship, but on the other hand, no Church can be allowed to interfere with the laws of Congress or with the regulations of the Department governing the Seal Islands.

Personally, I respectfully suggest that your Church Ritual, Catechism, and books of religious instruction generally prepared for School Children, be printed in English and introduced into the Public Schools on both the Seal Islands; thus doing away with the last and only serious cause of consternation between the priests and the Treasury Agents.⁷⁹



Nikolai Rysev in Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, 1893. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC229, neg. 101074.)

1901–1915: REVEREND FATHER JOHN E. ORLOFF (ORLOF/ORLOV) (1859–1928)

Genealogy

According to the St. Paul Island census records for 1914, John E. Orloff was born November 26, 1859 at Sitka, Russian America. He and his wife, Nadesda (surname and dates unknown) had four children: Olga, Nadia, Nicoli, and Alexandra. Nadesda Orloff died in 1901 at Sitka.⁸⁰

Biographical Sketch

John Orloff attended the Cathedral School in San Francisco, where in 1879 he was appointed song leader for the Kvikhpak (Yukon) Mission. After serving for a dozen years in the Yukon-Kuskokwim region, he was ordained a priest in 1891. In 1901, after the death of his wife, Reverend Father John relocated to St. Paul Island with his four children. He was one of at least three members of the clergy to celebrate Mass in the Pribilofs in Slavonic, Unangam Tunuu, and English.⁸¹ He oversaw construction of the community's fourth place of worship, which celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2007.



Reverend Father John Orloff, Church of Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island, circa 1907. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1907–1921.)



Reverend Father John Orloff and family (children left to right: Olga, Alexandra, Nadia, and Nicoli), St. Paul Island, July 12, 1905. (NOAA, NMML Library, VBS-2858.)⁸²



Inside Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island: Deacon Father George Kochutin (left, Aleut who later became a priest) and Father John Orloff (right). (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1907–1921.)



Reverend Father John Orloff (left foreground) following the wedding of his daughter Olga to Nicolai Kozloff (Kozlov), 1912. Olga Kozloff was the mother of Mary Kozloff Bourdukofsky. Olga's sister Alexandra Orloff Bourdukofsky is wearing a white hat and standing to the left of the bride. Mrs. Grace Lembkey stands second from the right. (Alaska State Library, Michael Z. Vinokourov Photograph Coll., P243-1-089.)



*Bridal party Village St. Paul Isd.
Pribilof group.*

Reverend Father John Orloff (left side of steps) and wedding party following a ceremony at Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, circa early 1900s. (Univ of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. Photo: N. B. Miller. PH Coll. 595.8.)

1917–1924: FATHER GREGORY KOCHERGIN (1877–1945)

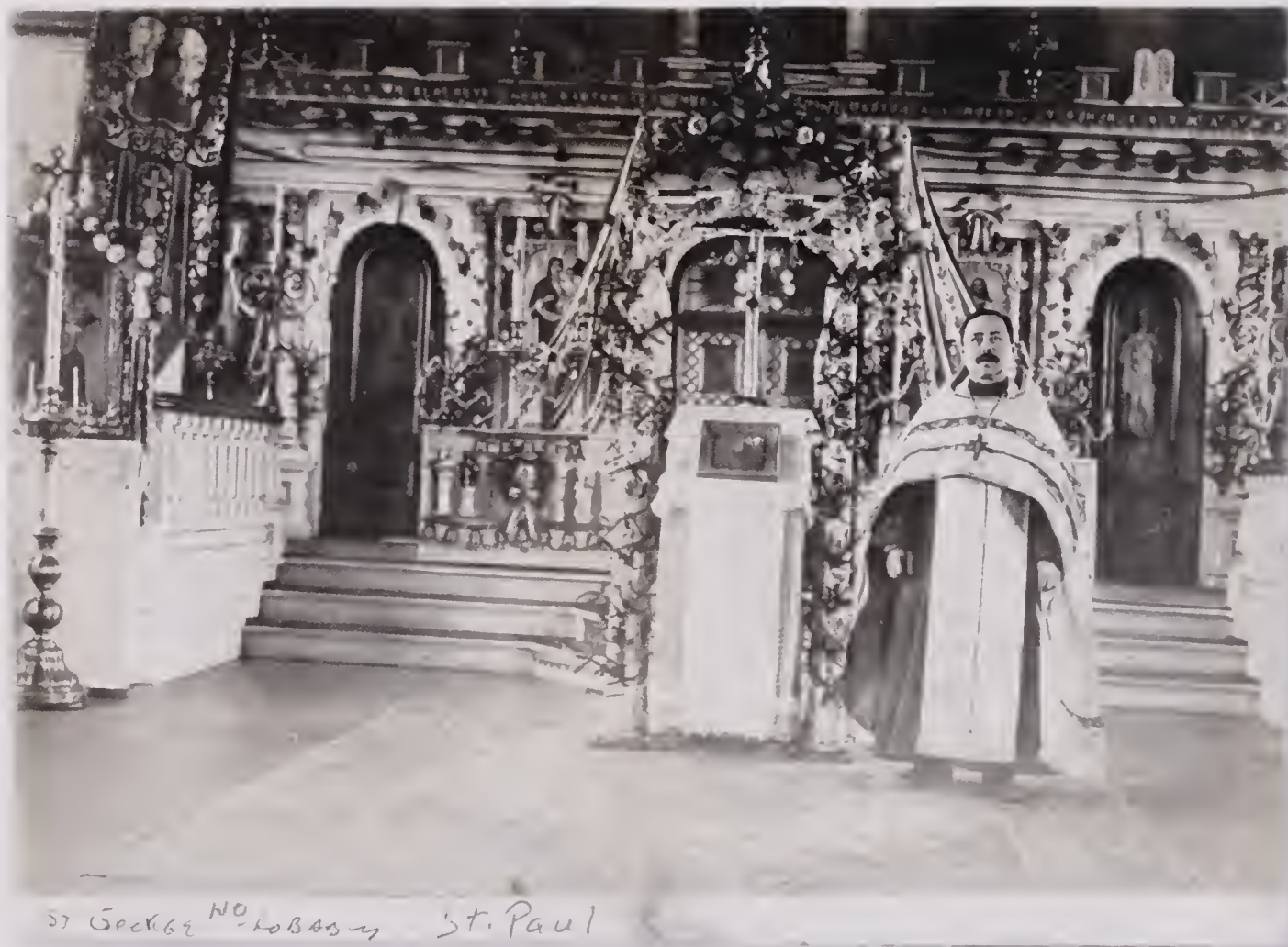
Genealogy

Gregory Kochergin was born at St. Paul Island in 1877. He died in 1945.

Biographical Sketch

Gregory Kochergin was raised on St. Paul Island and studied for three years in his later youth at the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in San Francisco, California. He returned to St. Paul Island, worked as a church reader and teacher, and was ordained by Bishop Phillip in 1917. He served as the priest for St. Paul Island during 1917–24, and thereafter served several other parishes in Alaska.⁸³

The St. Paul Island Agent's Log recorded the arrival of "Gregory Kochergin who was ordained a priest of the Russian Church at Unalaska in August, returned and was warmly welcomed by the natives."⁸⁴



Reverend Gregory Kochergin, Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, 1920s. (Courtesy Deacon Father Andronik Kashevarof, DAK29.)⁸⁵

1924–1929: ARCHIMANDRITE GREGORY PROZOROV (1867–1935)Genealogy

Gregory Prozorov⁸⁶ was born in the province of Yaroslavl, Russia, in 1867, and died in 1935.

Biographical Sketch

Father Gregory was ordained in 1891. Before moving to St. Paul Island in 1924, he served several churches on Russia's Kamchatka Peninsula. He was a widower and apparently without children. He was elevated to the rank of Archimandrite in 1926. After leaving St. Paul Island in 1929, he served several parishes in California and Canada.



Father Gregory Prozorov on St. Paul Island, 1920s. (Courtesy Deacon Father Andronik Kashevarof, DAK28.)

1929–1936: ARCHIMANDRITE JOHN ZLOBIN (1880–1959)Genealogy

John Zlobin was born in the Russian province of Saratov in 1880. He died in 1959.⁸⁷

Biographical Sketch

John Zlobin began his religious vocation as a missionary to Canada in 1910. In Canada, he became a tonsured monk, and an ordained priest the following year. He went on to serve several parishes in Canada and the United States. By 1929, when he arrived at St. Paul Island, Father Zlobin had been elevated to the rank of Archimandrite. After leaving St. Paul in 1936, he moved to Sitka, where he served the church as an administrator for the parishes of Alaska. Archimandrite Zlobin was consecrated Bishop of Alaska in 1946. He remained in that position until his 1954 retirement.

1936–1960: REVEREND FATHER MAKARY BARANOV (1883–1969)Genealogy

Makary Baranov⁸⁸ was born in 1883 and died in 1969. Makary Baranov married Zinaida (surname unknown, marriage date unknown).

Biographical Sketch

Before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Makary Baranov had a military career in Russia. He entered the priesthood in 1935, and from 1936 until his retirement in 1960, he served the St. Paul Island community.



Reverend Father Makary Baranov inside Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC 2166.)



Deacon Father Nikifer Mandregan, Saints Peter and Paul Church, circa 1950s. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC 2167.)



Reverend Father Makary Baranov performing wedding ceremony, Saints Peter and Paul Church, circa 1945–1950. (Anchorage Museum at Rasmuson Center, Clarence, and Marjorie Olson Photograph Coll., B90.8.90.)



Father Makary Baranov and three girls, St. Paul Island. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC-242.)



Reverend Father Makary Baranov performing wedding ceremony, Saints Peter and Paul Church. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC-863.)



Matushka (honorific for the wife of a priest) Baranov sewing inside the Priest's House, St. Paul Island. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 370-95-ADMC 2204.)



Matushka (Zinaida) Baranov in the church's greenhouse, St. Paul Island. (NARA, College Park, MD, 022-RB-1952-21.)

1961–1962: FATHER PETER BANKEROVICH

No additional information was readily available for Father Peter Bankerovich.

1962–1964: FATHER SIMEON OSKOLKOFF (B. 1930)Genealogy

Simeon Oskolkoff⁸⁹ was born in Anchorage, Alaska, in 1930.

Biographical Sketch

Simeon Oskolkoff was born in Anchorage and spent his childhood years in Ninilchik, Alaska. He took his priestly vows in 1952 before Bishop Amvrossy. Father Simeon served the St. Paul Island community from 1962 to 1964. He continued to serve many communities throughout Alaska until his retirement in 2003.

1964–1985: REVEREND FATHER MICHAEL D. LESTENKOF (1913–2003)Genealogy

Michael Dimitrovich Lestenkof was born at St. George Island on October 13, 1913, the son of Dimitri Innokentovich Lestenkof (b. May 27, 1862, at Atka; d. May 2, 1928, St. George Island) and Alexandra Feofilaktovna Tetov (b. May 5, 1879, St. Paul Island; d. June 2, 1939, St. George Island). Michael was the seventh of the couple's nine children.

Michael D. Lestenkof married Stefanida Lekanof in the Church of St. George the Victorious, St. George Island. Stefanida was born in 1919 on St. George Island to Serge Lekanof and Sophia Merculief Lekanof (b. September 29, 1901, St. George Island, to George Merculief and Stepanida Malavansky⁹⁰ Merculief). Michael and Stefanida had nine children:

- [2i] Michael D. Lestenkof, b. October 13, 1913; d. July 11, 2003
m. Stefanida Lekanof (September 18, 1938); b. November 16, 1919; d. June 14, 2000
- [2i-1] Nicholas Lestenkof, b. December 20, 1938
- [2i-2] June Lestenkof, b. November 15, 1941; d. July 24, 2009
- [2i-3] Michael Lestenkof, b. June 7, 1945
- [2i-4] Timon Lestenkof, b. January 4, 1947; d. February 11, 1999
- [2i-5] Maxim Lestenkof, b. January 30, 1949
- [2i-6] Phillip Lestenkof, b. November 26, 1954
- [2i-7] Agafon Lestenkof, b. March 5, 1956; d. April 7, 1969
- [2i-8] Aquilina Debbie Lestenkof, b. June 26, 1960
- [2i-9] Stephanie Doreen Lestenkof Mandregan, b. November 13, 1965

Stefanida Lestenkof died on June 14, 2000, in Anchorage. Michael and Stefanida Lestenkof are interred in the St. Paul Island cemetery on the slope of Black Bluffs.



Dimitri Lestenkov, St. George Island, December 1922. (Photo: Edward C. Johnston, neg. 1981. NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)

Biographical Sketch

Michael Dimitrovich Lestenkof, the seventh child of Dimitri Lestenkov (Atka) and Alexandra Tetov (St. Paul Island), was born on October 13, 1913, and claimed the number 13 as his lucky number. His father, Dimitri, was the eldest son of the Reverend Father Innokenty Lestenkov, who served St. George Island in the late nineteenth century. An employee of the Alaska Commercial Company at Unalaska, Dimitri moved to St. George in 1884 at the request of his father and was ordained a church reader.⁹¹

Reverend Father Michael was of the first generation of Lestenkovs born on the Pribilof Islands. Not knowing whether he was born at the thirteenth hour, he sometimes threw it in for the story. He would also say it was a Friday, but this was just in jest. It is no wonder, says his family, that he would be done visiting this land

(*tanaadaqadalix*) on the eleventh day at the eleventh hour: 11:00 a.m., July 11, 2003. Or was this so he would be buried on the thirteenth day of July? (Church tradition requires that the deceased be buried on the third day, or July 13 in Father Michael’s case.) One of his favorite sayings was from the funeral liturgy, “The Earth is the Lord’s; the round world, its fullness and all that dwell therein.” His flock found significant lessons in the way Rev. Father Michael marked time’s passages, whether humorous, humbling, or profound. His childhood nickname “*Lakuchaġ*” translates as little boy, but Michael and Stefanida grew up to become “Father” and “Matushka” of the Pribilof Islands’ Orthodox Church. Father Michael favored sayings such as, “What you are is God’s gift to you; What you make of yourself is your gift to God” and “God is Time and Time is God.”

About five years after he was born on St. George Island, *Lakuchaġ* had a vision. Awakened from sleep, he saw an iconostasis (partition or screen, decorated with icons, separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church) in the bedroom. Glancing around at his still sleeping brothers, he got out of bed, walked up to the apparition and touched it. A bit frightened by the fact that he could feel it, he jumped back in bed. Peering out from behind a blanket, *Lakuchaġ* could still see the iconostasis there in his bedroom.

Many years later, Michael came to believe that this vision was intended to let him know what to make of himself. According to “These Truths We Hold: The Holy Orthodox Church, Her Life and Teachings,” (Compiled and Edited by A Monk of St. Tikhon’s Monastery, South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1986) the iconostasis expresses the boundary between two worlds, the Divine and the human, the permanent and the transitory. It divides the two worlds but also unites them into one whole—a place where all separation is overcome and where reconciliation between God and man is

achieved. *Lakucha* began his service in 1963 as an Orthodox priest on St. George Island like his grandfather Innokenti, the first Lestenkov to live on St. George. In 1964, Reverend Father Michael transferred to St. Paul Island.⁹²

Guided by an awareness that time is not to be contended with, Reverend Father Michael lived, accepted, and trusted it as part of a greater plan. With patience, love, and humor, he helped bring God to a people who needed to get through an era of difficulty and change. He retired from serving the Pribilof Islands in 1985 and moved to Seattle, but returned to St. Paul in 1997.

For forty years of faithful service to the Russian Orthodox Church, Reverend Father Michael was awarded the Jeweled Cross. Bishop Nikolai, Diocese of Alaska, made arrangements to present the award to Reverend Father Michael during the celebration of St. Peter and St. Paul's Day on July 12, 2003. The Bishop was to arrive at St. Paul on July 11, but his flight was canceled because of mechanical problems. Reverend Father Michael died that day. He might have said to his people, some of whom also now rest on St. Paul Island, that he had already received his award. It was the gift of Memory Eternal.



*Michael and Stefanida Lestenkov.
(Courtesy Father Paul Merculief.)*

When he was six years old, *Lakucha* lost the middle finger of his left hand while playing with a conveyor belt system that was used to haul rock up from the St. Paul Island shore to a crusher. Reverend Father Michael often told the story of his sister Elizabeth carrying him to the homes of people who would feel sorry for him and give him candy, which he then had to share with his sister.

In 1929, at the age of 16, he was sent to work for a time on St. Paul Island. He recalled staying at Northeast Point during the commercial seal harvest. He told of a time when the sealers hauled bundles of fur-seal pelts on their backs from the killing grounds near Webster's house on the eastern end of the island to the western side of Big Lake. At Big Lake, a new railcar system was to haul them back into the village. However, the railcar did not work, so the men had to haul the skins all the way back to the Webster House area where there was a salt house. From that location, they would haul the sealskins by sea in *niġalan* [open skin boats] back into the village.

In 1959, Michael Lestenkov received his 30-year pin for service to the U.S. government.



Constantine Lestenkof, St. George Island, December 1922. (Photo: Edward C. Johnston, neg. 1962. NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)



Elizabeth Lestenkof, St. George Island, December 1922. (Photo: Edward C. Johnston, neg. 1961. NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)

A self-motivated and independent man, Michael Lestenkof also started his own business on the islands, first on St. George and then on St. Paul. Just how this business first came about is uncertain, but Chinese men worked as cooks on the islands at various times, and the male fur-seal penis bone (baculum) or “stick” had become a sought-after aphrodisiac in China. The general scheme operated as follows: an island Native agent with access to the killed seals would hire young boys to collect the sticks. Only boys seen as honest were chosen, as not all were considered completely honest. The Native agent (in this case, Michael Lestenkof) would take the boys to breakfast at the island mess just after the sealers left for the killing field.⁹³ After breakfast the agent transported the boys to the killing field where they waited until the sealers drove the seals to the field and killed and skinned them. The boys would then cut the “sticks” from the male carcasses and store them in a bag. At the conclusion of the daily harvest, the agent would drive the boys back to the village where they counted and deposited their sticks through a hole in a bin, one hole for each boy. The agent then collected the sticks and tacked them or hung them over a line to dry. He then arranged to sell the dried sticks to a broker, usually in San Francisco or Seattle. The broker paid the agent and the agent paid the boys. Prices paid to the boys varied with demand and quality but normally ranged between ten and twenty-five cents.

About 1960, Michael and his wife, Stefanida, were asked by the community of St. George if he was ready to become a priest. The first time, he said “yes” and she said “no,” so he was not ordained. They were asked a second time, and this time both answered, “Yes.” They said they had talked about it in great depth, about how their lives and their



Left to right: (standing) Eddie Kozloff, Terenty Philemonoff Jr., Jason Bourdukofsky, Gregory Fratis, Sophie Stepetin, Andrey Mandregan, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, Pribilof Program Director Bill Peck, Lavrenty Stepitin, NMFS Director Philip Roedel, Father Michael Lestenkof, Ignaty Hapoff, NMFS Alaska Regional Director Harry Rietze, Gabriel Stepetin, Tikhon Stepetin; NOAA Deputy Director Howard Pollock (kneeling), St. Paul Island, July 1971. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: Jim Branson. RG 370-95-ADMC-1111.)

friendships would change. They claimed they never regretted the decision. Michael was ordained in 1963 in the Sitka Cathedral. Stefanida was the force behind him, he said; everything about his “presentation” to his flock was of her doing. She loved to cook and bake and she was good at it. They had a brand new brick home, but when they became Father and Matushka, they had to vacate the house and move into the priest’s house. Matushka was not too happy about leaving a brand new home for an old one.

In later life Reverend Father Michael would say, “I was a rugged working man.” He helped to build the first plank roads on St. George Island. His first carpentry effort was for what is presently [2006] the fire house at St. George. It was his family’s first home. He built steps to a second story that a visitor said must have been “built for cows,” because they were huge and made of such thick wood. (The visitor was probably Christopher Malavansky.) After that Father Michael probably remodeled every home he lived in.

When they were transferred to St. Paul Island in August of 1964 they found the priest’s house a dark, dingy place that “only a monk would live in,” Matushka said. Remodeling took place “to make it a home.”

“When I came to the community of St. Paul, I spent the first year getting to know it; getting to know how people did things,” Reverend Father Michael said. He served for 21 years, until September of 1985. Reverend Father Michael was one of the few bilingual (English and Aleut) teachers⁹⁴ at St. Paul School, where he taught for about five years, from 1974 until 1979. He also worked as a hardware clerk to earn enough hours for a retirement pension from the federal government.

On June 13, 1985, Reverend Father Lestenkof testified during hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to amend the Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals Between the United States, Canada, Japan, and the Soviet Union (99th Congress, Senate Hearing 99-218, Treaty Doc. 99-5).⁹⁵

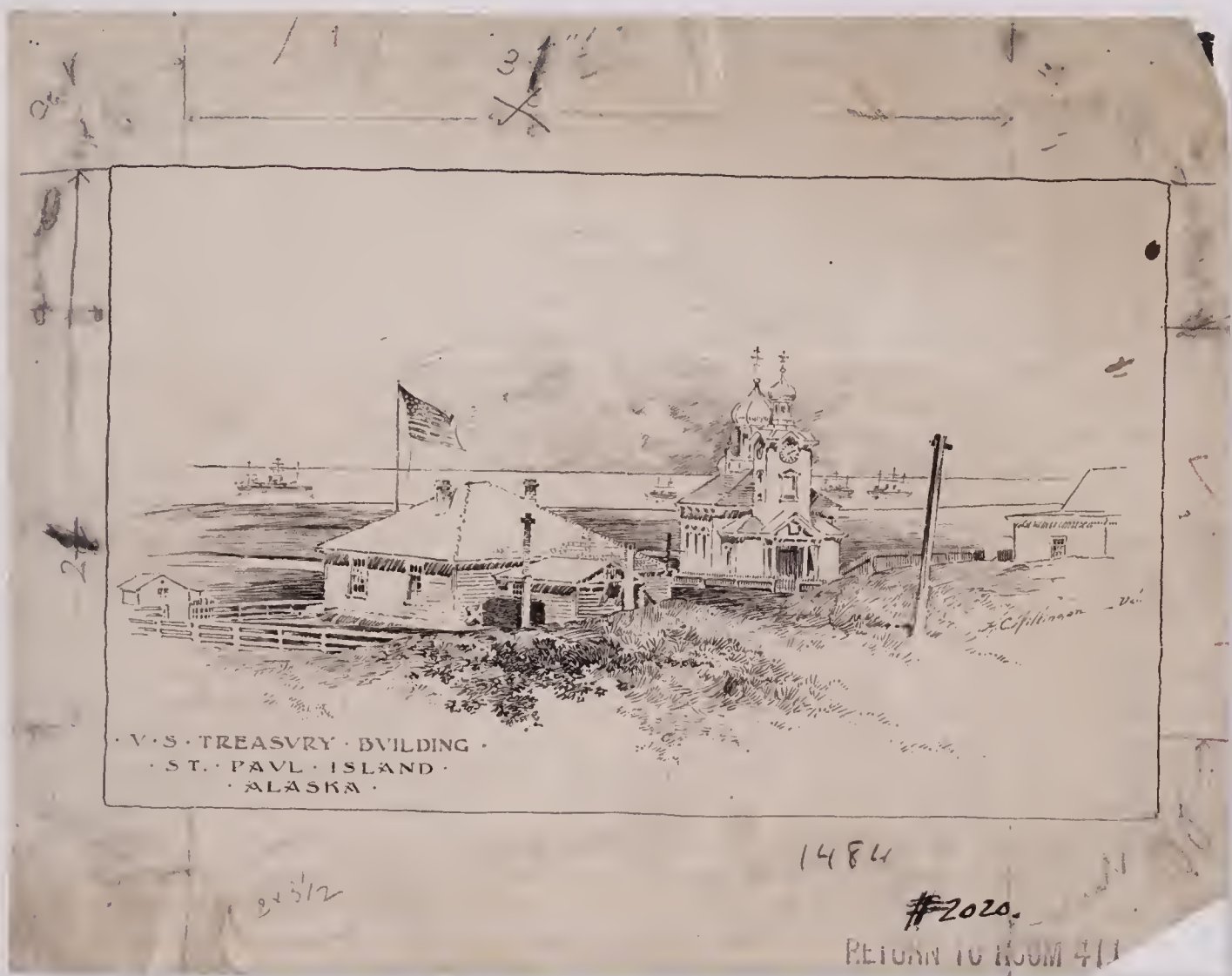
ASSEMBLY OF GOD CHURCH



Assembly of God Church (left) and parsonage (far right), St. Paul Island, March 2001. (Photo: John Lindsay, NOAA).

Purportedly, an Alaska Assembly of God Mission Church was the only other Christian church to root itself at the Pribilof Islands. Government Island Manager H. Euneau wrote in his 1965 Sealing Report on December 22, “a minister from a Protestant church did visit St. Paul Island during this year. No development has resulted from this visit as yet.” The next year a church building, relatively small in dimensions, stood near the corner of Bartlett Boulevard and Airport Road. A parsonage was also built. Several members of the St. Paul community attended the new church, wheth-

er out of curiosity or a real desire to find a satisfactory alternative is not known. The Unaaġin community never embraced the alternative faith, but the Assembly of God did provide a place of worship for visitors, transients, and some Coast Guardsmen on St. Paul Island. In the late 1990s, Minister Alvin Capener died on St. Paul Island. His wife, Lillian Capener, maintained a bed and breakfast in the parsonage until her death circa 2007. The Assembly of God ministry continued to serve Coast Guardsmen and transients into 2009. The church building went into disrepair following the passing of Rev. Capener. In 2008, the church roof collapsed, but a visiting minister continued to provide services in the parsonage.



Sketch of the U.S. Treasury Building (Government House) and Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, circa 1872 (10 x 12 inches). (NARA, College Park, MD, RG 121.)

- 1 Over the years, the literature described the Russian Orthodox faith variously: Greek Christian (David Hunter Miller, *The Alaska Treaty*, Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1981, 209); Greek Catholic (Elliott, *Report on the Prybilof Group or Seal Islands, Alaska*, Washington, DC: GPO, 1873, unpaginated); Greco-Roman, and Russian-Greco.
- 2 Suggested readings for additional information on the evolution of Orthodoxy in Alaska and the Pribilof Islands include: Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and Richard H. Geoghegan (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1984); Gregory Afonsky, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska, 1794–1917* (Kodiak, AK: St. Herman’s Theological Seminary Press, 1977); and Michael Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998). Russian Navy Captain Pavel Golovin, sent by Imperial Russia to inspect conditions within the Russian-American Company colony in 1861, offered his opinion about Aleuts and their faith: “It is true that the Aleuts accepted Christianity and tried to go to church and diligently attempted to fulfill their religious obligations, but they scarcely have a genuine conception of the benefits of the Christian religion. Persons who have a good understanding of the Aleuts feel that they would become ardent Mohammedans tomorrow, if the government ordered them to do so. The deeds of the first Russian promyshlenniki forced the Aleuts into total submission, and not one of them thinks of disobeying any Russian.” Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, eds., *The End of Russian America: Captain P. N. Golovin’s Last Report, 1862* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1979), 21. Golovin’s opinion is

- controversial.
- 3 Barbara Sweetland Smith and Patricia J. Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation: Aleut Churches in World War II* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Assoc., 1994, 53), stated that the 1833 chapel was made of driftwood, whereas Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 238, wrote that it was made of wood, suggesting that possibly rough-sawn wood was brought to the island by the Russian-American Company for that purpose.
 - 4 Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 238; and Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 53. Smith and Petrivelli's booklet provides an excellent summary of the history of Russian Orthodox churches and the people who constructed, supported, and maintained them in the Aleutians and the Pribilofs.
 - 5 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 53–4; and Barbara Sweetland Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious on St. George Island, Pribilof Islands: A History, 1833–1998* (Anchorage: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust), 10.
 - 6 This information came from a loose page in Agent John W. Lipke's Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage RG 22), 1935. The header of this single page reads, "St. George Island, Alaska, Mar. 31, 1935."
 - 7 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 55. Bishop Alexii departed St. George for St. Paul Island on May 13, 1936 (Official Journal St. George Island, Alaska, 1936).
 - 8 This information came from a loose page within Agent John W. Lipke's Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska, 1935. The header of this single page reads, "St. George Island, Alaska, Mar. 31, 1935."
 - 9 Agent McMillin, "Agent & Caretakers Annual Report for St. George Island," Mar. 31, 1936, 13. The reader will note that Agent McMillin stated church materials and supplies were paid for "exclusive of their canteen funds." Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 55, stated that funds for the church's construction were, in part, "raised through the community Canteen." Smith and Petrivelli (55) also noted that Bishop Alexii (Pantelëev) consecrated the church on May 10, 1936, and stayed on for another two years to serve the community; Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 13, stated that Bishop Alexii remained at St. George for only seven months, 32; whereas the agent's Official Journal for St. George Island, Alaska, 1936, stated that Bishop Alexii departed St. George for St. Paul Island on May 13, 1936.
 - 10 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 57.
 - 11 Barbara Sweetland Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul on Saint Paul Island, Pribilof Islands: A History, 1821–2001* (Anchorage: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust, 2007), 19.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 26.
 - 13 Veniaminov, 238, states that the chapel was dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle; and Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 5, suggested that the chapel was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul.
 - 14 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 6. A photograph of the 1840 structure is included in the Smith booklet.
 - 15 Vincent Colyer, *Report of the Hon. Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner, on the Indian Tribes and their Surroundings in Alaska Territory, from Personal Observation and Inspection in 1869*. Bancroft Library file 19633B, University of California, Berkeley.
 - 16 U.S. Congress, House, "Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to resolution of the House of Representatives, Information Relating to the Seal-Fisheries in Alaska," in *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. no. 83, Washington, DC: GPO, 1876, 99.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 105.
 - 18 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 6.
 - 19 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1876, 428. We did not find any information as to the meaning of "the widows Support Stories," although these words are clearly written in the log; they are suggestive that it was a fabrication in favor of the Alaska Commercial Company.
 - 20 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1877, 22; and Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 9, reported that the bells cost \$2,750 and were cast by William Blake & Co., Boston, MA, in 1875.
 - 21 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 12.
 - 22 Barbara Boyle Torrey, *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts* (St. Paul Island: Tanadgusix, 1978), 149, citing *Alaska Magazine*, Letters to the Editor, July 1975.
 - 23 U.S. Congress, House, *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury*, 83.
 - 24 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 54, is the source of the chronology of the serving clergy on St. George Island. Note: Orthodoxy requires a specific etiquette when addressing members

of its clergy. Deacons hold rank in the Priesthood, and are not laymen. Deacons are addressed as “Father” or “Deacon Father.” Priests are also addressed informally as “Father.” In a formal address, married Orthodox Priests are addressed as “The Reverend Father.” The wife of a Priest “in a sense shares her husband’s priesthood.” The Russian title “Matushka (Ma-toosh-ka) is applied in Western societies to the Priest’s wife. When greeted personally, Bishops are addressed as “Your Grace.” “Your Eminence” is the proper title for Bishops with suffragans or assistant Bishops, Metropolitans, and most Archbishops. Otherwise, Bishops are addressed as “The Right Reverend Bishop,” followed by their first name. Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs are addressed as “The Most Reverend Archbishop” (“Metropolitan,” or “Patriarch”). An Archimandrite (the highest monastic rank below that of Bishop), “The Very Reverend Archimandrite” (or, in the Slavic jurisdictions, “The Right Reverend Archimandrite”). http://www.orthodoxinfo.com/praxis/clergy_etiquette.aspx (accessed May 02, 2009)

- 25 “His whole life devoted to church work.” St. George Island Agent’s Log, 1895, 462.
- 26 St. George Island Census Schedule for 1897, vol. 2, 287, gave Alexandra’s age as 18.
- 27 Aquilina Lestenkof provided the full name of her ancestor in an email to John Lindsay, Mar. 3, 2008.
- 28 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 56.
- 29 St. George Island Agent’s Log, June 28, 1893, 289.
- 30 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 29.
- 31 Ibid., Smith, 30.
- 32 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 56; and Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 30.
- 33 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 31.
- 34 Ibid., 32.
- 35 Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska, 1936.
- 36 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 32.
- 37 Father Theodosy’s surname was found in a 1945 document presumably written by Carl Hoverson, acting agent and caretaker for St. George Island. The 13-page document summarizes the arrivals and departures of numerous vessels and individuals at St. George during 1944 and up to Mar. 2, 1945. It also summarized work by and pay to “Temporary Workmen” and “Permanent Improvements” made on the island. Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.
- 38 Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska, 1937, Sept. 3.
- 39 Agent’s Annual Report, St. George Island, Apr. 27, 1941. The quote was found in the unpaginated document under the heading of “Observations.”
- 40 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 33.
- 41 Ibid., 34, states that Father Michael served St. George until 1965. Father Michael’s daughter, Aquilina Lestenkof, has said that he transferred to St. Paul Island during Aug. 1964; and cf. H. Euneau, “1965 Sealing Report,” unpaginated, Dec. 22, 1965, under the subheading “Religion.”
- 42 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 338.
- 43 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 35.
- 44 The 1890 St. Paul Island Census listed Ouleanna Stepetin’s age as three, placing her birth year circa 1887. The 1894 St. Paul Island Census listed Ouleanna Stepetin’s age as four, placing her birth year circa 1890. Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 207 and 259.
- 45 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 82, 88.
- 46 Ibid., 482.
- 47 Ibid., 53.
- 48 Ibid., 590, 610, and 620.
- 49 The spelling “Ishmael” is used by the Russian Orthodox Church, and is listed in Dean Kohlhoff, *When the Wind was a River* (Seattle: Univ. Washington Press), 230. The spelling “Ishmal” was derived from Marti Murray, *Memory Eternal I: Baseline Inventory of the Burials Surrounding the Holy Ascension Cathedral at Unalaska, Alaska*. (Anchorage: Aleutian-Pribilof Islands Trust, 1997), 318; whereas the spellings “Ismael” and “Ismail” were derived from Barbara S. Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*.
- 50 Murray, *Memory Eternal I*, 317–8.
- 51 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 276.
- 52 Anna Stepetin’s birth year is suspect as it appears as both 1871 and as 1879 in numerous St. Paul Island census records. The date “February 13” and the place of birth, “Unalaska,” are not in doubt.

- The St. Paul Island census years from 1890 to 1913 note Anna's age alone without giving her birth year. Applying simple subtraction one is led to infer that her birth year is circa 1871. In 1914, the 1914 census overlapped with the Pribilof Islands Native name standardization process (see Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 2009, 3–4). Treasury Agent Henry C. Fassett transcribed information from church handwritten records. He wrote Anna's birth year as 1879. The birth year "1879" appeared in the census records from 1914 until 1925 when Anna's birth year was given as "1871." The 1871 date continued to be applied through subsequent years (see Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 2009). The authors believe the "1871" birth year is correct, especially when one compares it to the birth year of her first child, Ouliana, born in 1887. It seems reasonable to conclude that Agent Fassett erred in his original transcription in 1914.
- 53 Pavla Stepetin retained her family birth name during her life with the Gromof family. Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 2009, 207. Pavla married William "Willie" McGlashin of Unalaska in 1912 (Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 2009, 421, 441).
 - 54 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 35.
 - 55 Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska*, 196
 - 56 *Annual Report of Sealing Operations 1967, Pribilof Islands, Alaska*, U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, 1967, 9B.
 - 57 Details of biographical sketch provided by Larry Merculieff, Jan. 13, 2007, in an email to John Lindsay; also see Barbara Sweetland Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 35. Access to detailed information regarding Elary Stepetin Gromoff's second marriage eluded these authors.
 - 58 Smith and Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 62; and Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 27.
 - 59 The name "Shaiashnikov" is spelled variously. The spelling used here is taken from Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 451.
 - 60 Reverend Baranov held church services and performed weddings at St. George during Oct. 1936. Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska, 1936, Oct. 16.
 - 61 Kass'ian spelling is taken from Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 27. Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America*, 451, spelled it Kas'ian. Fredericka Martin spelled it Kaysan. Kass'ian's son, Innokenty served the Pribilof Islands periodically from Unalaska.
 - 62 Pierce, *Russian America*, 451–2, is the source for Shaiashnikov family genealogy. Ray Hudson, ed., *People of the Aleutian Islands* (Unalaska: Unalaska City School District, 1986), 100, stated that the couple had nine children; Nikolai was not among those listed by Pierce. Pierce stated that Petr Shaiashnikov died in 1965 at 110 years of age. The author's search of census records from Unalaska and Alaska could not support the 1965 date and suggest that 1865 may be a more accurate date.
 - 63 Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska*, 155.
 - 64 Pierce, *Russian America*, 451; Hudson, *People of the Aleutian Islands*, 85–6, 97; and Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 27.
 - 65 Pierce, *Russian America*, 451–2.
 - 66 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1873, 16.
 - 67 Pierce, *Russian America*, 451; and Lydia T. Black, *Russians in Alaska* (Fairbanks, AK: Univ. Alaska Press), 217.
 - 68 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 5.
 - 69 Ibid., 28.
 - 70 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1875, 319.
 - 71 Joseph Stanley-Brown, "Report of Agent J. Stanley-Brown for 1892," Dec. 1, 1892, in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 1, 331–3.
 - 72 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Oct. 14, 1896, 69.
 - 73 Ibid., Oct. 15, 1896, 69.
 - 74 Marti Murray, *Memory Eternal: A Baseline Inventory of the Burials*, 28–9.
 - 75 Much of the information respecting Father Rysev was derived from Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 28. Smith credits her information to the Department of History and Archives, Orthodox Church in America, Syosset, NY.
 - 76 St. Paul Island Agent's Log (Agent Joseph Murray), 1893, 175.
 - 77 Ibid., Sept. 18, 1897, 200–201.
 - 78 Ibid., May 15, 1898, 268–69.
 - 79 Ibid., 269. The handwritten transcription of Agent Murray's letter runs from page 269 to page 273 in the logbook.

- 80 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 29, provided most of Rev. Orloff's biography.
- 81 Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska*, 196. As an interesting anecdote, in 1912 Native Chief Nicoli Gromoff and the sealers decided that the priest, Fr. Orlov, should receive \$350 as his "first class share" of the seal revenue funding allotment distributed among the community, plus an additional \$160 from the government appropriation to support the community. The first class share represented an increase from the \$250 share previously given to the priest. St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Feb. 16, 1912.
- 82 A photo of Marcia, Margaret, and Alexander Melovidoff along with Nadesda and Nicoli Orloff was printed in *The Washington Post*, Nov. 11, 1890. The quality of the image was too poor for reproduction here. The name "Nadesda" belonged to the deceased mother of the Orloff children. These authors offer no explanation for "Nadesda" being given as the pictured girl's name, but we suggest the child's name was likely Nadia.
- 83 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 29, is the source of information about Father Kochergin.
- 84 St. Paul Agent's Log (Agent Harry Fassett), Oct. 13, 1917.
- 85 Another photograph of Rev. Gregory Kochergin can be viewed in Barrett Willoughby, *Alaska Holiday* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940), 222.
- 86 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, 30, is the source of the biographical information for Archimandrite Prozorov. Smith credits her information to the Department of History and Archives, Orthodox Church in America, Syosset, NY.
- 87 Ibid., 30, is the source of the biographical information about John Zlobin.
- 88 Ibid., 31, is the source of the biographical information about Father Baranov. Note: Smith spells Baranov's given name as both "Markary" and "Makary." We have elected to spell the name as "Makary," whereas Lindsay, Rappaport, and Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Guide to Photographs and Illustrations* spelled the name as "Markary."
- 89 Ibid., 32, is the source of the biographical information about Father Oskolkoff.
- 90 The St. George Island Agent's Log for Dec. 21, 1878, stated that Stepanida Malavansky was born out of wedlock. Aquilina Lestenkof in an email to John Lindsay on Mar. 3, 2008, stated that Stepanida's father was James C. Redpath, Alaska Commercial Company Agent.
- 91 Smith, *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr*, 28.
- 92 H. Euneau, "Sealing report" (unpaginated), Dec. 22, 1965 (Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA under the file subheading "Education"). "During this entire year [1965] St. Paul Orthodox Church has had a resident priest. Rev. Father Lestenkof [who] was transferred to St. Paul from St. George during 1964." This statement was found under the report's subheading "Religion."
- 93 More than one Native agent might have operated a seal-stick business during any given year.
- 94 Simeon Melovidov taught on St. Paul Island from 1889 to 1911. He was fluent in Aleut, Russian, and English.
- 95 Father Lestenkof's biographical sketch was written by his daughter, Aquilina Debbie Lestenkof, and transmitted to John Lindsay via email in Dec. 2006.



Boys and men preparing for "Starring" celebration to take place during the Greek Russian Christmas Holiday, St. George Island, circa 1897. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC240, neg. 034947)



*THE VILLAGE. ST. GEORGE'S ISLAND.
From the West—June 2, 1873.*

The Village. St. George's Island. From the West—June 2, 1873. Henry Wood Elliott, published in his 1873 Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska.

BIOGRAPHIES OF INDIVIDUALS

A

ABBEY, CHARLES AUGUSTUS (1841–1919)

Captain, U.S. Revenue Marine Division, 1872–1886

Genealogy

The son of Horatio Gates Abbey and Maria N. (Young) Abbey, Charles Augustus Abbey was born April 28, 1841, in Brooklyn, New York. Charles Abbey's parents separated when he was ten years old, and he then lived with his paternal aunt and her husband in the village of Rondout (later absorbed into the city of Kingston), Ulster County, New York. His father, a musician, became the founder and head of the Columbia Institute in Brooklyn. His mother served as Principal of Castle Street High School in Geneva, New York.¹ Charles Abbey married Pamela Hjonsbery in 1864, in Brooklyn, New York. Charles and Pamela had six children: Hartwell, Ella, Raymond, Lucelia, Burt and Mathew. Senior Captain Charles Augustus Abbey, U.S. Coast Guard, died at age seventy-eight in Newport, New York, on March 30, 1919.²

Biographical Sketch

Charles Abbey went to sea aboard the clipper ship *Surprise* less than a month shy of his 15th birthday in 1856, after dropping out of the Peekskill Military Academy.³ He remained a sailor throughout his life. He was promoted to captain in the U.S. Revenue



Charles Augustus Abbey, age 15. (Harpur A. Gosnell, 1937.)

Cutter Service on April 26, 1872, at New York, and by June 22, 1889, served as Inspector of Life-Saving Stations at New York.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain Charles Abbey deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 8, 1892, at Washington D.C., before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown:

I am 51 years of age, and am Captain in the Revenue Marine . . . and have been in the service for nearly twenty-eight years. From June 1886, until the latter part of August 1886, I was in charge of the revenue steamer *Corwin*, cruising in Bering Sea for the purpose of protecting seal life, the fur-seal industry, and the Government interests in Alaska generally. On June 10, 1886, I left the Columbia River, proceeding to Unalaska . . . and thence . . . the Pribilof, or Seal Islands. Soon after leaving Unalaska we began to see seals in the water about the steamer. Within seven hours after leaving Unalaska I sighted the schooner *Sierra*, of and from San Francisco, with her boats out sealing. . . . Before I could overhaul her boats were called in and all evidences of sealing were out of sight. There were seal skins in her hold; but as there was no evidence that any had been taken in Bering Sea, I disarmed her, she being without a permit for use of arms and ammunition, I let her go. The next morning sighted the schooner *City of San Diego*, of San Francisco. . . . As she also had no permit for arms and ammunition, I disarmed her.

I then called at the Pribilof Islands and cruised about them for some days without seeing any vessels of any kind. . . . returning to St. Paul . . . it was very difficult to find the island because of the dense fog . . . thence went easterly along the Aleutian Islands. On the 17th seized the schooner *San Diego*, of and from San Francisco . . . She had 577 seal skins on board, and the captain confessed to having taken seals in Bering Sea. I took her to Unalaska that night.

On August 1st I seized a boat containing three men and eight dead seals. Proceeding southeasterly, seized another boat with men and several dead seals on board. Seized the schooner *Thornton*, of and from Victoria, British Columbia. The two [smaller] boats seized belonged to the *Thornton*. The same evening seized the schooner *Carolena*, of Victoria . . . Half an hour later seized four boats belonging to the *Carolena* with dead seals on board. That night spoke [sic] schooner *Twilight*, sealing, but the captain stated they had taken no seals in Bering Sea, and on account of the schooners I had in tow I was unable to overhaul her.

The next morning at 4:10 sighted a schooner, evidently a sealer, but was unable to pursue her, owing to the fact of having the *Thornton* and *Carolena* in tow. At 4:40 a.m. spoke the schooner *Onward*, of Victoria. . . . The master acknowledged he had been sealing in Bering Sea. Boarding her and finding seal skins and unskinned dead seals on board, I seized her and took her also in tow. At 7:20 a. m. sighted another schooner, but she fled, and outsailed us. At 11 a.m., sighted a schooner under shortened sail. She at once changed her course and made all sail southeast and escaped. Reached Unalaska that night. The *Thornton* had on board four rifles and six shotguns; the *Onward*, one rifle and thirteen shotguns; the *Carolena*, four rifles, one musket, and five shotguns. Altogether, the vessels I seized had over 2,000 seal skins. My orders made no distinction as to seizing English or American vessels, and each vessel seized received the same treatment without relation to the nationality of its crew or owner. Fogs are almost constant in Bering Sea in the summer time. During the fifty-eight days I cruised in those waters fifty-four days were foggy or rainy, the other four days being partly clear. The reports of the guns of the hunters might often be heard when no vessel could be seen.

The following statements here made in relation to open-sea sealing are based upon my own observation, and also upon information I received from conversations with forty or fifty men engaged in open-sea sealing in Bering Sea. The average size of the sealing vessels is from 25 to 50 tons, and the number of the crew varies from 10 to 20 or 25. A vessel is fitted

out with about 4 to 6 boats, or 6 or 8 canoes. The white hunters used either a Winchester rifle or a double-barreled shotgun, and a gaff with a shaft 4 or 5 feet long. The Indians use a toggle-headed spear, with a shaft 7 or 8 feet in length. Each boat has a rower and one or two hunters, and is also provided with a compass, small amount of provisions, ammunition locker, seal knives, and a short club. The boats, on being lowered from the vessel, provided the water is fairly smooth, go toward all points of the compass, and I have found them as far as 6 miles from the schooner.

The white hunter in a boat, when a seal appears on the surface, if within 50 yards, fires at it. If killed outright, the seal immediately sinks, and the boat is rowed for the place where it sank; but I do not think they recover many seals thus killed, and every sealer stated that they seldom expected to get a seal when killed outright. It is almost impracticable to take a seal in the water unless it is wounded so that it is stunned, when it goes into a "flurry," similar to that of a whale when it is wounded. The boat then being pulled alongside, the seal is gaffed and dragged into it. The skill of the hunter has a great deal to do with the number of seals secured of those killed or wounded, but the most expert does not get more than half he hits and the average for hunters in general would be about three in ten. . . . the seal hunter shoots every kind of seal he sees.⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

Captain Abbey confiscated five pirate-sealing vessels during the 1886 sealing season. The *New York Times* reported on Abbey's triumph that year.

Capt. Abbey up till last spring served on the Atlantic coast, having been in command upon nearly every station on the coast from Maine to Florida. He was commanding the U.S. *Grant* [USS *Grant*] at New York when he was ordered to take the *Corwin* on last summer's hunt for seal pirates, to protect the seal fisheries and the Government interests in Alaska generally.⁵

When asked by a representative of the *New York Times*, "What condition of affairs made it necessary that you should be sent on this northern cruise?" Abbey replied:

The Government was confronted with the pressing necessity of protecting the seal upon and around the Pribilof or Seal Islands. There is the last stamping [sic] ground of the fur seal his last hope. He had been driven there and it is his last refuge. He has been exterminated from the Southern Hemisphere, and he breeds now at these islands only, and he must be protected or sealskin *sacques* will soon become curiosities. When Alaska was bought by the United States these islands, of course, were included in the purchase. Having these seals upon them they were very valuable; in fact they were the only thing then known of any particular value in Alaska, and, of course, were reserved by the United States. In 1867, the country was ceded to us, and in 1870, these islands were leased to the Alaska Commercial Company, who have the privilege of taking 100,000 seals on these island under special supervision of the officers of the Treasury Department. Section 1956 of the Revised Statutes prohibits the killing of any fur-bearing animal in Alaska or the waters thereof, except by the natives, or as otherwise provided by the lease of this company, and this lease expires in 1890.⁶

ADAMS, BENJAMIN BRISTOW (1875–1957)

Artist, Second Joint Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission, 1897



Genealogy

Born on November 11, 1875 in Washington, D.C., Benjamin Adams was the son of Special Agent of the Treasury Department Crawford C. Adams and Ada G. (Harrison) Adams. Benjamin Adams married Luella Farmer in 1902, and they had four children: Eleanor, Gertrude, Everett, and Benjamin Bristow II. Adams died at the age of 82 in Ithaca on November 19, 1957.⁷

Biographical Sketch

Benjamin Adams attended Central High School in Washington, D.C., from 1890 to 1892. In 1892, he left school to become co-founder and editor of a weekly current events teacher's magazine, *Pathfinder*. He left Washington, D.C., to attend Stanford University in California. Adams founded and edited the *Stanford Chaparral* from 1889 to 1900, and he paid his room and board by applying his journalistic experiences writing for such newspapers as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and

Bristow Adams. (Courtesy of Association Communications Excellence.)

the *Boston Transcript*. He returned to work on *Pathfinder* following his graduation from Stanford in 1900. Later, he worked as a free-lance writer and illustrator for *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, and *Country Life In America* magazines, as well as the *Washington Star*. He worked as an editor and a forester for the U.S. Forest Service's Office of Information from 1906 to 1914. In November 1914, Adams became a full professor at Cornell University's Agricultural School, now called the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences. He was in charge of publications and information besides teaching journalism, drawing and painting. After his retirement from Cornell, he held the position of mayor of Ithaca, New York from 1948 to 1955.

Pribilof Islands Experience

David Starr Jordan, Commissioner in Charge of Fur-Seal Investigations of 1896–1897, appointed Benjamin Bristow Adams as artist for the investigations at the end of Adams' freshman year at Stanford University in 1897. The commission used his eleven pen-and-ink illustrations of fur seals drawn from nature to illustrate its 1898–99 four-volume report. The original sketches are preserved at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History's Department of Paleobiology in Washington, D.C., and Cornell University's Carl Koch Library, Ithaca, New York.



*"An abducted cow." Pen and ink by Bristow Adams, circa 1897. (NMNH 1011.)*⁸

Face of fur-seal bull. Pencil drawing by Bristow Adams, August 15, 1897. (Bristow Adams Papers, Cornell Univ. Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Coll., Sealsketch 28.)



ADAMS, GEORGE RUSSELL (1845–1933)

Trader, Parrott & Company, 1868

Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1870–1876

Genealogy

George Russell Adams was born March 20, 1845, at Hallowell, Maine, the son of Samuel Adams and Philomena (Johnson) Adams. George Adams was married in 1877 at San Francisco, California, to Lillian Gertrude Hinckley, born at Blue Hill, Maine, October 26, 1857, of Otis Witham Hinckley and Sara Fisher (Stevens) Hinckley. The couple had three children born in San Francisco: Edyth L. Adams, born January 7, 1878; and twins Oliver Morton Adams and Otis Johnson Adams, born April 7, 1882. George Russell Adams died February 24, 1933, at Los Angeles, California.⁹

Biographical Sketch

George R. Adams was employed as a San Francisco fur dealer, and lived at home with his parents. He became involved with the Western Union Telegraph Expedition in 1865,¹⁰ also known as the American Telegraph Expedition per Adams' Fur-Seal Arbitration deposition given below.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

George R. Adams deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 6, 1892, before E. A. Stowell at San Francisco, California:

I am a citizen of the United States and a resident Paso Robles, Cal., where I am employed in general business. I first went to Alaska on the bark *Golden Gate*, Captain Scammon, June 10, 1865, on the American Telegraph Expedition and explored the country about Bering Sea from St. Michaels north, returning in September 1867.

In the spring of 1868, I returned to Alaska soon after its purchase by the United States. I went for the late John Parrott, of San Francisco, direct to the islands of St. Paul and St. George. We were the first parties who went to those islands after the purchase, and commenced taking seals about the 1st of July. We and the other parties took about 65,000 that year from St. George alone. We killed no females except by accident, for the reason that we thought at that time the skins of females were worthless.

No sealing was done at the Pribilof Islands during the seasons of 1869¹¹ and 1870 except for food for the natives, the Government having declared these islands a reservation, and the lessees did not perfect the lease in time to commence operations that year (1870). From the start I was employed by the Alaska Commercial Company and remained in their service until 1876, in charge of the company's business on St. George Island. During the season of 1876, I was in charge of their business at St. Paul Island.¹²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Historian Harold F. Taggart ("Sealing on St. George Island, 1868") described Adams' work under William H. Ennis, Agent for Parrott & Company at St. George Island early (April 24) in 1868. When Ennis departed to attend to filing proper papers for trading in Alaska, he left Adams and Osborne Howes Jr. in charge of the St. George sealing opera-

tions. Taggart warned his readers that Adams enjoyed telling a good tale so that some of his yarns might best be taken with a grain of salt. For example, Adams modified or clarified Ennis' real reason behind his departure from St. George. According to Adams, Ennis had to have his vessel, the *Caldera*, which had rum aboard, cleared with the government before the *Caldera* could land in Siberia. The Parrott crew, said Adams, used the rum to bribe the Natives into lightering lumber and other cargo off the *Caldera* during a religious holiday. Further, Adams claimed with relish that he got the islands' Orthodox priest "gloriously" drunk on the rum because the priest, Father Shiesnikoff,¹³ had vociferously decried Adams' disrespect for the Natives and their religion.¹⁴

During 1868, competition among rival sealing companies required either diplomacy or fisticuffs, but diplomacy eventually won out. Hutchinson, Kohl & Company held the strongest position on the islands for taking control of the seal harvest. The Company persuaded most of its competitors to enter into an agreement that allowed each to profit from the taking of the seals. In July 1868, Captain Gustaf Niebaum of Hutchinson, Kohl arrived at St. George and offered Adams a company position at St. Michael Island. Adams accepted Niebaum's offer and traveled to St. Michael aboard the brig *Constantine* to accept the former Russian-American Company property from the Russian governor, Prince Maksoutoff.¹⁵

Adams wrote of his escapades at the Pribilofs in an unpublished article titled "Pioneer Fur Sealing in Alaska."¹⁶

ADAMS, THOMAS E.

Assistant Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury

St. Paul Island, May 1893–September 1894

St. Paul Island, June 1895–August 1896

Pribilof Islands Experience

Assistant Special Agent Thomas E. Adams served on St. Paul Island under Agent Joseph Crowley from May 1893 until the end of the sealing in 1896, excepting September 1894–May 1895. It was during his stay through the winter of 1896 that the first St. Paul Village Council was formed—a result of community displeasure over the theft of materials from the doctor's residence and the village shop. A search of people's homes and other buildings located the stolen items, along with others not belonging to the culprit. The thief had been after medicinal alcohol and other materials for making home brew, or *quass*.¹⁷ The Native community selected a group of men to form a council to address the *quass* problem, as well as other community issues.¹⁸ Government officials approved of the council but insisted they also had to approve any decisions it made. During 1896, the council held at least four meetings. Adams recorded the outcomes in the Agent's Log; his record of the initial meeting read:

The First St. Paul Island Council is Formed

February 24, 1896

The immediate men who are termed a council and whom I consult with upon all matters pertaining to the community interests and welfare are: Apolan Burdukasky, Karp Buterin, Aggie Kushing, Markel Volkoff, Theo Sedick, and Martin Nederazoff.

They discuss any and all questions with the officer and are called in to confer with him related to complaints, adjustment of quarrels and punishment, this being agreeable to the community. They then communicate the result of their conferences with the govt. official to the community in a general meeting. The council after consulting with the adult natives brought to me for consideration the following regulation drafted among themselves, without suggestion from me, and asked my approval, until it was given.¹⁹

The following week the St. Paul Village Council passed its first resolution, expressing its concern about *quass* brewing. The resolution handed to Assistant Special Agent Adams for approval read:

St. Paul Island, Feb. 16, 1896

We the undersigned natives of St. Paul Island, do openly recognize and appreciate the evils of quass brewing and damaging results it makes upon domestic happiness in the community and have as the result of our own sincere wishes as well as those of Mr. T.E. Adams, U.S. Treasury Agent, organized ourselves for the supervision of quass. We agree

1st. To suppress all quass brewing and its use, even in seclusion, in this Community.

2nd. We bind ourselves to strictly observe the fulfillment of the above.

3rd. Any person or persons found guilty of violating any or part of these resolutions must undergo such punishment as shall be deemed suitable.

The First St. Paul Community Resolution is Signed

[Thirty-seven signatories]: Anton Melovidov, Apolon Bourdukoffsky, Aggie Kushing, Alex Hansen, Carp Buterin, Peter Oustigoff, Neon Mandregan, Theo Sedick, John Fratis, Markel Volkoff, Alex Melovidov, Geo. Emanoff, Elary Stepetin, Nicoli Bogodanoff, Neon Tetoff, Alex. Merculieff, John Rezuitzoff, Nicoli Gromoff, John Kochootin, Geo. Kechirgin, John Tetoff, John M. Knukoff, Vabirian Thaisnikoff, John Stepetin, John N. Knukoff, Dan Raranchin, Vassily Reduli, Euphenu Kochooten, Paul Hobenoff, Peter Tetoff, Neon Thabolin, Parfiri Pankoff, Arsony Arkashoff, Stepetin Kozerooff, Stepan Nederaloff, Kerrick Terrakanoff, Dorafany Stepetin.²⁰

The Village Council convened a third time for what became the first St. Paul Island community meeting, in the village shop. As entered into the Agent's Log:

Sunday May 10, 1896

That the natives had agreed not to shoot sea lions, not to kill sea lion pups and do all they could to protect them.

It was agreed that a library and reading room should be started and that monthly subscriptions should be taken up for the purpose of purchasing books, and an effort made to secure, by purchase or otherwise, the use of the old billiard hall.

It was agreed that all children should be kept at home after dark and more interest should be taken in the school and having the children learn.

The committee also asked that the officials of the Treasury Dept. make some enquiry relating to their money, a fund of \$15,000 or more deposited with the chancery years ago. The same being intended to draw interest, no interest has ever been received nor can they get any information themselves regarding the principle.²¹

I was asked to request of the chief agent that time be allowed the natives during the 1896 season to do the following work which is necessary for themselves and the community: viz:

- To dig two or three wells
- To construct a wash house for village use
- To construct two baths for village use

Two of the bells hanging in church yard were donated to two poor congregations, one bell to go to the native church at Kasquiquim and the other to [unreadable]

At the meeting and afterwards \$16.65 each was secured towards a library fund, more to be subscribed as the men earn some money.²²

A month later the Natives adopted another resolution, which they submitted and received council approval for. This resolution concerned the church funds:

Wednesday June 10th 1896

Resolved that the money belonging to church of St. Paul Island, Alaska, now in the hands of the church officials of said church, will not be permitted to be shipped from this island, as it is needed badly for the repairs of the church and its vicinity, also for the priests house and cemetery and its fence. [unclear] . . . on behalf of the people.

(sg'd) Simeon Melovidov, Markel Volkoff, Aggie Kushing, Karp Buterin, Martin Nederazoff, Theo. Sedick. Attest: Apolon Bourdukoffsky, chief

Approved; Thos. E. Adams, Spec Agt. in charge St. Paul Island"²³

The resolution went into effect on July 8, 1896, with a formal letter from Agent Joseph B. Crowley to the Unalaska Ecclesiastical Superintendent, Reverend Alexander Kedrousky, when granting him permission to visit St. Paul Island but not for the purpose of obtaining funds much needed by the community for their own church property.²⁴

AKERLY, DR. JAMES C. S., PhD, MD (B. 1860)

Physician, North American Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1891

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Dr. James Akerly deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 16, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California:

I am a graduate of the University of California, 1882, and a graduate of the Cooper Medical College 1885. From June to August 18th, 1891, I was Surgeon on the Revenue Marine steamer Corwin. From August 18th to November 24th, 1891, I was resident Physician on St. Paul Island, one of the Pribilof or Seal Islands. I am at present a practicing physician at Oakland, California.²⁵

ALBRECHT, CLARENCE JOHN (1891–1978)

Zoologist, Photographer, Cinematographer, and Taxidermist, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, St. Paul and St. George Islands, 1937.



C. J. ALBRECHT

Noted Explorer, Photographer, Zoologist and Animal Sculptor of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. 22 Expeditions from Africa to Arctic Alaska. Outstanding and Thrilling Motion Pictures

REDPATH BUREAU

Clarence J. Albrecht. (Special Coll., Univ. Iowa Libraries)

Genealogy

Clarence John Albrecht, the son of Frederick Albrecht and Louise (Schumacker) Albrecht, was born September 28, 1891, at Waverly, Iowa.²⁶ While living in Seattle, Washington, circa 1917, Clarence Albrecht married Connie L. Handy of Iowa. Their daughter, Connie J. Albrecht was born in Seattle in 1920. Clarence Albrecht died January 1978 in Clitherall, Otter Tail County, Minnesota.²⁷

Biographical Sketch

Clarence Albrecht graduated from Iowa State University. He “served successively as a faculty member of the University of Washington, as Curator of Zoological Exhibits in the State Museum at Seattle, and as a staff member of the American Museum of New York and Field Museum, Chicago.”²⁸ He also was a photographer, zoologist, and explorer.

Pribilof Islands Experience

In the 1930s, while working at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, Albrecht conducted a lecture series that included his Pribilof motion picture, *Ottiga, the Master of the Harem or the Life History of the Alaskan Fur Seal*.²⁹ Albrecht traveled to the Pribilof Islands in 1937 as a staff taxidermist for the Field Museum. While there, he collected forty specimens for the exhibit in the *Hall of Marine Mammals*, “made plaster casts for taxidermic work, skinned the seals on the spot, and preserved the pelts for mounting.”³⁰

ALEXANDER, ALVIN BURTON (1854–CIRCA 1920)

Fishery Expert and Photographer, U.S. Fish Commission (1888–1904)

Genealogy

Alvin Burton Alexander was born in May 1854 at Camden, Maine, to Nancy C. (Jordan) Alexander and Levi H. Alexander (1833–1911), a Lynn, Massachusetts shipbuilder and inventor. On March 4, 1885, in Lynn, Massachusetts, Alvin married Josephine B. Ryan,

born July 1857 in Nova Scotia, Canada; no children were born to them. By 1910, the Alexanders lived on Sixth Street in Washington, D.C.³¹

Biographical Sketch

Alvin Burton Alexander spent his youth in the seaport village of Lynn, Massachusetts. The 1870 U.S. Census showed him to be sixteen years old and working as a fisherman. Ten years later he remained a Lynn resident, unmarried, and working as a carpenter in his father's shipbuilding business. Alvin B. Alexander joined the U.S. Fish Commission and crewed with the *Albatross* in the North Pacific as a fisheries biologist and photographer until at least 1904. He subsequently settled in Washington, D.C., as a civil servant for the Bureau of Fisheries. His photographs of the pelagic sealing era are identified in many government and other publications by his recognizable ABA initials.³²

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Alvin B. Alexander deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 26, 1892, before H. L. Burkett at Fort Townsend, Washington:³³

Alvin B. Alexander . . . 37 years of age, a citizen of Gloucester, Mass., and have been for six years and still am an employee of the U.S. Fish Commission as a fishery expert, being detailed for service on the Fish Commission steamer *Albatross*. On March 29th I was detailed for temporary service on the United States revenue steamer *Corwin*, and am still so engaged. During my service on the *Corwin* I have cruised as far north as Yakutat Bay. I have visited, with but few exceptions, all the ports and native villages from Dixon's Entrance to and including Yakutat Bay. I have personally conversed with the Indians, owners of vessels, seal hunters, both native and white, and others engaged in the sealing business. I have been in canoes and boats, and personally observed the taking of seals by all methods practiced on this coast, and have thus sought to familiarize myself in every way with the aquatic habits of the seal, their habitat, method of capture, and all matters of interest connected with the sealing industry.

From my general knowledge of natural history, from my study of the habits of seals, as well as from the opportunities I have had to acquaint myself with the sources of destruction which are at work, I firmly believe that pelagic sealing would not only account for the diminution of the seal herd, but if continued the seals will inevitably be commercially destroyed.³⁴

An excerpt of Alvin Alexander's testimony was used by the British to counter the popular claim that continued to the near-present day (2008) that the fur seal sinks almost immediately upon being shot. To the contrary, Alexander stated:

It has been my observation that the rapidity with which seals sink is influenced by several conditions. A pregnant female will sink less quickly than a male of equal size. If a seal be shot at a time when the air is well exhausted in the lungs, it will sink more quickly than if killed when the lungs are inflated. If a seal is asleep and shot in the back of the head it will float for several minutes, thus enabling the hunter to secure it.³⁵

Regardless of this view promoted by the British, Alexander offered additional details as to why the nearly indiscriminate killing of seals by pelagic sealers was significantly contributing to the diminution of the herd.³⁶

ALGER, MERLE EMMITT (1906–1995)

Assistant Sealing Agent, St. Paul Island, 1935–1937



Merle Alger holding seal pup, St. Paul Island. (Courtesy Rebecca Kirby.)

West Virginian Gets Post on Bering Isle

WASHINGTON, March 2. (AP) —Constable Merle E. Alger of Charles Town, Jefferson county, W. Va., got a job today, but he has to go almost to the North Pole to begin work.

On recommendation of Representative Randolph, Democrat, West Virginia, he was appointed a member of the bureau of fisheries staff on the Pribiloff islands in the Bering sea, not far from the Arctic circle.

The islands are rocky bits of land covered with only stunted Arctic vegetation — frequented chiefly by seals, which go there for the summer.

Constable Alger will sail from Seattle April 23 and will take his wife and daughter with him.

"Alger has a love of adventure," Randolph said. "He wanted to go to the Pribiloff islands."

Genealogy

Merle Emmitt Alger was born September 13, 1906, at Springfield, Page County, Virginia, the son of Hubert Abraham Alger and Nora Bell (Burner) Alger. At Charles Town, West Virginia, in 1924, Merle Alger married Rebecca Amy Campbell, born at Kearneysville, West Virginia (January 10, 1907), daughter of John Thomas Campbell and Rebecca (Strider) Campbell. Merle and Rebecca Alger's daughter, Rebecca "Becky" Alger, was born in 1927 at Charles Town. Merle Emmitt Alger died at Charles Town on February 17, 1995.³⁷

Biographical Sketch

Merle Alger spent his early years as a farm boy in Springfield, Virginia. As a teenager he lived with his parents and family in Ranson, Jefferson County, West Virginia. In 1927, Alger became a Jefferson County constable in Charles Town, a position he held until May of 1935, at which time he left the town for his assignment with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to assist with the sealing operations on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska.

Alger's grandson, Dr. Douglas Allara, recalled being told how his grandfather Merle got the Pribilof assignment. "It was the middle of the Depression era and when Grandfather was approached by his well-known acquaintance, West Virginia's Senator Jennings Randolph, and asked, 'Do you want a job in Alaska assisting with the sealing industry at the Pribilof Islands? You and your family will have housing, food, all expenses paid for.' . . . He answered yes."³⁸

Upon his return to Charles Town from Alaska, Merle Alger was appointed Justice of the Peace and served in that position for Jefferson County until June 1975. Upon his retirement,

"West Virginian Gets Post on Bering Isle."
(Charleston Daily Mail, March 20, 1935,
2.)

the 68 year old said he has heard about 20,500 criminal cases and about 9,000 civil cases during his tenure in the court. . . . Alger said he won't miss his work, adding, "I was always busy and enjoyed it, but I can't take it anymore."³⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

Merle E. Alger, his wife Rebecca, and their daughter Becky arrived at St. Paul Island on May 12, 1935, just as the sealing season had begun. Alger's first assignment was leading a crew of twelve temporary island men in clearing rock from the Reef Point seal runway. Several years later the Agent's Report told why such work was necessary:

The Reef seal-way at the point where it commences near the main Reef haul-out grounds, has lain across fields of great stones. In times past many seals have bruised themselves by falls when, during drives, they have scrambled from one boulder to another. Resulting from these injuries, large discolored areas developed in the pelts, to their commercial depreciation."⁴⁰

Besides working on the seal runway, Alger helped with various other jobs during 1935, as noted in the Agent's Log: repairing the road at the radio station; driving the truck and hauling carcasses for the by-products plant with the sealing gang; and after sealing season, taking charge of the crew cleaning Ice House Lake.⁴¹

During Alger's stay on St. Paul Island, the Agent Log recorded that he was foreman for repair and replacement of damaged roadways, in particular Northeast Point Road, which took most of 1937 to complete.

The new scoria road toward Marunich on St. Paul Island, which branches westward from the Northeast Point Road near Halfway Point, was extended one-half mile. Considerable work was done in repairing Northeast Point Road, including the sodding of sand dune along the roadway. Some repairs also were made on Zapadni Road. In the spring there was built a retaining wall for the road bank around Big Lake, where high water and continuous south winds had caused considerable damage during the winter.⁴²

While on St. Paul Island, Alger observed the arrivals of the Japanese training ship *Hakuyo Maru* each July during 1935–37. The ship and crew came to the island at least one day each year during Alger's time on the Pribilof Islands, and each year they played



Ivory ring carved by Merle Alger. (Courtesy Rebecca Kirby.)

Real Fisherman To Tell Tales

Charles Town Man Coming Home From Southern Pacific

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Friends in Washington are looking forward to long tales of adventure from Merle Alger, of Charles Town, W. Va.

Alger now is enroute home from the Pribilof Islands, little dots on the map in the Pacific Ocean west of Alaska.

He has spent two years in the islands as a representative of the United States Bureau of Fisheries, supervising seal capture and other fishing.

Alger kept in touch with friends in Washington during the two year period, sending them mementoes of the islands near the edge of the Arctic circle.

Among the souvenirs he sent to Washington was a cigarette holder carved from the tusk of a seal. The holder, depicting a crouching seal, was presented at Alger's request to President Roosevelt by Representative Jennings Randolph, Elkins, West Virginia.

a baseball game against the Aleut team. On July 9, 1936, the *Hakuyo Maru's* Captain Nakagawa and his officers also came ashore. After Pearl Harbor was bombed in 1941, Alger interpreted the Japanese visits to St. Paul Island as possible spying missions. Alger told his grandchildren that he remembered the Japanese sailors were friendly to the children and asked to take photographs of them, then positioned them so the photographs included the background images they were really after.⁴³

Alger and his family left St. Paul Island for their home in West Virginia on November 2, 1937.⁴⁴ A local newspaper article, "Real Fisherman to Tell Tales," announced their homecoming with the following news item (however, he was returning from the North Pacific not the South Seas):

Alger kept in touch with friends in Washington during the two year period, sending them mementoes of the islands, near the edge of the Arctic Circle. Among the souvenirs he sent to Washington was a cigarette holder carved from the tusk of a seal. The holder, depicting a crouching seal, was presented at Alger's request to President Roosevelt by Representative Jennings Randolph, Elkins, West Virginia.

"Real Fisherman to Tell Tales."
(Raleigh Register, Berkley, WV,
Nov. 28, 1937, 15.)



Franklin D. Roosevelt with cigarette holder given by Seal Islands Treasury Agent Merle Alger. President Roosevelt in his study, looking at one of the Roosevelt House account books. (Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Margaret Suckley, no. 73-113-88.)



Articles of interest brought back from Alaska by Merle Alger. (Courtesy Rebecca Kirby.) Circled cigarette holder, or a similar one, was sent by Merle Alger to President Roosevelt as a gift.

ALLER, HENRY DAY (1880–1931)

Storekeeper, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. George Island, 1917–1919

Agent and Caretaker, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. Paul Island, 1920–1923



Jean Aller Sheffield. (National League of American Pen Women, Washington, DC)

Genealogy

Henry D. Aller was born in New Jersey on March 5, 1880. Henry Aller and Barbara E. Bartlett of Morris, Pennsylvania, were married by the Rev. John Edward Fort on September 29, 1920, in Washington, D.C. Henry and Barbara's daughter, Jean Aller, was born August 15, 1922, at St. Paul Island, Alaska. A news article after Jean's death in 1968 erroneously stated she had been the "first white child to be born on St. Paul, Pribilof Island, off the coast of Alaska."⁴⁵

Henry Day Aller died at Washington, D.C., March 10, 1931.⁴⁶ His daughter, Jean Aller, married Gregory John Sheffield, who became an advertising executive in Chicago, Illinois. The couple had one son, Keith Sheffield. Jean died in Chicago, Illinois, April 13, 1968.⁴⁷

Biographical Sketch

Henry Aller graduated with a BS degree from Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and became a researcher with the U.S. Fish Commission at Beaufort, North Carolina. By 1912, he had become director of the U.S. Fish Commission Laboratory at Beaufort. Aller left North Carolina for Alaska in 1917, starting first as the storekeeper on St. George Island, where he stayed until the fall of 1919. In 1920, he was promoted to agent and caretaker at St. Paul Island, where he remained until 1923.⁴⁸ His daughter, Jean, became the youngest member of the League of American Pen Women at the age of eleven. She had published a children's book, titled *Mac*, with a Scottish terrier as the main character. She continued to write children's books and "mastered the art of painting in oils on glass and wood."⁴⁹

ALLIS, WATSON COLT (1857–1942)

Assistant Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1882, 1887–1889

Agent, North American Commercial Company, 1882–1913

Agent, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, St. Paul Island, 1913–1929

Genealogy

Watson Colt Allis' genealogy was summarized by renowned Alaskan author Barrett Willoughby in the *St. Helena Star* newspaper following Allis' death:

Watson Colt Allis was born June 15, 1857, at Topsfield, Mass. He was the eighth generation of his family in America. When a babe in arms, he was taken to Randolph, Vermont, where he was raised to young manhood.

His father was Obediah Dickinson Allis, a professor at Dartmouth College, who resigned from that post to preach for the Congregational Church until his death. His mother was Anne Eliza Colt, one of eleven children, whose father was a New York merchant and manufacturer of firearms [Colt Firearms Co.].⁵⁰

Biographical Sketch

Alaskan author Barrett Willoughby's biographical sketch about Watson Colt Allis in the April 10, 1942, edition of the California newspaper *St. Helena Star* continued in part:

He was the only adventurer in his colonial family who ever came West. After having learned a trade and being employed by the Fairbanks Seal [Scale] Co. on both the Atlantic and Pacific coast he became interested in whaling and the sealing industry of the North. His adventures included a whaling expedition within the Arctic Circle where the ship was caught in the ice and wrecked, losing a fortune and narrowly escaping with his life. Later he was associated with the North American Commercial Company and the Alaska Commercial Company, and in accord with the development ensuing government control of Alaska, he entered the employ of the United States Department of Commerce with the Bureau of Fisheries, now known as the Wild Life Service, in the regulation and protection of the fur seal herds with Summer quarters on the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea.⁵¹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Watson C. Allis deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on July 5, 1892, before Public Notary E. H. Tharp at San Francisco, California:

I am 36 years old, an American citizen residing in San Francisco, California, and by occupation an Agent of the Fairbanks Scale Company, engaged in selling and setting up scales. In the summer of 1882, and again from the spring of 1887 to the fall of 1889, I was Assistant Agent of the Alaska Commercial Company upon St. Paul Island, and worked four sealing seasons in charge of a gang of natives engaged in seal killing. The work was done under the general direction of the Superintendent of the Sealeries, who placed a "boss" or leader at the head of each gang of men. It was the business of the boss to divide his gang in proper proportions into "killers," "rippers," and "skinners." The "killers" were generally the same men day after day through the season. They became very expert in the management of the drove and the use of the seal club, and very rarely made the mistake of hitting a seal that was not wanted.⁵²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Watson Colt Allis worked on the Pribilof Islands from 1882 to 1922. For a book by Barrett Willoughby titled *Alaska Holiday* (1940), Allis told of his forty years on the Pribilof Islands, known to him as the "Treasure Islands of the Mists." Two excerpts are given here:



Watson Colt Allis and wife Edith, 1927.
(Watson Colt Allis scrapbook, Greta Ericson Photographs, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, p. 25)

the kind of girl who cannot rest until everyone and everything about her is comfortable. The first to claim her shocked attention were our veteran Pribilof hens, every one of which had lost its comb and sundry other appendages during the previous freezing winter. We old-timers laughed at her idea of erecting special quarters, with electric light and heat, for all Pribilof poultry. But she insisted, so it was done. And the following winter, those pampered tenants of her 'hen hotel' amazed us by delivering enough eggs to supply the officers' table all during the frozen months.

When she found there were no seats in the Russian church, and that women and children had to kneel on the cold, damp floor throughout the two-hour service, she urged that her

The most eventful, as well as the most harrowing, years I knew on the Pribilof Islands were the so-called Gay Nineties [referring to the pelagic sealing years of the 1890s]. . . . The native Aleuts called [Allis] Tyone [toion], beloved boss.⁵³

I recall a pretty little girl who came to the islands as the bride of our newly-appointed superintendent; and even now, I mentally take off my hat to her. The Coast Guard cutter bringing the new boss and his wife arrived one dreary, drizzling day. Since the sea is too rough for the maintenance of a wharf on St. Paul, the cutter had to anchor about two miles offshore to discharge its freight and passengers onto skin boats and launches. I went out to find the ship wallowing to her scuppers in a heavy sea.

My first glimpse of the bride revealed her clinging to the swaying length of a Jacob's ladder that alternately swung her far out over the waves, then snapped her back again to crash against the side of the heaving ship. Below her, in an open skin boat, crouched the bridegroom, yelling to her to let go and drop when the tossing cockle-shell he was in rose on a swell to meet her.

The little bride watched her chance, and presently dropped like a small sack of potatoes into the bottom of the skin boat. I expected hysterics; but when her husband helped her up, she was laughing. Already stowed in the boat, under a tarpaulin, were her household treasures—a tea table, a sewing machine, and—of all things—a crate of prize chickens, cackling to beat all get-out. The bride crawled under the tarp next to the chickens and after clucking soothingly to them, peeped out to make gay comments as the native paddlers worked our boat ashore through the breakers. The drizzle had turned to a downpour by this time.

The moment she stepped to the land, where the Russian priest and the entire native population waited to greet her, things began to happen. She was

husband carpet the church. The old priest, aghast, explained that such a thing was never, never done! But in the end, the church was carpeted.

The native funerals—and there were many that year—filled her with horror. In accordance with an old custom, the open coffin was placed at the church door, and every native on the island filed past and pressed a kiss on the face of the departed. The little bride tried to dissuade them from this unsanitary practice. Failing, she instituted a reform by having the priest bless a bolt of white, sterilized ribbon. One end of this was then placed across the face of the deceased and, after each kiss, she herself rolled the ribbon up a few inches, thus presenting an aseptic spot for the lips of the next mourner.⁵⁴

Watson Colt Allis' activities were occasionally transcribed in the Agent Logs. For example:

Mr. Allis and four men put in an arrangement for launching the bidarra [sic]. This [is] a great improvement over the crude method in vogue heretofore of dragging them over the sand, and will lessen greatly the labor of these men. Alex Merculief and Jacob Kochooten connected a waste pipe arrangement to the stove in the bath room. The remainder of the men began the creation of the cemetery fence. Mr. Allis kindly loaning them a team for the purpose of transporting the material from Point Warehouse to the cemetery.⁵⁵

ANDREWS, ROY CHAPMAN (1884–1960)

Assistant Curator of Mammalogy, American Museum of Natural History

Cinematographer, August 1913

Genealogy

Roy Chapman Andrews was born on January 26, 1884, at Beloit, Wisconsin, the son of wholesale druggist Charles Ezra Andrews and Cora May (Chapman) Andrews. Roy C. Andrews was married on October 7, 1914, at Ossining, New York, to Yvette Borup, daughter of Henry Dana Borup and Mary Watson Brandreth Andrews. The marriage of Roy and Yvette ended in divorce in 1931, at Paris, France. Andrews was married a second time to Wilhelmina Anderson Christmas on February 21, 1935, in Manhattan, New York. Mrs. Christmas was the widow of Manhattan stockbroker Franklin B. Christmas, and the daughter of Chattanooga, Tennessee, surgeon William E. Anderson and Lottie Dewees Anderson. Roy Chapman Andrews died in Carmel, California, on March 11, 1960.⁵⁶

Biographical Sketch

Roy Andrews' true-adventure story, *Under a Lucky Star*, is a vibrant tale about his life as an explorer and naturalist, as he discovered and created collections of artifacts for the American Museum of Natural History.

From the time that I can remember anything I always intended to be an explorer, to work in a natural history museum, and to live out of doors. Actually, I never had any choice of a profession. I wanted to be an explorer and naturalist so passionately that anything else as a life work just never entered my mind. Of course, I didn't know *how* I was going to do it, but I never let ways and means clutter my youthful dreams. I have often said that if I had inherited ten million dollars at birth I should have lived exactly the kind of life I have lived with no inheritance at all. A lot of money probably wouldn't have been good for me, but I believe that even independent wealth couldn't have switched me off from exploration. The

only difference would have been that I would have financed my own expedition instead of getting other people to pay the bills.⁵⁷

Andrews graduated from Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, in 1906. He financed his college education with his taxidermy skills, which were self-taught “by means of William T. Hornaday’s book, *Taxidermy and Home Decoration*.”⁵⁸ Shortly after graduation Andrews embarked upon his life’s career as an explorer (chronicled in his book in the third person):

That summer he began a thirty-five year association with the American Museum of Natural History. Arriving in New York City with only thirty dollars, he went to the museum and asked the director, Hermon C. Bumpus, for a job, expressing his willingness to scrub floors, if necessary. When Bumpus observed that college graduates should not scrub floors, Andrews replied “not just *any* floors, but Museum floors are different.”⁵⁹

He was hired as a general assistant in the Department of Preparation, where he mixed clay and helped set up exhibits.

Endowed with enormous energy and ability, Andrews soon established a reputation in the field of cetaceans. Before the age of thirty, he was a leading authority on whales. One of his first assignments had been to obtain the skeleton of a whale washed up on Long Island. He had to work waist-deep in freezing sea water to retrieve the remains. Soon afterward, he helped overcome problems in the construction of the life-size model of a giant blue whale, one of the museum’s most popular exhibits. He was appointed assistant in mammalogy in 1909 and assistant curator of the department of mammals in 1918.

Andrews sailed on expeditions to the Pacific Ocean, studying whales and the whaling industry. The museum sent him to British Columbia and Alaska in 1908, and in 1909–10 he was its representative aboard the U.S.S. *Albatross* on a voyage to the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, and the Celebes. In 1911–12 Andrews studied whales off Korea and Japan, sending back [to the Museum] enough specimens of the California gray whale, which had been believed extinct. After returning to the United States, he received the M.S. from Columbia University in 1913, with a thesis on whales.

Thriving on adventure, Andrews stalked whales, dissected them, sketched them, and recorded their characteristics. He persisted despite almost constant torment from seasickness and a number of harrowing experiences. Shipwrecked on a Pacific island, he had to eat monkeys to survive. On the deck of a whaler, he escaped death by inches when the carcass of a whale slipped from a tackle, crushing the man standing beside him. Throughout his life he made light of the perils of exploration, claiming that he found it more dangerous to live in a modern city than in the wild.⁶⁰

Andrews’ life of scientific work ended in New York City at the American Museum of Natural History. At the museum, he served as vice director in 1931–34, and then director in 1935–42. In the spring of 1937 he bought Pondwood Farm in Colebrook, Connecticut, to which he and his wife retired in 1942. In retirement, he continued to write about his findings as an explorer. The Roy Chapman Andrews journals and papers, along with his publications, are located at the American Museum of Natural History, New York.⁶¹

Pribilof Islands Experience

Roy C. Andrews, Assistant Curator of Mammalogy at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), traveled at the behest of the Commissioner of Fisheries, Dr. Hugh M. Smith, to take motion pictures of fur seals. During 1913, he traveled to St. Paul Island aboard the yacht *Adventure* owned by John Borden, who was on his way to the Arctic to collect a bowhead whale for the AMNH collection. Andrews claimed his work rep-

resented the first motion pictures to be taken at the Pribilofs.⁶² The Agent's Log tracked Andrews' motion picture undertakings, documenting that he had filmed Gorbach and Reef rookeries. Thanks to some Aleut men, he also filmed the driving, killing, and skinning of bachelor seals (*lakuq*), the use of a baidara (*nidiliq*), and reindeer (*itġayaq*), which they had herded to the village. We have been unable to determine the whereabouts of Andrews' film archives, if in fact they still exist.

ARK HIMANDRITOV, ILARION IVANOVICH (1819–1872)

Native of St. George Island

Assistant Navigator, Russian-American Company

Captain, Hutchinson, Kohl & Company

Genealogy

Ilarion Arkhimandritov⁶³ was born November 2, 1819, on St. George Island, Alaska, to Ioann (Ivan) Arkhimandritov, a Russian, and his Aleut wife, Natalia. Ilarion married an American woman, Caroline Otis Thompson Peters, in a civil ceremony at San Francisco in November 1863. Their marriage was consecrated by the Orthodox Church in Sitka.⁶⁴

Biographical Sketch

Ilarion Arkhimandritov became one of the first students educated in the new Orthodox school for Aleuts opened by Father Ioann Veniaminov in August 1827. By September 1831, Arkhimandritov began his seafaring years on a voyage to California aboard the sloop *Zarembo*. On November 20, 1832, he sailed from Sitka on the transport *Amerika*, and after an eight-month voyage, arrived at the Port of St. Petersburg, Russia, where he enrolled in the School of Merchant Seafaring.

He had the civil status of a Creole, equivalent in the Russian ranked society to a townsman or burgher. The Russian government assigned this status to persons of Alaskan birth who claimed at least one Russian ancestor or who occupied positions of responsibility in management. In 1837, upon completing a three-and-a-half year course with the rank of assistant navigator, he returned to Sitka on the Russian American Company ship *Nikolai* (Berens), and in 1840, began service with the company at a salary of 1,000 rubles a year.⁶⁵

While in the service of the Russian-American Company, Illarion Arkhimandritov collected artifacts and made charts of the districts of Kodiak and Sitka.

On 27 February 1860, Arkhimandritov left Sitka for Woody Island with the bark *Kodi'ak*, and a cargo of construction timber for a new ice house. He took on a cargo of 356 tons of ice, but on 30 March struck an underwater rock off Spruce Island. All personnel were saved, but the vessel and everything on board were lost. The vessel drifted to Spruce Island and sank directly in front of the chapel with just one mast above water and a yard that made it look like a cross.⁶⁶

In 1864, on a trip to St. Paul and St. George islands to deliver supplies from Unalaska and to pick up furs, he was asked "to chart the coastal features and make soundings for a new atlas of the colonies to be published by the Russian-American Company."⁶⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

The U.S. purchase of Russian America brought some changes for Arkhimandritov, who settled in San Francisco for a short period in 1867. He shared his charts and nautical information with George Davidson, a surveyor for U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and other early American explorers and map makers. In 1868, he went to work with Hutchinson, Kohl & Company.

In 1868, the inhabitants of St. George, St. Paul, and Unalaska Islands requested him to be their protector before the American government in cases of violence, offenses, and the ruin of their rookeries of sea animals by foreigners of different nations. His work for Hutchinson, Kohl & Company drew criticism from Agapius Honcharenko's *Alaska Herald*, a strident critic of all activities of that firm and its heir, the Alaska Commercial Company.⁶⁸

Historian Harold F. Taggart in his published review, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," presented another side of Ilarion Arkhimandritov (which he spelled "Archimanditoff"). In Taggart's account, Captain Arkhimandritov had charge of the Hutchinson, Kohl & Company interests on the Pribilofs in 1868, and worked effectively with other competitors, such as Taylor and Bendel, and Parrott & Company. George R. Adams, who represented Parrott & Company interests at the time, referred to Captain Arkhimandritov as "really not a bad fellow as Russians with a little authority go." Conversely, naturalist William H. Dall, who briefly visited St. George Island in 1868, apparently encountered Arkhimandritov and referred to him as "an unscrupulous fellow, who terrified the natives."⁶⁹

ARMSTRONG, JOHN (B. 1844)

Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1877–1886

Superintendent, Inglenook Vineyard and Wine Cellars

Genealogy

John Armstrong, son of Joseph Armstrong, was born in Scotland during the year 1844. The Armstrong family moved to Toronto, Canada, when John Armstrong was a year old. In 1872, John Armstrong married Jane Yates, who was born in Maine in October 1857. John and Jane Armstrong had three children: Jeannette, John, and Joseph.⁷⁰

Biographical Sketch

John Armstrong was trained as an engineer and worked at the Marine Engine Works in Dundas, near Hamilton, Canada. In 1860, just before the Civil War, he moved to Chicago. He worked for a short while on railroads running out of Chicago before being called upon for active service in the war. Although he did not carry a musket, Armstrong's duties were far more onerous and often perilous. He served in the Engineering Department under General George H. Thomas, who was responsible for transporting Union troops in Tennessee and adjoining parts. After the war Armstrong went to the West Coast and for a time was in Ben Holladay's employment running steamers. In 1868, he was made chief engineer of the *Fidelity*, the first American steamer to go to Alaska for the Alaska

Commercial Company. He remained in this post until 1877, when he was sent to Saint Paul Island as the resident agent, and where he served until the fall of 1886.

In 1891, John Armstrong moved to San Francisco for the winter. Captain Gustave Niebaum induced Armstrong to stay and apply himself to the wine business. He became the viticulturist of the Rutherford Winery and superintendent of the Inglenook Vineyard and Wine Cellars, the magnificent property of Captain Niebaum (see Nybom biography), at Rutherford, California.⁷¹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

John Armstrong deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 10, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California:

I am 50 years old, and reside in San Francisco. I was employed in Alaska service in connection with the seal fisheries from 1868 to 1886, inclusive. During the first eight years of the time I was chief engineer of the steamer plying between San Francisco and the seal islands and other Alaska ports, and from 1877 to 1886 inclusive, as agent of the Alaska Commercial Company, living almost constantly for the whole ten years upon St. Paul Island. I always assisted in the seal-killing, and, in common with all other employees on the islands, made the seals my study and care.⁷²

ARTOMANOFF, KERRICK (1826–1900)

Aleut Chief, St. Paul Island, 1870–1877

Genealogy

Kerrick (also spelled Kereck) Artomanoff was born at Northeast Point, St. Paul Island, Alaska, in 1826. Kerrick was married at least twice, once to Olga (maiden name unknown)⁷³ and subsequently to Alexandra (maiden name unknown).⁷⁴ According to the Pribilof census records for January 1, 1873, Kerrick had at least four children, two on St. Paul Island (son Gaerman aged 26 and daughter Malaina aged 20) and two daughters on St. George Island (Vasselisse aged 14 and Kahseenia [Uxenia] aged 5).⁷⁵ The mother(s) of Kerrick Artomanoff's children is uncertain. "Kerrick Artomanoff age 75 died of La grippe [flu] at an early hour this morning," wrote Agent James Judge in the Agent's Log on June 20, 1900.

Biographical Sketch

Kerrick Artomanoff "was probably the oldest person on the Island and until quite recently enjoyed good health. He was first chief for a number of years and was considered a sort of land-mark and bureau of information by most of the white men who visited the Island during the last quarter of a century."⁷⁶

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Kerrick Artomanoff deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on June 8, 1892, before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska:

I am a native Aleut, and reside on St. Paul, Pribilof Group, Alaska; I was born at Northeast Point, on St. Paul Island (1826) and am 67 years of age. I have worked on the sealing grounds for the last fifty years and am well acquainted with the methods adopted by the Russian and American Governments in taking of fur seal skins and in protecting and preserving the herds on the island. In 1870, when the Alaska Commercial Company obtained the lease of the Islands, I was made Chief,⁷⁷ and held the position for seventeen years. It was my duty as Chief to take charge of and conduct the drives with my people from the hauling to the killing grounds.

The methods used by the Alaska Commercial Company and the American Government for the care and preservation of the seal were much better than those used by the Russian Government. In old Russian time we used to drive seals from Northeast Point to the village, a distance of nearly 13 miles, and we used to drive 5 or 6 miles from other hauling grounds; but when the Americans got the Islands they soon after shortend [sic] all the drives to less than 3 miles.

Our people like the meat of seal, and we eat no other meat so long as we can get it.

The pup seals are our chicken meat, and we used to be allowed to kill 3,000 or 4,000 male pups every year in November, but the Government agent forbade us to kill any in 1891 . . . [because the pups were considered necessary to sustain the herd in light of the recently recognized diminution of the herd size]; but we do not like any other meat as well as pup-seal meat. We understand the danger there is in the seals being all killed off and that we will have no way of earning our living.⁷⁸

- 1 Harpur Allen Gosnell, *Before the Mast in the Clippers: Composed in Large Part of the Diaries of Charles A. Abbey Kept While at Sea in the Years 1856 to 1860*. (NY: Derrydale, 1937), 19.
- 2 The Senate confirmed the nomination of First Lt. Charles A. Abbey to Captain in the Revenue Marine Service on Apr. 23, 1872. Abbey assumed the position on Apr. 26, "Washington," *New York Times*, Apr. 23, 1872, 1; U.S. Revenue Cutter Service Officers Register, July 1, 1892, http://bluejacket.com/usrcs_officers_1892 (accessed Nov. 2, 2005); and Floyd Hoskin Ancestors (contact Stephen Hoskin, Ancestry.com).
- 3 Gosnell, *Before the Mast*, 20.
- 4 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 185–7.
- 5 "Schwatka's Good Work," *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1886, 2; and "Heavy Damages Wanted," *New York Times*, June 4, 1887, 5.
- 6 "Schwatka's Good Work," *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1886, 2.
- 7 Guide to the Bristow Adams Papers, 1853–1970, Coll. 3205, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY; and Association for Communication Excellence in Agriculture, Natural Resources and Life and Human Sciences (ACE), Bristow Adams ACE President, 1918–1919, <http://www.aceweb.org/leadersh/adams.html> (accessed Apr. 3, 2006).
- 8 This and other Bristow Adams illustrations are found in David Starr Jordan and George Archibald Clark, *The History, Condition, and Needs of the Herd of Fur Seal Resorting to the Pribilof Islands*, in David Starr Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, pt. 1, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898).
- 9 U.S. Department of State, *Emergency Passport Applications Issued Abroad, 1877–1907*. NARA, microfilm publication M1834, RG 59, Passport no. 1399, issued Jan. 17, 1903; U.S. Census 1900, Oakland, Alameda County, California, NARA roll T623, no. 82, page 6A, enumeration district 363; Jim Briggs, "Blue Hill Maine Founding Families," <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com> (accessed Aug. 21, 2009); Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America, A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone

- Press, 1990), 2; and "Death with Funeral Announcements," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 26, 1933. Pierce, *Russian America*, listed George Russell Adams' death year as 1938; this apparent typographical error also carried to Pierce's edited book, *Life on the Yukon, 1865–1867*, by George R. Adams (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1982).
- 10 Harold F. Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," *The Pacific Historical Review* 28, no. 4 (1959), 355; and William H. Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870), 355, which referred to it as the Western Union Telegraph Expedition.
 - 11 Officially no commercial sealing was allowed during 1869, but unofficially at least as many as 87,000 fur seals were killed under the guise of a subsistence harvest. Alaska Commercial Co. executive Hayward M. Hutchinson stated in his testimony before a congressional committee in 1876 that 87,000 sealskins were taken in 1869. Later during the same congressional investigation, he changed the number without clarifying to 69,000 sealskins taken. U.S. Congress, House, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., 1876, H. Rep. 623, 133–4.
 - 12 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 157.
 - 13 Taggart, "Sealing on St. George, 1868" and/or Agent Adams probably meant Father Innokenty Shaiashnikoff, who must have coincidentally been on the island at that time, for in 1868, neither St. George nor St. Paul had a resident priest. Father Shaiashnikoff served all the Aleutians as well as the Pribilofs from his principal residence in Unalaska.
 - 14 Taggart, "Sealing on St. George, 1868," 355.
 - 15 Ibid., 356.
 - 16 Ibid., 355, in a footnote stating that Agent Adams' writing is appended to Adams' story about his role on the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, available on microfilm from the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
 - 17 Quass is variously spelled "quas," "qvass," and "kvass." "Quass is a sour beverage used all over Russia, and is made from grain without any sugar at all. It is made from brewing rye to the point of oxydation [sic], and is entirely a sour beverage," testimony of S. M. Buynitsky in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," 50th Cong., 2nd sess., in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 8.
 - 18 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1896, 419–28. The log contains a lengthy discussion about quass brewing activities on the island.
 - 19 Ibid., 429.
 - 20 Ibid., 432.
 - 21 A circular from the Russian Benevolent Society of San Francisco, May 20, 1891, informed parishioners that Bishop Valdimir (sic), who had taken offerings from their churches, had squandered the money and no longer had jurisdiction in the bishopric of Alaska. "Brethren: The committee of the Russian Benevolent Society of San Francisco hereby informs you that the funds of your churches, invested in shares and obligations of Russian railways, and intrusted (sic) to the care of the head of the bishopric, have been sold by Bishop Valdimir, and the money lavishly dissipated for purposes that have nothing in common with the interests of the church and orthodox religion." U.S. Congress, House, "Report on the Seal Islands of Alaska," in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, 55th Congress, 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 92, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 291.
 - 22 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1896, 439–40.
 - 23 Ibid., 452–3.
 - 24 Ibid., 460.
 - 25 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 95.
 - 26 WWI draft registration card, Seattle, WA, June 5, 1917.
 - 27 WWI draft registration card, Seattle, WA, June 5, 1917; U.S. Census 1930, Bloom Township, Cook County, IL; and Social Security Admin., SSDI.
 - 28 "Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century," Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Library of Congress, <http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/traveling-culture/chau1/img/albrecht/> or <http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/tc&CISOPTR=23769&REC=1> (accessed June 30, 2009).
 - 29 Ibid.
 - 30 Wilfred H. Osgood, "New habitat group shows seals at Uncle Sam's Fur Farm in Alaska," *Field*

- Museum News* 12, no. 1 (1941): 1–2.
- 31 Marriage 1885, vol. 361, 275, and 1865, vol. 180, 170, Massachusetts Vital Records, 1841–1910; Flimna 457955, <http://www.Familysearch.org>; and U.S. Census 1910.
- 32 A. B. Alexander field journal, 1892–1904, Smithsonian Institution Archives, LC # SIA RU 007223; U.S. Census 1870 and 1880; U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 352 and 356; and “Planned to Raise Battleship Maine,” *Lynn Daily Evening Item*, Apr. 5, 1911, 4.
- 33 The location of the deposition may have been Port Townsend, WA, rather than Fort Townsend as stated in U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 356.
- 34 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 352 and 356.
- 35 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 8, 163 (British case; the reader is advised that the page numbers given in the GPO vol. 8 table of contents are the page numbers in the publication of the British case publication, and therefore do not correspond to the page numbers in the upper left and right of the body of text paginated by the GPO. In other words, page 163 is the page number of the GPO volume cited, but in the table of contents, GPO refers to page 187 of the British case); and U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 355 (U.S. case).
- 36 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 352–6.
- 37 “In Memoriam” (Merle E. Alger Obituary), *Spirit of Jefferson Farmer’s Advocate*, Charles Town, WV, 1975, 2; U.S. Census 1910, Springfield, Page Co., Virginia, 15B; U.S. Census 1920, Ranson, Jefferson Co., WV, 4A; U.S. Census 1920, Charles Town, Jefferson Co., WV, 8B; Social Security Admin., SSDI, West Virginia; “Mrs. Rebecca Campbell Dies,” *The Frederick Post*, Frederick, MD, Mar. 25, 1931, 1; “Death, Mrs. George E. Fowler,” *The Post*, Frederick, MD, Nov. 21, 1973, A-5; “Our Family Tree Carters and Snyders,” Ancestry World Tree, Ancestry.com; and “Hubert Abraham Alger,” <http://trees.ancestry.com/owt/person.aspx?pid=4430624>.
- 38 Dr. Douglas Allara, Charles Town, WV, as told to author Betty A. Lindsay in a telephone interview, June 22, 2008.
- 39 “Jefferson JP Resigns After 48 Years,” *The Morning Herald, Tri-State News*, Hagerstown, MD, June 20, 1975, 13.
- 40 John W. Lipke, Report for St. Paul Island for year ending Mar. 31, 1939, correspondence to Commissioner, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Washington, DC, Apr. 2, 1939, Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA; and St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, May 12 and May 14, 1935.
- 41 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, June 3, July 13, and Aug. 19, 1935.
- 42 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, Jan.–Dec., 1937; and Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1937*, Bureau of Fisheries, Admin. Rep. 31 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1938), 128.
- 43 The 1935 Agent’s Log stated that the Japanese vessel *Hokuho Maru* was a patrol boat, and it stayed about the island July 10–17. On July 9, 1936, the agent characterized the vessel *Hokuyo Maru* (note spelling difference of the vessel between 1935 and 1936) as a training ship. On July 8, 1937, the *Hokuyo Maru* was characterized as a training ship “of the Japanese Imperial Government Fisheries Institute Tokyo, Japan.” Captain J. Nakakawa (note the difference in spelling of the captain’s surname between 1936 and 1937) and crew landed. They visited “Zapadni Rookery and points of interest about the village. The vessel departed that day for Dutch Harbor.” Dr. Douglas Allara, Charles Town, WV, as told to author Betty A. Lindsay in a telephone interview, June 22, 2008.
- 44 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, Nov. 2, 1937.
- 45 WWI draft registration card #2525, Washington, DC; Marriage notice, *Washington Post*, Sept. 29, 1920; Social Security Admin., SSDI; and “Obituary, Mrs. Gregory J. Sheffield,” *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 14, 1968. The *Washington Post* news article was in error; other children had been born to white personnel prior to 1922 on St. Paul Island. Two of the first white children born were a son to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Meyers on May 7, 1872, at St. George Island, and a son, Laurence Collins, born to Mrs. and Mr. Edward G. Collins, on Sept. 10, 1914. Mr. Myer worked for the Alaska Commercial Company. Mr. Collins worked as a Navy radio electrician at the island’s radio station.
- 46 “Deaths Reported,” *Washington Post*, Mar. 10, 1931.
- 47 Obituary, “Mrs. Sheffield, Child Author, Painter Dies,” *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 15, 1968.
- 48 U.S. Census 1900, New Brunswick, NJ; Henry D. Aller, “Notes on the Distribution of the More Common Bivalves of Beaufort, N.C.,” *Science* 36 (Aug. 2, 1912), 157–8; St. George Island Agent’s Log 1917–19; and St. Paul Island Agents’ Log 1920–23.
- 49 Obituary, “Mrs. Sheffield, Child Author, Painter Dies,” *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 15, 1968.
- 50 Barrett Willoughby, “Watson Colt Is Summoned, Death Claims Retired Pribilof Island Official,” *St.*

- Helena Star*, Apr. 10, 1942.
- 51 Ibid.
 - 52 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 97.
 - 53 Barrett Willoughby, *Alaska Holiday* (Boston: Little Brown, 1940), 199–201.
 - 54 Ibid., 222–4. Although Allis does not mention her name, the time period and circumstances of the event narrows it down to the wife of Agent Christoffers or of Agent Edward C. Johnston.
 - 55 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 20, 1901, 83.
 - 56 John Whiteclay Chambers II, "Andrews, Roy Chapman," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Six 1956–1960*, ed. John A. Garraty (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 17–9; "Miss Yvette Borup A Bride," *New York Times*, Oct. 8, 1914, 11; Frederick M. Ward, *Andrew Warde and His Descendants 1597–1910* (New York: A. T. De La Mare, 1923), 439; "Mrs. Christmas to Wed Explorer," *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1935, 16; "Andrews Wedding Surprises Friends," *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1935, 16; John Trotwood Moore, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1769–1923* (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke, 1923), vol. 2, 745–6; and "Andrews Dies at 76; Famed Naturalist, Once Museum Head," *Syracuse Herald Journal*, Mar. 12, 1960, 5.
 - 57 Roy Chapman Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star* (New York: Viking Press, 1943), 13–4.
 - 58 Ibid., 14.
 - 59 Ibid., 22.
 - 60 Chambers II, "Andrews, Roy Chapman," 17–8.
 - 61 Ibid., and Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star*, 264–5.
 - 62 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 19–25, 1913; and Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star*, 111 and 113. Walter I. Lembkey in his St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 19, 1911, wrote that a Mr. A. C. Bent of Taunton, MA, debarked from the *Polar Bear* as it was enroute from Unalaska to Nome. Mr. Bent "asked permission . . . to photograph and otherwise study seals, and to take moving pictures of the latter as well as of other objects of interest on shore . . . I refused to allow them to photograph." On July 7, 1911, Lembkey wrote that Bent again came ashore to beg permission to photograph, and again he was refused, but he was allowed to photograph birds on Walrus Island.
 - 63 U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925, Slavian [Ilarion] Archimandritoff, Ancestry.com (accessed July 18, 2009); and Pierce, *Russian America*, 10.
 - 64 Ibid., 10; U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925, Slavian [Ilarion] Archimandritoff, Ancestry.com (accessed July 18, 2009); and Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell, "Commonly Known Finnish and Baltic Names Found in the Index to Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska 1816–1866," part of the Godenhjelm Project of the Sitka Lutheran Church, 2004, 77 and 556. <http://www.genealogia.fi/emi/art/article411e.htm> (accessed July 18, 2009). Carolina (Karolina) Otis Thompson Peters, who married Ilarion Arkhimandritov Nov. 13, 1863, in Sitka, may have been the daughter of Johan Johansson Peters from Vipuri, Finland.
 - 65 Pierce, *Russian America*, 10–11.
 - 66 Ibid., 11. Also "Kodiak, Alaska, July 25, 2003: A team of shipwreck researchers led by Dr. Bradley Stevens, NMFS, has located wreckage believed to be the remains of the Russian barkentine *Kadi'ak* in Monk's Lagoon near Spruce Island, off Kodiak Island, Alaska," Sean Weems, NOAA Scientific/Exploration Dive on Kodiak, <http://www.seanweems.com/index> (accessed Aug. 25, 2005); and Taggart, "Sealing at St. George Island, 1868," 355, cited in his biographical sketch of George R. Adams, one of Adams' favorite stories told by Illarion Arkhimandritov, "he knew the intricate harbor of Kodiak better than any other captain having lost a ship on every rock in it."
 - 67 Pierce, *Russian America*, 11.
 - 68 Ibid.
 - 69 Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," 355, cited as the source for Dall's statement, "Photostatic copy of 'Statement of William H. Dall in reference to the Fur-Seal Islands of Alaska,' made to the Secretary of Treasury, Feb. 25, 1870, in Alaska File of the Interior Section of National Archives, Washington."
 - 70 Lewis Publishing Company, *Memorial & Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago: Lewis, 1891), 431–2; and U.S. Census 1900. Armstrong's birth date in the U.S. Census 1900 is 1844, whereas his birth date is given by Lewis, p. 431, as 1841.
 - 71 Ibid., 431–2; and U.S. Census 1900.
 - 72 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 1.
 - 73 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech.

Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 99 and 109.

74 Ibid., 240.

75 Ibid., 89, 99, and 109. The various spellings of several of the children's names can be seen during these different censuses. For unknown reasons in the 1875 census, the name Uxenia appears to replace the name Kahseenia appearing in the St. Paul Censuses of 1870, 1873, and 1874.

76 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1900, 460.

77 Ibid., Sept. 24, 1875, 352: "A deputation of the natives called upon Asst. Treas. Agent Marston, and expressed a desire to have the 1st Chief Bootrin [sic] displaced, and the 2nd chief Artimonoff [sic] appointed in his stead." See George Marston biography for additional comments on Artomanoff.

78 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 99–101.



Seven men and one boy. Three men are holding rifles and one man is holding an oar. (Washington State Historical Society. Photo: Dr. Charles A. Lutz. Henry Wood Elliott Coll., 087.37.doc/3.OLE.)

B

BADEN-POWELL, SIR GEORGE (1848–1898)

Member, British Commission for the Behring Sea Fisheries Dispute, 1891

Member, Joint Behring Sea Commission, 1892

Advisor, International Fur-Seal Arbitration, 1893

Pribilof Islands Experience

A Member of Parliament for the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool, England, Sir George Baden-Powell served on the British Commission for the Bering Sea Fisheries Dispute in 1891, on the Joint Commission in Washington, D.C., in 1892, and as an advisor to the British Case in the 1893 *Fur-Seal Arbitration Hearings* before an International Tribunal at Paris, France. He spent July and August 1891 with the Canadian-appointed Commissioner Dr. George Mercer Dawson (1849–1901) “on board a man-of-war cruising in the Bering Sea, visiting the Pribilof Islands and all the principal stations frequented by sealers.”¹

BALTZO, CHARLES HOWARD (1913–2003)

Director, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Pribilof Islands Fur-Seal Program, 1960–1968

Genealogy

Charles Howard Baltzo was born on June 19, 1913, in Seattle, Washington, to Charles Edward Baltzo and Gertrude (Martin) Baltzo. Charles Baltzo married Ann P. Hammer on September 4, 1937. Charles and Ann Baltzo had two children: Stanley “Stan” Arthur and Dorothy Camille.



Charles Howard Baltzo, November 16, 1960. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Alaska. Photo: News Tribune to Liberal Engraving Co. RG 22, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1870–1969, box 61 of 64, RG 22-95-ADMC-2208.)

Pribilof years, Howard and Ann retired to their homestead near Wasilla, Alaska. Howard Baltzo died on May 31, 2003.²

Biographical Sketch

In 1944, Charles Howard Baltzo moved his family to Alaska, where he worked on salmon research management for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service until he accepted a challenging assignment to the Pribilof Fur-Seal Program.

As described in “A Family Summer at the Pribilofs,” in the November 1965 issue of *Alaska Sportsman* magazine, the family enjoyed St. George Island life. Son Stan had an exciting first day on the island. He and Walter Kashevarof, a local boy, clambered down the 1,000-foot cliff at High Bluffs equipped with a “ten-foot pole having a pair of flexible wooden slats tied to one end and protruding past the end of the pole. The two slats served as the fingers which gently grasped the bespeckled murre egg as it lay in its nest.” The boys managed to collect some murre eggs without falling into the sea. In October 1968, at the end of his

Pribilof Islands Experience

In January 1960, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, appointed Charles Howard Baltzo to direct the transition (or “phase-out,” as it is commonly called) from federal administration to self-rule by the Pribilof Native communities.

Mr. Baltzo’s primary mandate was to improve the overall living conditions of the Pribilof people in light of impending program changes. The changes Mr. Baltzo made to the program are set forth in his May 1963 report entitled “Program for Administration of the Pribilof Island Federal Reservation Embracing Management of the Fur Seal Resources and Development of the Resident Aleut Inhabitants.” As a result of Mr. Baltzo’s work, the Federal Civil Service wage scale was introduced in 1962, for all people on the Islands working for the Federal Government. With this change, Pribilovian wages were brought into parity with the rest of the Federal workforce. In turn, in kind compensation such as free rent and food were substantially reduced, being provided only to those with insufficient wages to cover necessities. The Federal Government did, however, continue to maintain and administer the stores, laundries, houses, streets, and all public buildings and to fund educational and medical services for all Pribilovians on both Islands. To preserve Federal jobs, Pribilovian residents continued to be employed in these services.³

Later, Baltzo recounted his view of the situation.

Nothing existed in writing until the emancipation was well along, but my job was clearly to make the natives independent and bring them into the mainstream.⁴

Howard Baltzo “described the seal program as a three-headed one, involving 1) management of the fur-seal program from the standpoint of luxury furs; 2) scientific research

on seals to understand them better; and 3) the administration of two villages containing the 650 Aleut natives who harvest pelts on the Pribilofs.”⁵

While some former agents encouraged improvement in conditions for the Aleuts, Washington lacked the will. Now with the political will for change, Baltzo’s administration brought about numerous changes, such as the Federal Civil Service wage scale, the sale of alcoholic beverages, conversion of heating from coal to oil, a new source of domestic water supply, better fire protection, and a grade school system run by the Alaska Department of Education. The changes also brought about the end of free rent and food for all but the very needy, and increased unemployment.

Also, beginning in January 1962, Baltzo submitted monthly reports to the Seattle office, thereby eliminating the requirement of maintaining an agent’s daily log that had been mandated since 1870.⁶

Then in 1964, the government reduced its role in oversight of the fur-seal harvest. As reported in the *New York Times*:

“Always before we had a team of overseers and bosses to tell them [Aleuts] what to do,” said C. Howard Baltzo, Director of the Bureau’s Marine Mammal Resources Program, who has spent five summers on St. Paul directing the work. “This year is a milestone and the Aleuts are tremendously proud of their achievement.”

Also in 1964, the U.S. Department of the Interior designated the Pribilof Islands Fur Seal Rookeries National Historic Landmark. Director Baltzo received the plaque (dated 1964) in 1966 on behalf of the landmark and placed it on a boulder above Kitovi Rookery, St. Paul Island.

In 1967, Baltzo provided guidance to the communities on implementation of the Fur-Seal Act of 1966. His term ended in October 1968.



Fur Seal Rookeries National Historic Landmark plaque, 1964.

BANKS, NATHAN (1868–1953)

*Entomologist, U.S. Fish Commission, 1897**Member, Harriman Alaska Expedition, 1899**Curator of Insects, Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, St. Paul and St. George Islands, 1914*

*Regards of
Nathan Banks*

Nathan A. Banks (USDA, U.S. National Mite Collection History).⁹

Genealogy

Nathan Banks was born on April 13, 1868, at Roslyn, New York, to Daniel G. Banks and Maria (Hawxhurst) Banks. Nathan Banks married Mary A. LaGar on June 2, 1897, in New York, and the couple had three sons: Bryant, Gilbert, and Waldo; and five daughters: Ruth, Bessie, Nellie, Dorothy, and Elsie. Nathan Banks died on January 24, 1953, at his Cambridge, Massachusetts home. He was eighty-four.⁸

Biographical Sketch

Nathan Banks received his higher education at Cornell University, after which he worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). At USDA in 1880, he began research on spider mites (Family Tetranychidae).

Pribilof Islands Experience

Nathan Banks served with David Starr Jordan as an entomologist while a member of the U.S. Fish Commission in 1897, and as a member of the 1899 Harriman Alaska Expedition. During his

brief stints at the Pribilof Islands, he labored to identify insects and arachnids (mites) that were poorly known at the time. The *Harriman Report* described eighty species of insects on the Pribilof Islands, fifty-seven of which were new to science.¹⁰ From 1900 to 1916, Banks was assistant entomologist for the USDA, publishing extensively on spider mites and predator mites (Families Stigmaeidae and Cunaxidae). He is reported to have written the first comprehensive handbook on mites in English. The following year, he left government work to join the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Banks made a third research trip to St. Paul and St. George islands in 1914, as Curator of Insects at the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. His efforts resulted in the identification of new species of Trichopteran caddis flies (Family Limnephilidae), a Mecopteran scorpion fly (Family Panorpidae), and numerous mites (Class Arachnida).¹¹

BARNES, MILTON (1830–1895)

*Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, June–August 1891
and St. Paul Island, August 1891–May 1892*

Lawyer, Politician, Secretary of State, Ohio, 1876–1881

Genealogy

Milton Barnes was born at Barnesville, Belmont County, Ohio, April 26, 1830, the son of Abel Barnes and Elizabeth (Wilson) Barnes. Milton Barnes was married on June 27, 1860, at Cambridge, Guernsey County, Ohio, to Rhoda Allison, daughter of James Allison, of Washington, Pennsylvania. Milton and Rhoda Barnes had five children: sons Clarence, Lowell, and Walter, and daughters Tirza and Maud. Milton Barnes died January 2, 1895, at Westerville Village, Blendon Township, Franklin County, Ohio, and was interred at Otterbein Cemetery (lot 213, section 1, grave number E6) in Westerville. Rhoda Barnes also died at Westerville, on July 5, 1919.¹²



Milton Barnes. (Courtesy Special Coll. and Archives, George Mason Univ.)

Biographical Sketch

Milton Barnes was raised on a farm in Belmont County, Ohio, in a family of eleven siblings.

His paternal ancestors were English and his mother's side Welsh. His early life was spent on a farm, and his education such as could be obtained at a country school. At eighteen he became a teacher, and at nineteen attended Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, but failing health compelled his return home. He studied law and higher mathematics at an academy at Salem, Ohio, and then entered a law office at Mt. Vernon, and in January 1859, was admitted to the bar. He removed to Cambridge and established an office, but in 1861 raised a company of soldiers and enlisted [August 9, 1862] as Captain in the 62nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Returning home on sick leave, he resigned this command, and reenlisted as Lieutenant Colonel of the 97th Regiment, with which he did gallant service. He was twice severely wounded, and was mustered out in June [10] 1865. He resumed his law practice on his return home, and in 1867, and again in 1869, was elected Prosecuting Attorney of Guernsey County. In 1876, he was nominated and elected Secretary of State and reelected in 1878.¹³

After he served as Secretary of State in Ohio from 1876–1881, Milton Barnes and his family moved to Westerville, Ohio.

After coming to this place [Westerville, Ohio] he established and became editor of the *Cleveland Saturday Ledger*, which was a literary magazine of merit. At the close of this enterprise he entered into counsel with several business men and became one of the founders of *The Fraternal Mystic Circle*, a life insurance company on the mutual plan and became its first president. For several years he gave himself assiduously to promoting the interests of the company until it had become well established. . . . In May, 1891, he received the important appointment from Secretary Foster as agent of the U.S. Treasury

Department at Washington to the Alaskan seal fisheries, sailing for that most distant American post the same month he received the appointment. . . . What he had seen and what he had learned in that far off sea and island in their relations to this and other governments, so impressed him with their importance that he immediately set himself to the task of writing a book bearing the title, *Alaska and the Fur Seal Fisheries of Behring Sea*. This volume he was not permitted to finish. He leaves hundreds of neatly and carefully written pages of manuscript sufficient for a large book, but his failing health cut short the work.¹⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

The note below was drafted by Archivist Dr. Robert Hawke of George Mason University to introduce a letter from Milton Barnes to his son Clarence upon the elder Barnes' arrival at St. George Island.

NOTE: This letter of June 21, 1891, from Milton Barnes to a younger son, Clarence, is the last in this collection and the only one therein written in Barnes' capacity as a U.S. Treasury Agent assigned to the "Fur Seal Islands" (the Pribilofs) in 1891–1892. Despite physical infirmities caused by a paralytic stroke in the 1880s, Barnes had secured his appointment from Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster, who had previously been governor of and a congressman from Ohio. This letter details Barnes' trip from Ohio to the Pribilofs. . . .

In the letter he mentions one of his superiors, Assistant Agent A. W. Lavender. His observations in the letter on the seal fishing methods and trade and on the natives accord with official accounts.¹⁵

The following are excerpts from a nine-page typed transcription of Milton Barnes' letter to his son.

St. George Island, Behring Sea-
June 21st, 1891

My dear Clarence--

I presume this letter, dated in the midst of Behring Sea, will seem quite strange to you. But so it is. After a long journey—altogether near 5500 miles, I have at last reached my destination, and am settled down in my "Summer Residence". Island of St. George! What a great—strange world it is! I had but little conception of what a trip it would be, when I waived [sic] you & Ma adieu as my train steamed out of the union Depot at Columbus [Ohio] on the morning of May 15th. I was to be sure, exhilarated at the thought of a nice long trip overland, by rail, to the Pacific Coast—and it was fully realized, as I had a real pleasant trip thence, indeed!

. . . We set sail on the 27th of May—about 6 o'clock P.M.—just in time to get out upon the Pacific Ocean before night set in. The weather was bright and clear and the scene was a grand one as I sat upon the upper deck and watched the receding view as we passed out through the Golden Gate out upon the bosom of old Ocean. . . .

At last during the evening of the 10th day [June 6] we . . . espied land, the rock bluffs and headlands of Unalaska. . . . Then entering the water of the Behring Sea, were again under way—and 24 hours later we landed at St. Paul—the larger of the Pribilov, or Fur Seal Islands—having been 14 days en route—St. Paul is the larger, and is the head quarters for the sealing operations—St. George is 36 miles south of it—and I, having been assigned for duty here, came back here on the *Rush*, on the 15th inst. . . . There is a small village here, as there is on St. Paul, consisting of a government house for the Treasury Agent, a house, office and warehouse for the Company, and small one story frame cottages for the natives, who are employed by the Company, in the business of killing seals and taking care of the skins.

St. George Island. Behring Sea.

June 21st 1891.

My dear Clarence.

I presume this letter, dated in the midst of Behring Sea, will seem quite strange to you. But as it is, I ~~have~~^{after} a long journey - altogether near 5500 miles, I have at last reached my destination, and am settled down in my "summer residence". Island of St. George! What a great-strange world this is! I had but little conception of what a trip it would be, when I waived fare & made adieu as my train steamed out of the Union Depot at Columbus on the morning of May 15th. I was, to be sure, exhilarated at the thought of a nice long trip overland, by rail, to the Pacific Coast - and it was fully realized, as I had a real pleasant trip thence, indeed! Day and night - right along for five days and a half it went on. Having the full benefit of a Pullman vestibuled train, it contained all the facilities and comforts of a hotel. When at meal time I could step into the dining car and sit down to as fine a meal as could be had at the Rail House in Columbus, or the Candy Kitchen. After which I could retire to the smoking room & enjoy my after meal cigar without molestation - and when night would come - turn into my little bunk and have a delightful and refreshing sleep! Thus my train rushed on to Chicago where I changed cars for a through train for San Francisco - out through

The Government house is a one story frame, about 32 feet square, and divided into four apartments, a sitting room—and office room, and two bed rooms—all very comfortably furnished. The Company's house is about the same, only more extensive and with a dining room and attached kitchen—They also have quite a fine library of about six or seven hundred volumes. I live in the Government house and take my meals with the Company's mess about 400 feet distance. The only company I have in the Government house is a Mr. Lavender, Asst. Treasury agent, who is going home this summer, and I will then be left entirely alone, as agent in charge. In the Company's house, however, there is a Physician, Dr. Noyes, their agent Mr. Daniel Webster, a cook or steward, a school teacher, and a man of all work. These with myself will be all the white people there will be on this Island, after Mr. Lavender leaves, for the ensuing year. There is a Greek [Orthodox] Church here, established when these Islands were in the possession of Russia. The Priest is a native, but conducts his church service in the Russian language—the natives are a curious sort of people—very dusky complexion, black strait hair, small in stature, resembling a mixture of indian [sic] and Japanese. There is a tradition that more than a hundred years ago—several Japanese vessels from the Asiatic coast were wrecked on the Aleutian islands, and the crews, never being able to return to the place of their nativity, remained, intermarried with, and became a part of, what is now the native population. They are a quiet, peacable [sic] and inoffensive people, they and their children are communicants in the Greek church—and seem devoted to their religion. Their dialect is a sort of guttural—a mere jargon, which is very difficult to learn. It also seems very difficult for them to learn the english [sic] language. Although there has been a sort of school kept here for 15 or 20 years—with a teacher furnished by the Company having the leases, and required to do so in their lease—yet there doesn't [sic passim] seem to be more than two or three of them who can carry on an intelligent conversation in English. When talking with them the treasury agent has to use one of those as interpreter. I don't understand why this should be, as the children appear to be naturally bright enough. St. George island [sic] is of a peculiar formation, but similar to St. Paul. There is no timber on it, the surface is very broken and hilly—has the appearance of having been thrown up by a volcanic eruption in some remote period of the world's history—the elevation from three to nine hundred feet above the sea level—the rocky surface, having become eroded by the action of the weather—has gradually become covered with a sort of soil—composed of decomposed rock and vegetable mould—in which there is a vigorous growth of a short broad leafed grass which grows in bunches or tufts, all closely matted so that when you step on it, you sink down over shoe top and then strain yourself to make the next step, with the same result & [it] soon tires one out trying to walk over it—through all this—The green coating of grassy tufts mixed with a species of moss, in summer time, lends a beautiful tinge to these hills and bluff—

There are no animals or game except the Seals and a few of the species of blue and the white fox, which are caught by the natives by traps, their fur is very pretty and valuable—the white sea gulls and other birds of fine plumage cluster along the rocky bluffs—build their nests and deposit their eggs by the hundred thousand.

The fur seals are the principal object of the cupidity of man, hereabouts—Their nature and habits are very strange to the uninitiated—During the month of June and until the forepart of October, they gather here by the thousand, formerly by the hundred thousand, but of late their numbers seem to be decreasing every year, not only on account of the large number taken legitimately by the Company having the lease from the Government, but by foreign vessels—chiefly those of Great Britain and Canada—and private poachers or marauders—who are constantly cruising in Bering Sea, shooting them in the water, killing mostly the females—

As to the manner of their legitimate killing on these islands—They come up from the water and herd upon the beach near the edge of the islands called rookeries . . . the young males . . . are the only ones allowed to be killed for their skins, by the Company . . . the natives, who are in the employ of the company—get in between them and the water, and drive them in a flock, like a flock of sheep—up on to higher ground—away from the rookeries proper, to the place called the killing ground—If there is much distance to travel,

they halt and rest every few rods—to catch their breath and give them rest—then start them on again—when they have arrived on the killing ground—the natives separate twenty or thirty of them in a bunch from the main flock, and surround them and commence beating them one at a time on the head with a club, made in the shape of a base ball club, only longer at the small end—these strokes [stun] them . . . men catch and draw them away a few feet and stick them with a sharp butcher knife and proceed to remove the skin, much the same as a butcher slaughters a calf—these natives have become such adepts at the business, that the process of killing and skinning only occupies from three to five minutes in its execution. After the killing is over for the day, the skins are hauled to the Company's ware house—where they are counted, and a tally kept by the officer in charge, whose report of the number taken, is the basis upon which the Company accounts to the Government, so much apiece, as revenue. The skins are then carefully packed and salted with a coating of rock salt, in which they lie until the killing season is over, when they are loaded aboard the Company's vessel and shipped to London, England, where they are skillfully cured and dressed for the market. They are then put up to sale, and sold at public auction to the highest bidder, to manufacturers of seal skin sacks and other articles of ladies wear. It looks very cruel to witness the wanton destruction of these seals and in such an apparently brutal manner. The natives live principally on seal meat, and while the killing is going on their women and children are there with knives and sacks—cutting out choice pieces of the meat, and the blubber, which they use extensively for fuel. Portions of the meat they use while it is fresh and a part of the lean they cut into strips and hang up on cross poles to season in the open air to use later on.

. . . The outlook is that my situation will be a pleasant—one so far as personal comfort is concerned. Save only the extreme isolation—cut off from all communication with home and friends for at least six months of the year. There has recently been a mail line established between Unalaska at the pass through the Aleutian chain of islands, and Sitka, or Port Townsend on the coast, which is to carry the mail to and from, once a month. At these points on the coast, I suppose it will be transferred to the Pacific Coast line of Steamers that regularly ply up and down the coast, between these points and San Francisco—thence overland eastward—but between Unalaska and these islands, near 200 miles, there will be nothing to carry the mail to and from here, except the U.S. Revenue cutters, which will cruise around in these waters in the summer time. Later in the fall they all return to San Francisco to “tie up” for the winter—I have no doubt [that] after about October, it will be quite a lonesome life—but I have been overhauling the library here, and find it filled with well selected reading matter, &c—and after that I will have but little to do, but make myself as comfortable as possible—with the facilities at my command—In the winter time I am told the nights are long—the sun going down about three o'clock P.M. and rising about nine A.M., [making] about sixteen to eighteen hours of darkness. In the summer it is the reverse—Since I came here, the sun doesn't go down until nine and it is after ten when it gets dark enough to have a lamp, and daylight begins to break about two in the morning—The [islands] are in latitude 54 degrees north, and Longitude 170 west—

The difference in time between this and Columbus is nearly 6 hours—so that when you are eating supper we are just sitting down to dinner—

Now my dear boy, it has been a month and 12 days since I left home and I begin to want letters pretty badly I assure you—won't you sit down as soon as you receive this, and write me a good long letter. You need'nt [sic] cut it short for the want of material. You should remember that now, isolated as [I] am and will be, every little thing concerning yourself or the occurrences around you will be of interest to me, although they may be stale to you. . . .

And Now Good Bye my dear son.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Milton Barnes deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams on June 23, 1892, at St. Paul Island, Alaska:

I am a citizen of the United States and when at home reside near Columbus, Ohio. Have been temporarily stationed during the last year on the Island of St. Paul . . . as special employee of the United States Treasury Department on said island.

One day, during the latter part of August or fore part of September last (exact date forgotten), Col. Joseph Murray, one of the Treasury agents, and myself, in company with the British Commissioners, Sir George Baden-Powell and Dr. Dawson, by boat visited one of the seal rookeries of that Island, known as Tolstoi or English Bay. On arriving there our attention was at once attracted by the excessive number of dead seal pups whose carcasses lay scattered profusely over the breeding ground or sand beach bordering the rookery proper. . . .

Some days after this . . . I drove with Mr. Fowler, an employe [sic] of the lessees, to what is known as Half-Way Point, or Polovina [sic] rookery. Here the scene was repeated, but on a more extensive scale in point of numbers. . . . This condition of the rookeries in this regard was for some time a common topic of conversation in the village by all parties, including the more intelligent ones among the natives, some of whom were with Mr. J. Stanley Brown in his work of surveying the island.¹⁶

The seal experts later (1896–97) determined that the vast majority of pups discussed in Barnes' deposition succumbed to starvation as their mothers had been killed at sea by the pelagic sealers. Also, infestation by parasitic worms caused physical weakness that subjected many pups to death by trampling from the movements of bull and cow seals.¹⁷



Milton Barnes on the Pribilof Islands. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC272, neg. 34955.)

BARTLETT, EDWARD (BOB) LEWIS (1904–1968)

Alaska Delegate to Congress, 1945–1958

*U.S. Senator (Democrat), 1959–1968*¹⁸

Genealogy

Edward “Bob” Lewis Bartlett was born to Edward and Ida Bartlett at Seattle, King County, Washington, on April 20, 1904. Edward Bartlett married Vide Gaustad on August 14, 1930. Edward and Vide Bartlett had two children: Doris Ann and Susan.¹⁹ Bob Bartlett died at Cleveland, Ohio, December 11, 1968, and was interred at Northern Lights Memorial Park, Fairbanks, Alaska.²⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

U.S. Senator Bartlett was approached by the Director of the Alaska Human Rights Commission, Willard L. Bowman, regarding the plight of the Pribilof Islands’ Native population. Bartlett took up the charge with the support of Bowman, the editors of the *Tundra Times*, and “their friends.” Senator Bartlett visited St. Paul Island on September 9 and 10, 1965. In addition to touring seal rookeries, private homes, and the school, he met with members of the St. Paul and St. George communities to discuss his pending legislation, which on June 7, 1965, he presented before the 89th Congress, 1st Session, as S. 2102. The bill became the Fur-Seal Act of 1966, which paved the way toward self-determination for the Pribilof Aleuts and assured them of their full rights as citizens of the United States.²¹

BEAMAN, JOHN WARREN (1845–1903)

Assistant Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1879–1880

Genealogy

John Warren Beaman was the son of Reverend Warren Harrison Beaman (1813–1901), a Congregational minister, and Elizabeth Lydia (Worcester) Beaman (1814–1889), of North Hadley, Massachusetts. In 1879, John Beaman married Elizabeth Dubois (1854–1932), the daughter of surveyor engineer Nicholas Dubois and Louisa Griffin. John Beaman died December 13, 1903, in Greensboro, North Carolina, while overseeing the construction of a post office for the Treasury Department.²²

Biographical Sketch

John Beaman attended Williston Seminary in pursuit of a ministry vocation and later entered Amherst College, in the 1863–64 academic year. He enlisted on January 4, 1864, as a private in Nims Battery, 2nd Massachusetts Light Artillery. He received his discharge on June 5, 1865, after being hospitalized as a prisoner of war at Hopewell General Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia. At Hopewell, while recovering from frostbite and exposure, he met his future wife, Elizabeth Dubois, who was serving as a nurse. Before their marriage,



John Beaman in Yellowstone. (SIA 2004-43528, RU 7177, box 1, folder 34.)

she convinced Beaman to pursue a career in engineering. In 1867, after the Civil War, Beaman entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York, where he worked toward a degree in mine engineering until 1870. He participated in the 1870 Hayden Survey to New Mexico and subsequently served as a civil engineer in public land surveys throughout the United States. After his Pribilof Islands appointment, he became a mining engineer in Lewis, Nevada, and later Superintendent of Construction of Public Buildings in North Hadley, Massachusetts. In 1902, the U.S. Treasury Department sent Beaman to Greensboro, North Carolina, to oversee post office and government building construction.²³

Pribilof Islands Experience

Much of what we know of John Warren Beaman's experiences on the Pribilof Islands was recorded in detailed journals by his wife, Elizabeth "Libby" Beaman, which her granddaughter Betty John published in 1987 as the book *Libby*. The book tells of Elizabeth making a plea for employment for her husband to family friend and U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes:

"My husband was with the [Geodetic] Survey Office. You abolished it six months ago. Mr. Beaman has tried to find work, any kind of work. There isn't any work. I know you will be angry with me when I say it is unfair for veterans to have to face this—most unfair that someone wounded at Red River should have to walk the streets looking for even the most menial job. The men who fought to keep this nation together deserve something better than that."



Author Betty (Beaman) John (third from left) with Cleveland Heights, Ohio, students in 1957 displaying their artwork after reading Betty John's novel about the life of the fur seal, *Seloe*. The story was based on personal recollections of and a scrapbook by her grandparents, John and Libby Beaman. Left to right: Karen Keller, Jackie Zucker, Betty John, Anna Gruttadauria, Barbara Leavitt, and Thomas Clark. (Photo: Bernie Noble, Cleveland Press. Original print held by Shaker Heights Public Library, Local History Collection, Shaker Heights, OH; digital image provided by Cleveland State Univ., Cleveland Memory Project; photo identifier.shpl-xxxx-000369.)

"You mean to say that one of Burnside's men is in such a plight? . . . Your husband is an engineer, is he not?"

"Yes, a trained civil engineer, especially trained in cartography. . . ."

"The Treasury Department has been importuning me to appoint a new assistant special agent to one of our newest outpost responsibilities. Your husband has been surveying all over the country. That means he must be accustomed to rough living and all kinds of weather conditions, doesn't it? . . . Do you think he would be interested in going to the Aleutian Islands? . . ."

"Actually, it's still farther north than the Aleutians. . . . The Seal Islands are in the Bering Sea. We need another agent up there to supervise the taking of the seal pelts, which means a considerable income to our government. That is about all I can think of that might help you out at the moment. The pay is good and there is absolutely no expense involved, so the entire salary could be saved. There is a senior special agent there already. I could appoint your husband to be his assistant. It is a two-year contract. Do you think you could part with your husband for two years?"²⁴

Libby did not let her husband travel to the Pribilofs alone. (The book *Libby* claims incorrectly that she was the first white woman to visit the islands.²⁵) However, John and Libby Beaman did not remain for the full two-year term of her husband's appointment, possibly because John Beaman was dissatisfied with his position, or because of Libby's pregnancy,²⁶ or both. Agent-in-Charge Harrison G. Otis penned the following comment about Beaman's early departure in his 1880 annual report:

Assistant Agent Beaman, carrying into effect a threat first expressed nearly a year ago and frequently since, has for personal reasons taken the responsibility of leaving his post of duty and these islands without authority from the Treasury Department, and also in defiance of my own previous and formal disapproval of his course. He embarked from St. George Island on the 24th instant. I report the facts for your information and action thereon.²⁷

BOSCOWITZ, DAVID AARON (1866–1938) AND LEOPOLD JOSEPH (B. 1868)

Genealogy

David Aaron Boscowitz and Leopold Joseph Boscowitz were two of five children of Joseph Boscowitz and Leah Jane (Phillips) Boscowitz of Victoria, B.C.²⁸

Biographical Sketch

Brothers David Aaron and Leopold Joseph Boscowitz both played a role in the furrier business. David entered Cambridge University in 1885.²⁹ The 1898–1900 *London City Directory* listed him as part of J. Boscowitz and Sons, fur dealer. As a spokesman for the Canadian government, Leopold Joseph Boscowitz represented Canadian sealers in London during the 1897 pelagic sealing controversy.

Although Leopold Joseph Boscowitz declared Canadian sealers' willingness to relinquish their assets for a price, and the buyout took place, not all the sealers were pleased about selling their boats and ending their pelagic sealing days in the Bering Sea.³⁰

ENGLAND AND THE SEALS

John W. Foster Told that the Canadian Interests Would Yield Only For Compensation.

NO MORE PROFIT IN THE CATCH

The Question May be Reopened Before the Time Specified in the Paris Award—Eighty Per Cent of the Pelagic Skins Those of Females.

LONDON, June 12—John W. Foster, who is now in St. Petersburg [Russia], is expected back in London on July 1. He did not call at the Foreign Office during the few days he was in London, but he had conferences with Col. Hay, and on the day previous to his departure he had an interview of nearly an hour with Mr. Liebes of the North American Commercial Company, who has been in communication with the Embassy during Mr. Bayard's term of office regarding the false statements alleged to have been made by Canadian sealers respecting the sex of their catch.

During the interview Mr. Foster, asked as to the propositions he was to lay before the Russian Government, replied that he did not know until he got to St. Petersburg. Mr. Foster was informed by Mr. Liebes that his going to Russia and any arrangement that he might make there would not be binding upon England, as Great Britain, so far as he could learn, would do nothing in the matter until the five years specified by the Paris award had expired. The Canadians, moreover, said Mr. Liebes, although they made no money over the business, would not be satisfied to give in unless they got compensation.

Mr. Liebes then said to Mr. Foster: "I will be very willing, personally, to pay the Canadians any profits they have made during the past three years, and will furnish very good security for the amount, provided the Governments concerned will satisfy the Canadians in the way of buying their vessels."

"Would they be satisfied?" remarked Mr. Foster.

Mr. Liebes replied: "I have seen here Mr. Leopold Boscowitz, son of Joseph Boscowitz of Victoria, B.C., a Canadian sealer having large interests, and he said to me: 'I assure you if we be compensated for our vessels the question can be settled in ten minutes.' Mr. Liebes rejoined: 'Have you authority to speak for any one besides yourself?' to which Mr. Boscowitz said: 'All the Canadians will be very glad to be bought out.'"

New York Times, "England and the Seals," June 13, 1897, 13.

BOSCOWITZ, JOSEPH (1835–1923)

Fur Dealer, Boscowitz and Sons, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 1870 to circa 1912

Genealogy

Joseph Boscowitz and his brother, Leopold, natives of Floss, Bavaria, immigrated to Victoria, British Columbia, in 1860. Joseph lived with his family at both Victoria and London, England. Joseph Boscowitz married a Philadelphia woman, Leah Jane Phillips, in December 1864, at Victoria. Joseph and Leah Boscowitz had five children: David Aaron (1866–1938), Leopold Joseph (b. 1868), Barbara, Leah, and Ada Doris. In 1923, Joseph Boscowitz died in Victoria at the age of eighty-eight.³¹

Biographical Sketch

The Boscowitz brothers initially opened a tobacco shop on Yates Street in Victoria. In 1870, they began a successful fur trade business, principally in seal pelts. In 1877, Joseph Boscowitz left Victoria for London under suspicion of alleged improprieties regarding the issuance of debentures to the provincial government. Seven years



Joseph Boscowitz (right) and Henry Appleton, Victoria, B.C., circa 1910. (BCA, Visual Records Catalogue, call no. C-06036.)

later, Boscowitz, his wife, and some of their children returned to Victoria to expand his business investments, including J. Boscowitz and Sons, fur dealers.³² In 1890, Joseph invested further, first in a fleet of pelagic sealing vessels and then beyond sealing, in the Boscowitz Steamship Company, the Victoria Theatre, and numerous real estate holdings.

In 1966, James K. Nesbitt wrote a retrospective about Joseph Boscowitz that included his personal, political, and financial activities; it was published in *The Daily Colonist* under the title “Boscowitz Runs the Machine.”³³ The excerpt below was extracted by Nesbitt from a special edition (1896) of *The Colonist*:

One of the oldest and largest commercial enterprises of British Columbia is that of J. Boscowitz and Sons, fur dealers at Fort and Wharf Streets. Thirty-five years ago this enterprise was inaugurated, and from the outset has been steadily growing until the present extensive proportions have been reached.

Furs of all kinds are dealt in, the specialty being seal skins, and an idea of the business done in these may be gleaned from the fact that the firm maintains four large sealing schooners and handles, on an average, about 20,000 skins a year.

The highest cash prices are paid, while cash advances are made on consignments, on shipments to Europe, in fitting out schooners for sealing, for fur trading, salmon, and on cannery supplies. The greater portion of the skins bought by the firm is sold direct to London dealers. The operation of the firm has always been characterized by liberality and reliability. Mr. Joseph Boscowitz is a young man of ability, and is doing a great deal to advance the interests of the firm.³⁴

Joseph Boscowitz “retired from active business with the wiping out of the sealing industry,”³⁵ after the 1911 Fur-Seal Treaty was signed by Great Britain (representing Canada), the United States, Japan and Russia.



Victoria, B.C., 1868. Yates Street from the corner of Wharf Street, south side, B. Boscowitz, pioneer dealer in furs, sign clearly visible. (Photo: Frederick Dally [1838–1914]. BCA, call no. A-01614.)

BOSCOWITZ, LEOPOLD (1832–1895)

Fur Dealer; Boscowitz and Sons, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 1870 to circa 1880

Genealogy

Leopold Boscowitz and his brother, Joseph, natives of Floss, Bavaria, immigrated to Victoria, British Columbia, in 1860. The two brothers initially opened a tobacco shop on Yates Street in Victoria. In 1870, they began a successful business in the seal-pelt trade.

Leopold Boscowitz married Margaretha (Margaret) Simon, born about 1821 in Salzungen, Germany. Margaretha was the daughter of Michael Simon and Christine (Erbe) Simon.

Leopold Boscowitz's obituary in the *New York Times* on the day after his death at his New York City home read:

Leopold Boscowitz, a retired merchant, died suddenly at his home, 130 East Fifty-Sixth Street, from paralysis of the brain. He was sixty-three years old, and was born in Floss, Bavaria. He came to this country in 1860, and settled in San Francisco, where he engaged in the tobacco business. Later he became a member of the Alaska Commercial Company that was formed after the purchase of Alaska for the purpose of catching seals. He retired from business about fifteen years ago, after having accumulated a fortune. He leaves a wife, whose maiden name was Miss Margaret Simons.³⁶

After her husband's death, Margaret Boscowitz married Ernst H. Bauer on June 21, 1897. She died March 29, 1902, in Manhattan, New York.³⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

The Boscowitz family became a significant force in the Victoria, British Columbia, mercantile industry and exerted considerable influence in the fur-seal industry, particularly with respect to the pelagic sealing fishery.

Leopold, fur buyer, a resident of Victoria, and a British subject, associated with his brother Joseph. In 1867 Boscowitz was on the spot in Sitka as soon as word spread of the impending transfer [of Russian America to the United States]. Prince Maksutov, the governor of Russian America, is said to have told him that he could buy all the furs that were in the company warehouses in Sitka at the established prices at which the RAC [Russian-American Company] had been selling them. The cautious Boscowitz took [only] 16,000 fur-seal skins at the rock bottom price of forty cents apiece, and shipped them to Victoria, where they sold for two to three dollars apiece. When he received word from Victoria of his success, Boscowitz tried to secure the remainder of the skins, but meanwhile Maksutov had received orders not to sell any more.

Boscowitz, in the fur trade, and a fellow resident of Victoria, William Kohl, who was in shipping, were well known to each other. After the transfer both went to Sitka at approximately the same time. They presumably heard that Captain Gustave Niebaum, a Russian American Company (RAC) skipper, with four associates, had bought from Prince Maksutov the RAC brig *Konstantin* (Constantine) and were fitting her out for a voyage to the Pribylov Islands to pick up a cargo of sealskins to be taken to San Francisco for sale. Boscowitz and Kohl appear to have come together with the idea of arranging to acquire the cargo upon its arrival in San Francisco, so Boscowitz evidently thought of Adolf Wasserman, a well-placed San Francisco fur dealer. Therefore, Boscowitz and Kohl left Sitka together for San Francisco on the *John L. Stephens*, arriving 22 November [1867]. They joined forces with Wasserman and on 18 January 1868 returned to Sitka on the

steamer *Fideliter* (Erskine). In Sitka Boscowitz and Kohl found another entrepreneur, H. W. Hutchinson, who represented a group which included Abraham Hirsch, and the San Francisco merchants Louis Sloss and Louis Gerstle. Hutchinson, in a business coup had first made a bulk purchase of RAC moveable goods from Prince Maksutov.

Hutchinson, Kohl, and Boscowitz were together for some time in Sitka and on 24 January 1868, left on the same ship as Prince Maksutov reaching San Francisco on February 5. At Sitka, or on shipboard, they probably agreed to combine forces. There they got together with their respective San Francisco associates, Sloss and Gerstle, and Wasserman, and by the beginning of March had united as Hutchinson, Kohl and Company. When Niebaum arrived in the *Constantine* on 2 March with a cargo of sealskins, which he delivered to Wasserman, he too was offered an association with the new firm. Presumably Niebaum's four associates declined or were bought out. Now there were seven; an eighth partner, John F. Miller, was brought in 1870.

In October 1868 the Alaska Commercial Company was formed, at first virtually synonymous with the Hutchinson, Kohl Company. Passage on 1 July 1870 of legislation authorizing an exclusive twenty-year sealing lease of the Pribilof Islands to the Alaska Commercial Company began a two-year changeover of Hutchinson, Kohl interests to the Alaska Commercial Company. Boscowitz, not being an American citizen and hence excluded by terms of the lease, was eliminated in early 1872, having to sell 1,400 shares to Mark Livingston, another German-Jewish pioneer merchant in San Francisco and a close friend of Wasserman, who probably interested him [Livingston] in the investment. Returning from San Francisco on 14 March 1871, he [Boscowitz] thereafter remained in Victoria as a property owner and furrier, making frequent visits to Europe.³⁸

BOWER, WARD TAFT (1881–1959)

Fish Culturist, U.S. Fish Commission, 1900–1911

Inspector, Assistant Agent, Chief of Division of Alaska Fisheries, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1911–1947

Genealogy

Ward Taft Bower was born on November 17, 1881, in Northville, Michigan, to Seymour Bower, Chief of the Michigan Fish Commission. Ward Bower died on November 21, 1959, in St. Petersburg, Florida.³⁹

Biographical Sketch and Pribilof Islands Experience

Ward Bower's biography is well summarized by the following news release:

Department of the Interior. Information Service. Fish and Wildlife Service.
For Release to the AM's⁴⁰ of Thursday, April 3, 1947.

WARD T. BOWER RETIRES FROM FEDERAL SERVICE

After 47 years of continuous service in fisheries work for the United States Government, Ward T. Bower has retired as Chief of the Division of Alaska Fisheries of the Fish and Wildlife Service, it was announced today by Albert M. Day, Director of the Service. Mr. Bower has been located in Chicago since 1942 when the headquarters of the Service was moved from Washington [D.C.] to that city.

“Ward Bower leaves a magnificent record of achievement in the field of conservation, and his retirement will be distinctly felt,” said Mr. Day. “His is the longest record of continuous service in Federal fisheries work. In his years of duty, he has become a specialist on Alaska, and an authority on the aquatic resources of that great Territory. Under his administration . . . the North Pacific fur seal herd had increased from 125,000 animals in 1911 to more than 3,300,000 today, and through wise management during this period of growth, about 1,300,000 sealskins have been taken from surplus male animals to enrich the Treasury of the United States by more than 10 million dollars.

This outstanding accomplishment in the field of wildlife restoration is only one of the monuments to Mr. Bower’s tireless devotion to the cause of conservation. In addition, he has had a guiding hand in the development and management of the valuable salmon and other commercial fisheries of Alaska, directing and encouraging the research on which has been based legislation and regulations designed to maintain them forever at high, productive levels.

Ward T. Bower came by his interest in fishery conservation naturally. . . . [H]is father, Seymour Bower, was for 20 years the active head of the Michigan Fish Commission, the forerunner of the present Department of Conservation of Michigan. Educated in Detroit, Mr. Bower joined the staff of the U.S. Fish Commission as an apprentice fish culturist on July 1, 1900, at the fish cultural station at Northville, Michigan. This organization in 1903, was designated as the Bureau of Fisheries and in 1940, it was merged with the Biological Survey to form the present Fish and Wildlife Service.

For the first ten years of his service, Mr. Bower was identified with fish cultural activities, holding positions of responsibility at stations in Michigan, Minnesota, and California, and finally going to the Washington office as Superintendent of fish distribution. In 1911, Mr. Bower entered full time work in the Division of Alaska Fisheries with which he has been associated continuously ever since, holding variously the positions of Inspector, Assistant Agent, Agent, Administrative Officer, and Chief. During the years since 1911, he has spent many months in Alaska, and in 1922 he accompanied the Assistant Secretary of Commerce on a world cruise to investigate the maritime industries and economic conditions in Russia, Japan, China, India, Egypt, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, the British Isles, and elsewhere.

Mr. Bower has been a member of the American Fisheries Society since 1900, an officer of the Society for five terms, and editor of its publications two different years. . . . Mr. Bower is the author of more than 40 publications on a variety of subjects in the fields of fish culture, aquarium management, fishery conservation, marine mammals, and Alaska.”⁴¹

BOWMAN, WILLARD L. (1919–1975)

Executive Director, Alaska State Committee for Human Rights, 1963–1965

Politician, Aleut Human Rights Advocate

Genealogy

Willard Bowman was born on August 18, 1919, in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He moved to Anchorage, Alaska, in 1950, and became an active voice for Native civil rights. Willard Bowman died in Anchorage on December 3, 1975.⁴²

Biographical Sketch

Willard Bowman “served in the U.S. Navy between 1938 and 1945, and in 1950, he moved to Anchorage, Alaska, where he worked as a laborer and was an active union member.



Willard Bowman in 1970 during campaign for Alaska House of Representatives. (Courtesy UAA, Archives.)

He later became a labor management consultant. He was also an active member of the NAACP in Anchorage. He was elected to the State House of Representatives in three consecutive elections (1970, 1972, and 1974). Representative Bowman was one of the first Black Americans to serve in the Alaska Legislature.”⁴³

Pribilof Islands Experience

Willard Bowman became the first Executive Director for the Alaska State Committee for Human Rights and served from 1963 to 1975. Later he was Chairman of the Alaska State House Rules Committee. He investigated administrative procedures governing the Pribilof Aleuts after the *Tundra Times* wrote extensively about living standards on the islands. He “allied himself with the editor of [the *Tundra Times*], and assistant editor Thomas A. Snapp, in fighting for the rights of the Pribilof people. Bowman did much to bring

about the desired end from the standpoint of the native citizens. He battled those who would only whitewash a bad situation.”⁴⁴ Later, Senator E. L. Bartlett became involved, and the three worked together to help address human rights problems involving the Pribilof Aleut population. Bowman “was a great humanitarian. He did not live in vain. He achieved better things in life for people no matter who they were.”⁴⁵

BRYANT, CHARLES (1820–1903)

Whaling Captain

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Territory of Alaska, 1869

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Seal Islands, 1870–1877

An expanded genealogy and biographical sketch of Charles Bryant is presented in the “First Three Managers” section of this volume.

BUTERIN, JAMES P. (1857–1883)

School Teacher, St. Paul Island, 1878–1882

Biographical Sketch

James Buterin, Chief Karp Buterin's younger brother, left St. Paul Island on September 9, 1872, at age fifteen for schooling in San Francisco.⁴⁶ He later went to Rutland, Vermont, at the direction of the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC), which began to send promising young Aleuts off the island for their education; he was the first person so sent.⁴⁷ He returned to St. Paul Island on May 12, 1878, aboard the ACC steamer *St. Paul* to teach at the school. His first year of teaching began on September 2, 1878, with forty students; the school year ended on May 8, 1879. Comments in the Agent's Log and Agent's Annual Report praised his service: "Mr. Butrin is worthy of commendation for the faithful manner in which he has [unreadable] discharged his arduous duties. A great deal of difficulty has been experienced in compelling the individual attendance of many of the children for the reason that, with a few exceptions, the parents are perfectly indifferent about it, and in some cases have made all sorts of excuses to prevent their children from attending regularly." The agent took effort to mention that student Julia Kushin was present every day during the term.⁴⁸

On St. Paul Island the school is fortunate in being conducted by a native teacher, James Buterin, who possesses a good English education, and much industry, tact, and energy. The attendance at the last term [1879] averaged 39 out of a total enrollment of 42 pupils.⁴⁹

James Buterin continued as teacher on St. Paul Island until the close of the school year, May 15, 1882. Ill health had plagued him throughout the school year and forced him to leave the Pribilofs. He departed on July 28, 1882, aboard the steamer *St. Paul* to seek medical care on the West Coast.⁵⁰ James Buterin died in California in March 1883 of consumption.⁵¹

BUTERIN, KARP (B. 1851)

Aleut Chief, St. Paul Island, 1891–1893

Genealogy

Karp Buterin was born October 25, 1851, on St. Paul Island, Alaska.⁵² Karp was the son of Chief Kerick Bootrin and Lokeli (aka Lokelia) Bootrin (1819–1875). Karp Buterin married Parascovia (surname unknown) born August 7, 1854 in Unalaska, Alaska. Parascovia Buterin died on St. Paul Island, March 10, 1923.⁵³ Karp Buterin died sometime after 1928.⁵⁴

Biographical Sketch

Agent George Tingle spoke highly of Karp Buterin's father, Chief Kerick Bootrin, in his 1888 testimony before a congressional committee: "Old Kerrick Booterin, the most intelligent native of the islands, told me that under Russian rule he was the highest salaried



Karp Buterin with two girls. (Watson Colt Allis scrapbook, 99-07-79, Greta Ericson Photographs, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

man on the islands. That he was the head carpenter and the highest payment he ever received from Russia in one year was \$60. That man now receives about \$600, or a little over, in cash. He has charge of the boats, and is one of the first-class men.”⁵⁵

Karp Buterin’s mother, Lokeli Bootrin, died February 26, 1875, of bronchitis at age fifty-six. According to Agent Charles Bryant, she was the oldest woman on St. Paul Island. She had served as head housekeeper for the Russian-American Company, and she continued in the same capacity for Hutchinson, Kohl, & Co. and the Alaska Commercial Company until the fall of 1872, when she went to Unalaska to spend the winter with friends. “She has always been a bright character for honesty and faithfulness and is more respected than any other native woman on the island.”⁵⁶

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Karp Buterin, head chief at St. Paul Island, gave the following deposition [excerpted] to the Tribunal of Arbitration before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska, on June 9, 1892:

I am 39 years of age and I was born on St. Paul Island, Alaska, and I have always lived here. I have a practical knowledge of the fur-seal industry as it is done on St. Paul Island, for I have been working at it all of my life since I was able to work. I have driven seals and clubbed and skinned them; I have had charge of the drives and I have been second chief for four years, and I am head chief now, being elected in 1891. As chief it is my duty to see that the rookeries are not troubled by anyone, to teach my people to obey the law and my young men how to drive seals to the killing grounds without injuring them.⁵⁷

The St. Paul Island Agent’s Log often provided anecdotal glimpses of everyday life on the island. An entry on October 11, 1897, made mention of Karp Buterin.

Aggie Kushin, Nicoli Krukoff and Markel Volkoff with a force of Assistants, were to remove the shed of the Billiard hall over to Karp Buterin’s, where it will be joined to Karp’s house as an addition.



Karp Buterin and small girl standing in entrance to outbuilding, St. Paul Island. (Washington State Historical Society, Asahel Curtis photographs, 1943.42.29269.)



Seal strippers, St. Paul Island, 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-02165.)



Karp Buterin and small boy. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-090.)



Karp Buterin and family, St. Paul Island, circa 1920s. (Photo: Albert Christofferson. California Academy of Sciences Library, G Dallas Hanna Coll., 79.)

BUYNITZKY, STEPHEN NESTOR (1832–1903)

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1870

First Schoolteacher on St. George Island

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, July 1871–April 1872

Genealogy

Stephen Buynitzky was born in December 1832, at Disna, Russia. According to a family genealogist, Stephen Buynitzky left Russia circa 1861. Stephen married Carolina Petsch, daughter of Julius and Eleanor Picker, in Washington, D.C., around 1870. Stephen and Carolina Buynitzky had three children: Julius Stephen (1874–1977), who became a druggist in Washington, D.C.; Eleanor (1880–1917), who became an assistant in the National Weather Service library; and Alexander (1888–1970), who clerked in the U.S. Navy Department. Stephen Buynitzky died in Washington, D.C., April 3, 1903.⁵⁸

Biographical Sketch

Mr. Buynitzky came to the United States with an interesting legacy and gifted talent.

Stephen was once a Baron but left that title and his son Alex behind in Russia because the son would have lost his land and his title had he left the country. Stephen left Russia around 1861 probably because political change was about to claim all his wealth. Here in this country he became affectionately known as the Baron. He was a founder of a French Society in DC and his obituary states that they began his memorial service with the Polish National Anthem because it was where he was born.⁵⁹

In 1868, Julius Petsch [his future father-in-law] of Hanover, Prussia, and Stephen Buynitzky of St. Petersburg, Russia, jointly filed a U.S. Patent for an ingenious vacuum coffee brewer consisting of an integrated pot with internal upper and lower chambers, suspended by trunnions from a stand over a spirit heater. Due to the asymmetrical shapes of the two chambers, when the water rises to the upper chamber, the pot becomes unbalanced and tips to the side. This process extinguishes the heater, and when the vacuum pulls the brewed coffee back into the lower chamber, the pot swings back to vertical, simultaneously tripping a small hammer which then strikes a bell to indicate that the coffee is ready.⁶⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

In addition to being an agent at St. George, Stephen Buynitzky founded the island's first American school and briefly served as schoolteacher in 1870. In 1871, Buynitzky published a book through the Alaska Commercial Company about the Aleut language titled *English-Aleutian Vocabulary* (Sail [San] Francisco: Alta California Book and Job Printing House. No. 529 California Street, 1871.) A copy of this rare book is located in the Loussac Library, Anchorage.

Mr. Buynitzky provided the following information about himself during two investigations of the Fur Seal Islands:

I am a Russian by birth and am 60 years of age. I graduated from the Imperial Lyceum at St. Petersburg, an institution for the nobility. I am now a resident of the city of Washington.⁶¹

... I am now a citizen of the United States. ... My first orders from the Treasury Department bore date May 25, 1870. That was some time before the act in relation to this



Men playing pool. Anton Kushin (1), Nick Stepetin (2), Alex Stepetin (3), Andrew Stepetin (4), Agafon Krukoff (5), Paul Krukoff (6), Alfey Melovidov (7), George Rukovishnikoff (8), Andronic Oustigoff (9), and John Hapoff (10). (Fredricka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-224, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

matter [the Alaska Commercial Company lease] was passed. There was no near prospect of the act being passed at that session, as the session was then far advanced, and the expectation of Secretary Boutwell, I understood, was that no legislation on the subject would be had that session. At the same time he knew that the natives there were destitute, he having prohibited any vessels from landing there while the question of the management of the island was pending before Congress. My instructions were, acting under the orders of Captain Bryant, the special agent of the Treasury Department, to assist him in taking charge, for the time being, of the two islands. I reported to Captain Bryant, and was put in charge of Saint George, while he himself sailed to Saint Paul. We had a small lot of provisions, such as salt, flour, etc., and were expecting our orders and further news from the States. In that condition we remained there about three months. At the end of the three months (on the 12th of October, 1870) the steamer Constantine arrived at Saint George, and brought to the agents of the Alaska Company a copy of the act of July 1, and a copy of the orders of the Secretary of the Treasury to allow that company to take possession of the skins which had accumulated on the island at the time. It also brought orders to myself to proceed to Washington and resume my duties as clerk in the office of the Secretary. At that period I was acting in utter ignorance of any law having been passed by Congress in regard to the management of fur-seal fisheries, and of any lease having been granted to any one. I immediately left and returned to Washington. . . . The second time I was ordered to proceed to the island of Saint Paul, there to report to Captain Bryant, who was then in charge, and to act entirely under his orders so long as he wanted my services there, and in case he should conclude to go to Washington, that I should remain on the island of Saint Paul and take charge of his duties. Captain Bryant concluded to go to Washington, and gave me orders to remain on the island.⁶²

-
- 1 "To Watch Seal Hunters," *New York Times*, June 23, 1891, 1.
 - 2 Edmond C. Jeffery, *Alaska: Who's Here, What's Doing, Who's Doing It*, 1955 (Anchorage, AK: Jeffery, 1955); and "Obituary: Charles Howard Baltzo," *The Olympian* (Olympia, WA), June 8, 2003, 13.
 - 3 U.S. Congress, House *Commerce Secretary's Report to Congress on the Pribilof Islands As Required Under Public Law 104-91*, Federal Register 62, no. 72 (Apr. 15, 1997): 18,319. Also, C. Howard Baltzo, "Living and Working Conditions of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska," U.S. Fisheries Leaflet 548, Feb. 1963.
 - 4 Dorothy Knee Jones, *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1980), 142; and Jones, citing personal communications with Mr. C. Howard Baltzo, Nov. 11, 1978.
 - 5 "Seattle Man Studied Seals With Soviets," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 13, 1960.
 - 6 Office Memorandum: "To Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Island Managers, St. George and St. Paul Islands," Nov. 22, 1961, Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.
 - 7 Lawrence E. Davis, "Seal-Skin Harvest Due to Begin Soon," *New York Times*, Aug. 27, 1964, 45.
 - 8 U.S. National Mite Collection History, <http://www.sel.barc.usda.gov/acari/contents/history.html>; Obituary, "Nathan Banks," *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1953, 84; and U.S. Federal Census, 1880–1930, Ancestry.com.
 - 9 <http://www.sel.barc.usda.gov/acari/content/history.html>.
 - 10 Edward A. Preble and W. T. McAtee, *North American Fauna* 46 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1923), 130.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 130–59.
 - 12 Joseph P. Smith, ed., *History of the Republican Party in Ohio* (Chicago: Lewis, 1898), vol. 1, 366; Western Biographical Publishing, *The Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery With An Historical Sketch of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati: Western Biographical, 1883), 612 [includes image of Milton Barnes and biography]; Penni Scialdone-Luntsford, Ancestry Word Tree: Scialdone. Abel Barnes genealogy, ID 195326577, from notes by Gilbert H. Barnes Carmel, Ancestry.com; National Organization of Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Harrisburg, PA, <http://www.suvcw.org>; U.S. Census 1850–1900 for Cambridge, Columbus, and Westerville, OH; Ohio Division of Vital Statistics, Death Certificates and Index, Dec. 20, 1908–Dec. 31, 1953; State Archives Series 3094,

- Ohio Historical Society, 380.
- 13 Smith, *History of the Republican Party*, 366–7; and National Organization of Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Harrisburg, PA, <http://www.suvcw.org> (accessed Jan. 3, 2008).
- 14 “Col. Barnes Dead,” obituary of Milton Barnes (1830–1895), *Public Opinion News* (Westerville, OH), June 6, 1895; “Obituary of Milton Barnes,” *Columbus Dispatch* (Columbus, OH), June 3, 1895. Both obituaries were found in the Milton Barnes Civil War Collection, George Mason University Special Collections and Archives, Fairfax, VA. The manuscript noted in the quote has not been located and is assumed to be in the possession of a Barnes family member.
- 15 Introductory statement from Archivist Dr. Robert Hawke’s typed 1891 “Letter Milton Barnes to Clarence L. Barnes.” The typed transcription of the Barnes letter and the original letter are located in the Milton Barnes Civil War Collection, George Mason University Special Collections & Archives, Fairfax, VA. Milton Barnes gave his sworn deposition at St. Paul Island, June 23, 1892, prior to leaving the Pribilof Islands and not after his return to Ohio in 1894 as stated in the last paragraph of the archivist’s introductory statement. A copy of the Barnes deposition is found in the U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 102; and in the appendix of Joseph Murray’s 1894 report found in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, 55th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 92, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 83.
- 16 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 101.
- 17 David Starr Jordan, *Observations on the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands: Second Preliminary Report* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 25–28.
- 18 “Bartlett, Edward Lewis (Bob), (1904–1968),” Library of Congress, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B000201> (accessed Jan. 29, 2007).
- 19 Jeffrey, *Alaska: Who’s Here, 1955* (Anchorage), 17; and U.S. Census 1929, Fairbanks, AK.
- 20 “Bartlett, Edward Lewis (Bob), (1904–1968),” Library of Congress, citing *Dictionary of American Biography*; and Claus M. Naske, *Edward Lewis “Bob” Bartlett of Alaska: A Life in Politics* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1979).
- 21 USFWS, *Annual Report of Sealing Operations 1965, Pribilof Islands, Alaska*, Dec. 31, 1965, 15; and “Willard Bowman—A Great Humanitarian,” *Tundra Times*, Dec. 10, 1975, 2.
- 22 Obituary, “Mr. J. W. Beaman,” *The Daily Record* (Greensboro, NC), Dec 14, 1903; William Richard Cutter, ed., *New England Families Genealogical Memorial; A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of Commonwealths and the Founding of a Nation*, vol. 3 (NY: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1914), 1186–8; and Ancestry.com.
- 23 Betty John, *Libby: The Sketches, Letters & Journal of Libby Beaman, Recorded in the Pribilof Islands, 1879–1880*. (Tulsa, OK: Council Oak Books, 1987), 27–8; Amherst College, *Biographical Record, Centennial Edition (1821–1921)* (Amherst, MA: Fletcher and Young, 1927); Class of 1867 non-graduate list, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Amy Rupert, Archivist, biographical information notation to Betty Lindsay, May 27, 2005; Obituary, “Mr. J. W. Beaman,” *The Daily Record* (Greensboro, NC), Dec. 14, 1903; Cutter, ed., *New England Families Genealogical Memorial*, vol. 3, 1186–8; and Ancestry.com.
- 24 John, *Libby*, 37–8.
- 25 Libby was not the first white woman to visit the islands. For example, the wives of Capt. Charles Bryant and Dr. Hugh McIntyre accompanied their husbands to St. Paul Island at least as early as 1871. Betty John’s book exercised creative license about certain aspects of life and conditions on the island. For example, her mention of blue butterflies has not been confirmed and her confinement in her living quarters for over two months during the winter of 1880 is not substantiated by the Agent’s Logs (John, *Libby*, 159–168). Also, Libby’s diary stated that she and her husband departed St. Paul Island Aug. 3, 1880 (p. 197), whereas the St. Paul Island Agent’s Log stated that they departed on July 30, 1880.
- 26 John, *Libby*, 185.
- 27 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 136.

- 28 BC Archives, Births, Obituary; <http://web.city.victoria.bc.ca/archives/obituary>; <http://search.bcar-chives.gov.bc.ca>.
- 29 BC Archives, Vital Records and Census data.
- 30 Further background information on the Canadian pelagic sealers can found in Peter Murray, *The Vagabond Fleet* (Sono Nis: Victoria, BC); Briton Cooper Busch, *The War Against the Seals, A History of the North American Seal Fishery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1985); and Gerald O. Williams, *The Bering Sea Fur Seal Dispute, 1895–1911* (Juneau, AK: Alaska Maritime, 1984).
- 31 James K. Nesbitt, "Boscowitz Runs the Machine," *The Daily Colonist* (Victoria, BC), Nov. 27, 1966, 2; British Census 1881, Stoke, Surry, England, RG 11, 0777/20, 34; and Births (1872–1903), British Columbia Archives index.
- 32 Nesbitt, "Boscowitz Runs the Machine," 2 and 19.
- 33 *The Daily Colonist*, November 27, 1966, 2.
- 34 Nesbitt, "Boscowitz Runs the Machine," 2 and 19.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 36 *New York Times* "Obituary," June 17, 1895, 5, gave Mrs. Boscowitz's maiden name as "Simons." Other sources stated that her maiden name was "Simon."
- 37 *New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1902, <http://www.familysearch.org>. International Genealogical Index v. 5.
- 38 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 68–9.
- 39 "Ward T. Bower Retires," USFWS Information Service, Carson, 4236, Apr. 3, 1947—found in the NMML Library Reprint Files under "Bower."
- 40 AM's refers to "morning," a press release timed for the morning papers.
- 41 "Ward T. Bower Retires," USFWS Information Service.
- 42 Willard L. Bowman Papers, 1952–1979 (includes photograph), University of Alaska Library, <http://www.lib.uaa.alaska.edu/archives> (accessed May 23, 2005).
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 *Tundra Times*, Alaska, Dec. 10, 1975, 2 and 6.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 46 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1872, 135.
- 47 Rutland, Vermont was the hometown of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre, Superintendent for the Alaska Commercial Company.
- 48 *Ibid.*, May 8, 1879, 87.
- 49 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 119.
- 50 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1882, 269.
- 51 *Ibid.*, May 31, 1883, 298.
- 52 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 52.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 52.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 630.
- 55 U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 161.
- 56 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1875, 298.
- 57 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 102–3.
- 58 U.S. Census 1880, 1900, and 1920 (Washington, DC); and "NOAA Profiles" (Eleanor Buynitzky) in Time/NWS Biographies, http://www.history.noaa.gov/nwsbios/nwsbios_page7.html#e_buynitzky (accessed Dec. 27, 2008).
- 59 Stephen Nestor Buynitzky family genealogy, <http://awtc.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi> (accessed Oct. 31, 2005).
- 60 Brian Harris, "Historical Development of the Vacuum Coffee Pot," BHA Enterprises, 2004, <http://www.baharris.org/coffee/History.htm>.
- 61 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 20–21.
- 62 U.S. Congress, House, Committee of Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. no. 623 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1876), 106–7.



Water carrier in 1890's era. Prior to the use of sleds and plumbing to transport water from the water sources on each island, water was carried daily in wooden casks on the backs of young girls and women. U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Seal and Salmon Fisheries, 1898, vol. 1, 328. NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-255.

C

CALL, DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON (1858–1909)

Assistant Physician, Alaska Commercial Company, Pribilof Islands, 1890–1899, 1903–1905

Genealogy

One of ten children, Samuel Call was born February 18, 1858, in Missouri to George Washington Call and Elizabeth B. (Johnson) Call, both natives of Kentucky. Samuel Call spent his young adult years (until age 21) in California. In 1880, he worked as a druggist while living in San Luis Obispo with the family of his sister, Susanna Booth. Later that year he left for Alaska, returning in 1908 to Hollister, California, where Samuel Call died on February 6, 1909, at age 50.¹

Biographical Sketch

In 1891, Samuel Call assisted Dr. Sheldon Jackson with his project to import reindeer from Siberia to Alaska. In August 1899, he resigned from government service and opened a private medical practice in Nome, Alaska, where he lived until 1903, before returning to sea as surgeon on the USRC *Thetis*. Dr. Call was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal of Honor on June 28, 1902, for his heroic service on the Arctic coast to rescue imperiled whalers in the 1897–98 Overland Relief Expedition to Point Barrow.²



Samuel Johnson Call. (U.S. Treasury Dept., 1899, 29.)



Egg-gathering party at Walrus Island, Pribilof Islands. (Alaska State Library, Samuel J. Call Photograph Coll., PCA 181.11.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. Samuel Call served as the Alaska Commercial Company physician at Unalaska in 1880–1890, after which he served with the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (USRCS) as an assistant physician during 1890–1899 and 1903–1905. Dr. Call worked aboard the USRC *Bear*, *Thetis*, and *McCulloch*—ships assigned to the Bering Sea. While with the USRCS, Dr. Call provided the Pribilof Islands with medical needs and supplies.

CAMPBELL, NEDDIE BURNS (B. 1867)

School Teacher, North American Commercial Company, St. George Island, 1910

Genealogy

Neddie Campbell was born on March 31, 1867, near Martinsburg in Berkeley County, West Virginia.

Biographical Sketch

Neddie Campbell was educated in West Virginia schools and graduated from Hampden Sidney College and Union Theological Seminary. He was a practicing preacher before his appointment on May 27, 1910, as teacher at St. George Island, where his yearly salary was \$900.³

CHAMBERLAIN, FREDERICK MORTON (1867–1921)

Scientific Assistant, Naturalist, U.S. Fish Commission, 1897–1909

U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Bureau of Biological Survey, 1909–1913

Naturalist, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Fur-Seal Service, St. Paul Island, 1913

Genealogy

Frederick Morton Chamberlain, son of Associate Judge Horace Chamberlain and Mary A. (Dickerson) Chamberlain, was born in June 1867 at Lost Creek, Vigo County, Indiana. In April 1913, Frederick Chamberlain married, five months before his Pribilof Islands assignment. Frederick died August 17, 1921, at Kings Daughters Home for Incurables in Oakland, California, after suffering eight years with tuberculosis.⁴



Frederick Morton Chamberlain. (SIA 32c.)

Biographical Sketch

Fred Chamberlain's early years were spent in Lost Creek, Indiana, where he was educated and worked on the family farm. He graduated from the University of Indiana June 17, 1896, with a BA degree in zoology. He studied with ichthyologists Carl Eigenmann and Barton W. Evermann at the University of Indiana before his appointment as scientific assistant with the U.S. Fish Commission in 1897. His position as assistant naturalist afforded him experience aboard the Fish Commission's steamer *Albatross* to the Bering Sea, the Hawaiian Islands, and the South Pacific. In 1903, Chamberlain was appointed naturalist for the *Albatross* and charged with responsibility for the natural history collections gathered by members of the scientific research vessel. He participated in expeditions investigating the Alaska salmon fisheries during 1901 and 1903 and a Hawaiian expedition in 1902. His last tour was with Louis Agassiz's Philippine expedition in 1907. Chamberlain resigned his post as naturalist for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries in 1911 to accept the position of agent for the Alaskan salmon fisheries. Subsequently, he became naturalist and agent at St. Paul Island for the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1913.⁵

Chamberlain's "many contributions to the marine sciences include pioneering studies of salmon and native fish populations in Alaska and California, collections of thousands of natural history specimens on board the *Albatross*, design and construction of collecting equipment, and his innovative application of photography in the study of fisheries."⁶

Pribilof Islands Experience

Newly appointed Agent Fred Chamberlain landed at St. Paul Island on July 13, 1913, and by July 15 had taken ill and become bedridden. On August 24, the island's physician, Dr. McGovern, issued a diagnosis of consumption (tuberculosis). Dr. McGovern advised Chamberlain to leave as soon as possible if he had any desire to recover; otherwise he

would likely perish within three months.⁷ The cutter *Manning* arrived within a week of a request to move Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain off-island. The Agent's Log noted:

Put Mr. Chamberlain in a cot with mattress and springs and hauled him to east landing with wagon and mules at 10:30 A.M., and carried him to MANNING in our surf boat. MANNING'S crew hoisted him aboard with blocks and tackle attached to the cot. The sea was smooth and the whole trip was made without a single jolt or shake up for the patient.⁸

Philip Hatton, who began his Pribilof Islands career in 1911 as a teacher, assumed Chamberlain's responsibilities as agent. Hatton would come under investigation within another year for gross malfeasance (see Alvin Whitney's biography for additional details).

CHICHESTER, HARRY DENNISON (1872–1911)

Assistant to Special Agent J. Stanley-Brown, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Pribilof Islands, May–October 1892

Agent, North American Commercial Company, 1893–1900

Special Assistant, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1901–1909

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1910–1911

Pribilof Islands Photographer and Author

Genealogy

Harry D. Chichester was born April 20, 1872, in Port Lavaca, Texas, son of Elijah Chichester (1846–1904) and grandson of the Reverend Elijah Chichester of Lansingburgh, New York. Harry's mother was Maria (Brown) Chichester, born 1849 in Louisiana, of John Leopold Brown and Elizabeth Frances (Marr) Brown. In 1910, Harry Chichester married Emilie A. Perpall. Emilie Chichester died November 7, 1970, in Cincinnati, Ohio;⁹ Harry Chichester died at St. Paul Island on May 31, 1911.

Biographical Sketch

Harry Chichester received a public school education and graduated from George Washington University medical school in 1910. He worked as a car accountant for the Southern Pacific Railroad and as a clerk for the Customs and Freight Department with the Mexican International Railroad before his experiences at the Alaska Fur-Seal Islands. His wife, Emilie A. Perpall Chichester, became a librarian in Brooklyn, New York, after returning from the Pribilof Islands following her husband's death.¹⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

Harry Chichester first came to Alaska as an assistant to Special Agent Joseph Stanley-Brown in 1892. He remained in service as agent for the Pribilof Islands lessee, the North American Commercial Company. Although his duty station was in Unalaska from May 1893 to 1900, he frequented the Pribilofs as the company's agent. In 1898, he published a book of his photographs entitled *Seals and the Seal Islands*. The American Museum of Natural History in New York City maintains an archival collection of some 347 of



Harry D. Chichester, seated on the right. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC266, neg. 034951.)

Chichester's photographs, taken from 1897 to 1905. The collection of eight-inch by ten-inch glass plates includes Alaska and Pribilof Islands subjects as well as subjects from elsewhere in North America, the Arctic, and the Yukon.¹¹

On April 27, 1901, Chichester became assistant agent for Alaskan seal fisheries at a salary of \$2,190 per annum. His first assignment was at St. George Island, where he served from 1901 to 1909. In that time he worked on the islands only during the sealing season and attended college during the off season.

In 1906, Chichester had an encounter with a foreign vessel that speaks to the presence of marauders in the islands.

Notwithstanding the presence of so many Japanese schooners in the close vicinity of the islands, no actual attempts were made by them to raid the rookeries on St. George Island. One schooner, however, after having approached the St. George village landing the previous day, sent several boats ashore on September 5 at Garden Cove. Upon discovery Agent Chichester and a native guard proceeded to the cove and found only one man from the schooner ashore. On approach of Agent Chichester's party this man, a Japanese, hailed the ship, which was close inshore, asking the captain of the schooner to come to the beach. The latter in a small boat manned by three sailors came ashore in response to the hail, and all were placed under arrest with the man already ashore. The captain stated to Mr. Chichester that previous to this several of his boats had landed and taken water and ballast from the shore to the schooner.

These prisoners were taken by the revenue cutter *Perry* to Unalaska, and thence by the *Dora* to Valdez . . . they were released for the reason that that portion of the Revised



Harry Chichester with rifle, hunting on sea ice, St. Paul Island. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC274, neg. 034946.)



Harry Chichester ice sailing at St. Paul Island Lagoon. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC275, neg. 034878.)

Statutes which they violated (section 1959), which forbids landing on the islands without a permit, unfortunately, carried no penalty other than summary removal from the islands.¹²

In 1910, Harry Chichester returned to St. Paul Island as the newly married Dr. Chichester, having graduated as a Doctor of Medicine from George Washington University on June 9 of that year. Within a year's time, Dr. Chichester would succumb in a tragic accident.

On May 31, 1911, a distressing accident occurred on St. Paul Island. Dr. Harry D. Chichester, assistant agent, and Dr. Walter L. Hahn, the naturalist on the seal islands, with their wives and a native, Neon Tetof [sic; see Tetoff's biography], while sailing on the lagoon were unable to put about successfully in the high wind and by the capsizing of their boat were exposed to the ice-cold water for more than an hour. All were alive when rescued, and Mrs. Chichester and Mrs. Hahn, by the diligent efforts of the physician were resuscitated. The native also survived, but Dr. Chichester and Dr. Hahn, necessarily left without medical attention for a time, succumbed to the effects of the exposure.

In addition to looking after all business and administrative affairs of the islands . . . Dr. Chichester . . . having graduated in medicine in the preceding spring and during his medical course he had given special attention to those diseases, such as pulmonary infections which are most prevalent among the Aleuts. These studies and his intimate knowledge of the conditions on the seal islands led him to believe that all infectious diseases can be completely eradicated in those restricted localities, and, inspired by this ambition and hope, he entered vigorously upon the securing of the vital and statistical data necessary to enable him to formulate a definite method of procedure. The progress he had made was so encouraging as to induce the belief that had he lived, Dr. Chichester would have realized his ambition completely. Unquestionably, he would have been able greatly to improve health conditions on the Pribilofs.¹³

BRIDE IS AN ARCTIC WIDOW

Charles C. Perpall, a Government weigher, living at 100 Marlborough Road, Brooklyn, received a telegram yesterday from his daughter, who, eleven months ago, left home to marry Dr. Harry Dennison Chichester and go with him to Alaska. The telegram told of the death of her husband, and said she is now one of the few inhabitants of one of the Pribilof Islands in Bering Sea. She will return to Brooklyn as soon as the Government agents arrive on their Summer tour. Miss Perpall was a student at Packer Institute in Brooklyn when she met Dr. Chichester, who then was a student in George Washington University. He received his degree last June, and was then appointed by the Government as Governor [Agent] of one of the Pribilof Islands. Rather than be separated from him, Miss Perpall and he were married last July in St. Paul's Church, New York City, and the couple started on their 5,000 mile trip. With them was a scientist named Hahn. A few days ago a dispatch to Washington notified the Government that Hahn had been killed in a boat accident. Yesterday Mr. Perpall received the telegram from his daughter.

The island is cut off from communication with the world from October until June, so no definite news of the accident can be learned until the arrival of the first mail ship about the middle of July.

New York Times, "Bride is an Arctic Widow," June 22, 1911, 1.



Courtesy of the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries.

SNAPSHOTTING AN OLD BEACH-MASTER.

This plate was recovered, although the photographer was drowned on the treacherous shores of the Pribilof Islands the very day the picture was taken.

Chichester's last image of seals. (Francis Rolt-Wheeler, 1912, 79.)

CHOMSKI, JOSEPH (1946–1993)

Attorney, represented Pribilovian claims against the United States

Genealogy

Joseph Chomski was born in New York City on December 2, 1946, to Dr. Isaac Chomski and his wife, Marsha. Joseph Chomski married Kathleen Brown, and they raised two sons and a daughter. Joseph Chomski died on March 18, 1993, at Georgetown University Hospital; he had resided in Bethesda, Maryland.¹⁴

Biographical Sketch

Joseph Chomski's father, as an official physician to the Israeli Consulate and the United Nations, attended to many Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Golda Meir. Joseph Chomski's mother, Marsha, died at New York City on March 30, 1993, a week after the death of her son.¹⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

The following obituary placed in the New York Times summarized Joseph Chomski's involvement with the Pribilof Islands.

Joseph Chomski, 46; Aided Alaska Natives

Joseph Martin Chomski, a Washington lawyer who was a representative of the interests of Alaska natives, died Thursday at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington. He was 46 and lived in Bethesda, Maryland. A member of the Washington law firm, Birch, Horton, Bittner & Cherot since 1976, Mr. Chomski represented a variety of Alaska's native corporations as disadvantaged businesses under Federal small-business preference programs. In 1988, he represented Pribilof Islands natives when they won a major claim from the Department of Interior for the unreimbursed use of property. He was also an architect of the Pribilof Islands Trust Agreement in 1983, which preserved the natural habitat and furthered the development of the islands' infrastructure. A principal participant in drafting the 1983 amendments to the Fur Seal Act, Mr. Chomski served as American adviser to the North Pacific Fur Seal Treaty negotiations in 1987 and 1988. He was also counsel for the Alaska Teamsters Union Pension Trust for many years. Born in New York City, he graduated from George Washington University, where he also received a law degree in 1970.¹⁶

CHRISTOFFERS, HARRY JOHN (1888–1939)

Scientific Assistant, Warden, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1910–1913

Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, St. Paul Island, 1914–1917
Superintendent, Pribilof Islands, 1918–1939

Genealogy

Harry John Christoffers was the only son of railroad station agent Harry G. Christophers¹⁷ of New York City and Christina (McVicar) Christoffers. Harry J. Christoffers married Elsie Tatiana Kokrine (1891–1961) in 1918 at Tacoma, Washington. Elsie was born at Kokrines, Alaska, to Henry Gregory Kokrine, a Finnish fur trader of the Yukon River gold rush era, and his third wife, Tatiana (Teyotaa) Larion Kokrine. Elsie's father had immigrated to Alaska during the Russian-American era and chose to remain after the Alaska Purchase. Her mother, Teyotaa Larion Kokrine, "was of Athabascan, probably Koyukon heritage."¹⁸ According to family oral tradition, Teyotaa Larion was the daughter of an Alaskan chief, a point noted in a 1946 news column.¹⁹ Missionary Robert McDonald in his journal of July 14, 1872, referred to Larion as a chief of the "Koyookuk Indians" belonging to Fort Nulatke, near Fort St. Michael, on the Yukon River.²⁰ Harry J. and Elise Christophers had one son, Harry John Christoffers Jr. Harry J. Christophers Sr. died at Bellingham, Washington, September 8, 1939.²¹



Harry John Christoffers, 1911.
(Univ. Wisconsin Archives, j439.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Harry John Christoffers Jr., as noted in various Agents' Log entries, spent many of his early years in the Pribilof Islands with his parents. Agent Watson Colt Allis (see Allis' biography) paid tribute to the child in a 1938 interview with author Barrett Willoughby:

The taking of the annual seal census is not a job for a timid person, even though the count is facilitated by the use of cameras. The rookeries are laid off in sectors, which are then photographed. The pictures are shot from exactly the same angle each year, to assure a true comparison. This is made easy by marking suitable boulders in each sector with white symbols, on which the camera can be accurately aligned. On the bachelor hauling grounds, the photographer is never in any danger. But getting down into the sacred harems guarded by warrior bulls is a feat that calls for steady nerves, sharp eyes, and the ability to leap long distances on short notice. The present superintendent, Harry Christoffers, prefers to do this work personally. He spends hours sitting quietly among the battling bulls, "getting acquainted"; moving only with the utmost deliberation. To guard against unexpected attacks from the rear, he must take an assistant whose nerves are as steady as his own. The best "man" he has found for this hazardous job of lookout is his own small son who, accustomed to seals from infancy, is utterly without fear of the beasts.²²

Harry John Christoffers received numerous accolades for his work spanning twenty-five years as a Pribilof Islands agent. Two examples:

Mr. Christoffers was born at London, Dane County, Wisconsin, on August 13, 1888. Within a few weeks after his graduation from the University of Wisconsin in 1910, he entered the Bureau of Fisheries employ as scientific assistant. About a year later he was appointed warden in Alaska, and throughout the subsequent 28 years of his service was identified with the Alaska work.

For 16 years he was in direct charge of fur-seal operations centering at the Pribilof Islands, the greatest activity of this kind in the world. Under his administration, the herd more than trebled in size, increasing from about 650,000 to over 2,000,000 animals, and at the same time yielding upward of 700,000 skins. Unquestionably, he was a leading authority on Alaska fur seals and established a wide reputation for his contribution to the conservation of a great wildlife resource.



H. J. Christoffers

Field of Lupin on Mist Island of St. Paul

Harry J. Christoffers and son Harry Jr. in field of lupine, St. Paul Island. (Willoughby, 1940, Alaska Holiday, 223.)



Elsie Christoffers on St. Paul Island. (Courtesy William Whalley.)



Harry John Christoffers Jr. on St. Paul Island. (Courtesy Henry Christoffers.)

During the administration of Mr. Christoffers not only was there a great increase in the size but also extraordinary improvements were made to the plant and equipment at the Pribilof Islands, such as the erection of many new dwellings and other important structures, the building of roads and wharves, and, in fact, almost complete rehabilitation of the establishment. A further improvement was the addition of the seagoing tender *Penguin* for the transportation of supplies and personnel between Seattle and the Islands. Mr. Christoffers made trips each season on this vessel and took particular interest and pride in the fine performance of the arduous service by this craft. . . . He had a broad human understanding and sympathy, a notable example of which was his interest in the more than 400 native inhabitants of the Pribilof Islands. They had the highest regard for him, recognizing that always he was eminently fair and just and endeavored constantly to further their welfare.²³

In a 1940 annual report, Christoffers was remembered:

To his constructive and untiring efforts, more than to those of any other single person, may be attributed the excellent results achieved in the management of the fur-seal industry and the improvements in housing and other conditions for the welfare of the natives.²⁴

In researching Harry John Christoffers Sr., the authors made contact with his grandson, Henry J. Christoffers, PhD in mathematics from the University of Chicago. Dr. Christoffers brought forward a collection of 16 mm and 35 mm movie films, presumably taken by his grandfather during the 1930s. NOAA acquired these films and converted them to a digital format. Many depict natural history subjects at the Pribilofs, and to a lesser extent scenes of human activity. In 2009, NOAA donated the original films to the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland.

CHRISTOFFERSON, ALBERT (B. 1876)

*Engineer in charge of construction, U.S. Department of Commerce, Pribilof Islands,
1918–1938*



*By-products plant, St. Paul Island, 1921.
(Photo: Albert Christoffersen. G Dallas Hanna
Coll., California Academy of Sciences, 41.)*

Biographical Sketch

Albert Christofferson emigrated from Norway in 1904 at the age of twenty-nine and settled in San Francisco, California. According to the 1920 U.S. Census, he worked as a fish inspector. Albert Christofferson never married, and retired to California following his Pribilof Islands career.²⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

Albert Christofferson arrived at the Pribilof Islands in 1918 as a seal by-products expert, scientist, and engineer. He supervised the

construction of the St. Paul Island seal carcass by-products plant, the waterworks, and electrical operations, all vital parts of the growing infrastructure of the Pribilof Islands seal industry. During his twenty years of government service, Christofferson worked on both islands, but his principal residence was on St. Paul Island from early spring until late fall of each year.

CLARK, EZRA WESTCOTE II (1839–1915)

Chief, U.S. Revenue Marine Service, 1878–1885

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1898–1900

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1901–1902

*Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, St. George Island, 1903, 1904,
1907–1912*

U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, St. Paul Island, 1905–1906

Genealogy

Ezra Westcote Clark II was born in Granville, Licking County, Ohio, on January 11, 1839, to the Reverend Ezra W. Clark (1800–1871) and Mary Patrick (Stiles) Clark (1805–1885). Ezra Westcote Clark II married Sylvia Ann Nodine (1845–1923) at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 10, 1870. Ezra and Sylvia Clark had four sons: Eugene Bradley (1873–1942), engineer and founder of Clark Equipment Company, “pioneer in the use of electric furnaces in steel making;” Ezra Westcote III, vice-president of Clark Equipment Company and designer of the Clark forklift truck, pilot during WWII, and a consultant for materiel handling for the Normandy Invasion; Charles Cleveland, who worked for

the U.S. Department of Agriculture and served as Assistant Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, now known as the National Weather Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NWS/NOAA); and John Howard, who died at an early age.²⁶ Ezra Westcote Clark II died on February 24, 1915, at Chevy Chase, Maryland. He is interred at Arlington National Cemetery. Sylvia Clark died in 1923, and their son Ezra III died in 1949.²⁷

Biographical Sketch

A notarized affidavit dated March 18, 1905, subsequently attached to Ezra Clark II's request for a Civil War pension (filed March 10, 1905), summarized his Civil War military career. Clark served in the 1st Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Company A, the 34th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and the 34th Ohio Regular Infantry from April 1861 to October 1865. Beginning at age 22, Clark rose from private to an appointment by President Lincoln as captain and assistant adjutant general of volunteers under Brigadier General Alfred Duffie of the 1st Cavalry Brigade, 8th Army Corps. He continued to serve as assistant adjutant general under various commands, including under Major General Winfield S. Hancock, where he "participated in the pursuit and capture of the murderers of President Lincoln."²⁸ He ended his military career in 1865 with the service rank of Brevet Major.

Ezra Westcote Clark II became a Washington, D.C., attorney. He worked for the U.S. Department of the Treasury from May 3, 1871, until March 6, 1886. His first direct acquaintance with the Seal Islands occurred during his duty as Chief of the Revenue Marine Bureau, a position he held in Washington, D.C., from 1878 to 1885. The Board of Geographical Names designated the Clark River in Alaska after him in honor of his service, which led to discoveries in the new Territory of Alaska.

Ezra Westcote Clark II became a Washington, D.C., attorney. He worked for the U.S. Department of the Treasury from May 3, 1871, until March 6, 1886. His first direct acquaintance with the Seal Islands occurred during his duty as Chief of the Revenue Marine Bureau, a position he held in Washington, D.C., from 1878 to 1885. The Board of Geographical Names designated the Clark River in Alaska after him in honor of his service, which led to discoveries in the new Territory of Alaska.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Secretary of the Treasury William Windom opened bids on February 21, 1890, for a new twenty-year commercial harvest lease of the Seal Islands. Bid no. 7, one of twelve bids, was submitted by Ezra Clark, along with associates Bateman, Lemon, and others. Despite the Clark investor group's offer "to pay a bonus of \$120,000 in addition to the rental of \$50,000.00 per annum and the tax of \$2.00 per skin,"²⁹ they lost to the North American Commercial Company of New York and San Francisco, as described in a *New York Times* article:

[The North American Commercial Company won] . . . exclusive privilege of taking fur seals upon the islands of St. Paul and St. George, Alaska, for a period of twenty years from May

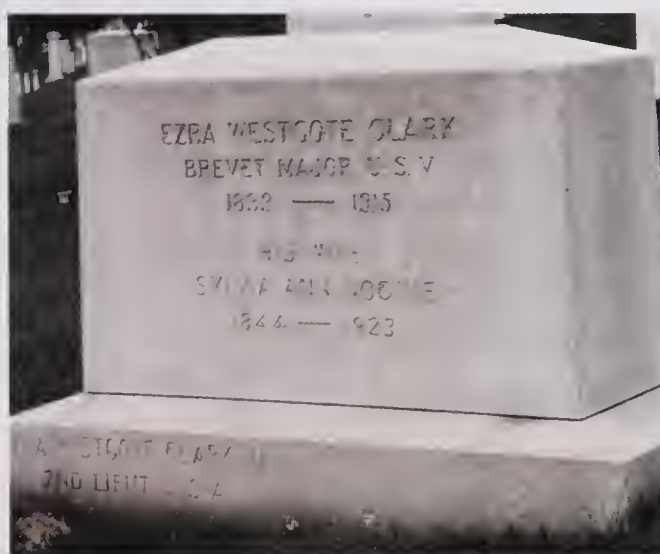


*Ezra Westcote Clark II, circa 1865.
(Courtesy Ted Jackson.)*

1, 1890. The directors of the company are: Lloyd Tevis, Henry Cowell, Matthias Meyer, and Isaac Liebes, all of San Francisco, and Albert Miller of Oakland, Cal., D.O. [Darius Ogden] Mills of New York is a stockholder of the company. Its capital stock is \$2,000,000.00.

The company proposes to pay an annual rental of \$60,000.00 for the lease, and, in addition to the revenue tax of \$2 upon each seal skin, it will pay \$7.62 ½ for each fur-seal skin that shall be taken and shipped by it. The company also proposes to pay 50 cents per gallon for each gallon of seal oil; to furnish, free of charge to the native inhabitants of the islands of St. Paul and St. George, annually, such quantity of dried salmon as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct; to furnish, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the natives the salt and barrels necessary for preserving meat. So far as may be practicable and consistent with the interests of the company, it will encourage the dressing, dyeing, and marketing of sealskins within the United States, and operate its lease in the interest of American citizens.

The annual revenue to the Government under this lease, on the basis of 100,000 seals per annum will be about \$1,000,000 as against about \$300,000 under the present lease to the Alaska Commercial Company.³⁰



Ezra Westcote Clark's gravestone. (Courtesy Beverly H. Ray.)

Despite or because of this turn of events, Clark arrived in the Pribilof Islands on May 10, 1898, at age fifty-nine, with his wife, Sylvia. The majority of his thirteen-year service was on St. George Island; he worked on St. Paul Island only during the years 1901–02 and 1905–06. His duties “under the direction of the agent” included taking charge of matters “pertaining to the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska, including relations with lessees of the seal islands and the natives, guarding the seal herds and custody of buildings and Government property.”³¹ The Clarks stayed throughout some years on St. George Island;

other years they returned in the off season to the States. During his tenure, Ezra Clark made entries in the Agent's Log for whichever island he was assigned to. His wife taught the “junior school children,”³² according to St. George Island Agent's Log entries.

Ezra Clark presented the idea of bringing reindeer to the islands to Secretary Metcalf of the Department of Commerce and Labor in a letter to Washington, D.C., dated March 24, 1905.

Sir: I beg the attention of the department to the following statement and recommendation: For some years past the Government has been engaged in establishing a herd of reindeer in northern Alaska. The object has been accomplished by importing the original stock from Siberia and augmenting it by propagation at the several Alaska stations. The herd now numbers over 8,000, distributed at ten or a dozen stations. The purpose of the undertaking is to furnish a means of subsistence for the simple natives of our most northern coasts in place of the wild game which is being driven out by the encroachment of civilization.

The reindeer afford to the northern natives food and clothing, and furnish beasts of burden to transport the people and their supplies over the frozen tundra. The female deer yield a very rich milk. Introducing the reindeer is a beneficent work.

The object of this communication is to recommend that this department take steps to have a small band of reindeer transferred to each of the seal islands, with the purpose of creating a herd as a source of subsistence of the native residents of those islands. In view of the steady diminution of the seal herd, some provision is likely to become necessary in the not distant future. In any event, the enterprise would be a good one from an economical point of view. The reindeer would increase rapidly, without cost for food or superintendence. The presence of Government agents the year round would insure the necessary oversight.

The mosses and grasses of the seal islands, of which there is a great abundance, are of the precise character required by these animals. There is no question of the adaptability of the islands to the raising of reindeer. Examination by experts from the north shows them to be especially fitted for the purpose. The animals are tractable and gentle, and no disturbance of other animals on the island need be apprehended from their presence. The seals are not disturbed by horses, cattle, or sheep, which have run loose on the islands from time immemorial.

The Bureau of Education, under the Interior Department, had charge of the reindeer business in Alaska, and Dr. Sheldon Jackson, of the said bureau, the general agent of education for Alaska, has immediate charge of it. The writer has conferred with this gentleman on the subject, who sees no obstacle to the plan here recommended. The revenue cutters have always transported the reindeer from Siberia, and may be availed of to bring down from northern Alaska the few required to form the nucleus of a herd for each seal island.

I therefore respectfully recommend that a letter be addressed to the honorable the Secretary of the Interior, requesting that a small herd of reindeer, preferable 50 to 75 females, with the necessary proportion of males, be transferred from the Government herd in Alaska to the seal islands of the Pribilof group, an equal number to each of the islands of St. Paul and St. George.

It is understood that no expense will be involved in this measure, as the revenue cutter would render this service while in the performance of her regular cruising, and the reindeer are now owned by the Government.

Very respectfully,
Ezra W. Clark
Assistant Agent Alaskan Fur-Seal Service³³

The Department apparently accepted Clark's concept, as on August 31, 1911, twenty-five reindeer—twenty-one cows (does) and four bulls—were introduced on St. Paul Island and the next day twelve cows and three bulls were delivered to St. George.³⁴ The herds multiplied on each island, but poaching during and after WWII and in particular harsh weather brought the Pribilof herds to extinction by 1950.³⁵ However, reindeer were successfully reintroduced to St. Paul and St. George islands in 1951 and 1980, respectively.

An article appeared in the *Washington Star* describing the Clarks' life in the Pribilof Islands, probably based on a letter from Sylvia Clark to a family member in Washington, D.C.:

At age 73, Ezra Clark's tenure in the Seal Islands concluded, two years after termination of the North American Commercial Company lease in 1910.

She's from Washington and Lives Up On a Seal Island

St. Paul and St. George are the homes of nearly all the seals remaining in existence and they are about 1,800 miles west of the entrance to Puget Sound and about 200 northwest of the Aleutian Islands, beginning at Unimak Pass. St. George, which is the smaller of the two, being about six by twelve miles in extent, is forty miles from St. Paul, and it has a population of about 100 Aleuts, and four or five whites, consisting of Maj. Clark and his wife, a physician, and two or three clerks of the North American Commercial Co., which controls the seal business, and has stores and warehouses on both islands. The little village of St. George consists of twenty-five or thirty houses, including the company's buildings, the agent's house and a Greek church. There are no other houses on the islands, and Mrs. Clark is the only white woman. Her home is a small cottage of small rooms, very cozy and comfortable, with books and pictures and a fine outlook over the sea. She does no cooking in her own house, as the company officials take their meals at the company house near by. Mrs. Clark's nearest neighbor is the wife of the agent on St. Paul, who is less lonely because she has with her two small children, Mrs. Clark's children being grown and having their own homes in the states. There is no communication between the islands except by one of the company's ships and by revenue cutters, as other ships are not permitted to visit the islands. These ships come only in the summer, and from October until June Mrs. Clark does not expect to see any one or hear anything from the United States, or to send word home, no matter what happens. Sickness, death, disaster may come to her far off in that forbidding sea or may visit her own at home, but no word may come or go until navigation is resumed. St. George is absolutely without trees, but its rolling surface and mountains, 1,000 feet high, are beautifully green with coarse grass and moss, wild flowers of brilliant hues dot the level stretches near the sea. Blue foxes abound, and over the rocks at the water's edge thousands and thousands of seals in ceaseless activity disport themselves noisily day and night from June until December, while millions of water fowl fill the air and the sea and flutter about the cliffs. Three hundred days in the year the weather is dark and dismal, and fogs hide the islands for days at a time. The cold is never excessive, but the winter storms are severe, and terrific gales sweep over sea and land. There is no harbor, and ships come to anchor a mile or more from shore.³⁶

CLARK, GEORGE A. (1864–1918)

Secretary, Fur-Seal Commission, 1896–1898

Professor at Stanford University

U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Special Investigations of Fur Seals, 1909 and 1912–1913

Genealogy and Biographical Sketch

George A. Clark was born in Eden Prairie, Minnesota, in 1864. George A. Clark died April 27, 1918.³⁷

Biographical Sketch

Clark graduated from the University of Minnesota and served as Academic Secretary of Stanford University during the years 1891–1918.

Pribilof Islands Experience

George A. Clark was Secretary of the Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission (1896–1898) headed by David Starr Jordan. The Commission directed the Fur-Seal Investigations of 1896–1897. Reporting activities continued through 1898. Clark later became involved

with other special investigations of the seal herds for the Bureau of Fisheries in 1909 and 1912–1913.

James Macoun, a scientist representing the Canadian government on the commission, cited an incident involving George Clark that recounts a challenge facing scientists, then and now, studying the Pribilof Island fur-seal herds during their breeding period:

on one occasion last year when we were counting pups a bull chased Mr. Clarke [sic], Dr. Jordan's assistant, and his retreat being cut off he jumped from a low cliff into the sea rather than attempt to defend himself against the enraged bull.³⁸

St. Paul Island Agent Joseph Crowley commented on George Clark's dedication and tenacity during the 1896–1897 fur-seal investigations:

June 24 [1897] Thursday

Mr. Clark, Secretary to Dr. Jordan, on behalf of the American Commission on the Seal question, is the busiest man on the Island, and certainly one of the closest of observers. There is no doubt of his knowing the day of landing of all the mother seals at present on the rookeries within an hours walk of the village; the birthday of every pup seal up to date, on the same rookeries, and the cause of the death of all of them that have died thus far! Late at night, and early in the morning and, all day, he is out on some rookery observing seal life, nor does he ever complain of being tired, although he walks so much over the roughest of rough ground for many miles daily.³⁹

During 1912 and 1913, Professor George Clark of Stanford University revisited the Pribilof Islands, with support from the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, to map the seal rookeries. Several days before Clark's arrival on St. Paul Island in 1913, he sent a telegram to St. Paul Island Agent Walter Lembkey concerning a trip to the islands by Henry Wood Elliott and his stenographer, A. J. Gallagher:

Commissioner directs avoiding friction and facilitating their work which is to be shared in by Chamberlain and myself [Clark] or two Department representatives. Full Records to be kept and signed in duplicate. Hope operations can await our arrival. Inform [Assistant Agent] Proctor [on St. George Island].⁴⁰

Renowned fur-seal naturalist and conservationist Henry Wood Elliott had been sent by Chairman Rothermel of the Congressional Committee of Expenditures in the Department of Commerce to conduct an independent investigation of the fur-seal herd. He and Gallagher had arrived on July 9, 1913, aboard the *Tahoma*.⁴¹ Agent Lembkey apparently was unaware of the particulars of Elliott's mission, as attested by Lembkey's entry into the Agent's Log:

Elliott, whose connection with the much-vexed "seal question," is well known, comes under some sort of authority derived so far as I can gather from the Congressional Committee of Expenditures in the Department of Commerce to investigate seal life. Mr. Gallagher, a most pleasant gentleman, is a reporter for the Congressional committee and seems to be here for the purpose of taking notes as dictated by Mr. Elliott.⁴²

The day before Professor Clark's arrival, Lembkey received instructions from Bureau of Fisheries Commissioner Hugh B. Smith that clarified Clark's telegram: they were to conduct a corroborating investigation alongside that of Elliott and Gallagher. At that point Elliott and Gallagher had been in the field for several days. Agent Lembkey found Elliott and Gallagher at the Lagoon Rookery (which no longer exists), where he informed

them of his instructions. Elliott at that point made known his feelings about Lembkey's instructions as well as his feelings toward Clark, as recorded by Agent Lembkey:

I informed Mr. Elliott courteously of my instructions from the Commissioner and stated that I was there in pursuance of those instructions, with the idea of sharing in any investigation they may make until the arrival of Mr. Chamberlain [see Frederick Chamberlain biography] and Mr. Clark which I expected would be tomorrow. Mr. Elliott immediately went off into what might be described only as a tantrum. He stated that he was here as the representative of a Committee of Congress to make an entirely independent investigation; that if Mr. Clark wished to come along he could do so; or he could go to hell, just as he pleased. That he had a personal antipathy to Clark because the latter had been writing vituperative letters about him for two years and that Clark was an ignorant person and could not be allowed to check up Elliott's work. I was forced to reply to Mr. Elliott that I would be obliged to carry out the instructions of my superior officer, and that if Mr. Clark was not here I would accompany him, furthermore that in accompanying him I would not go to hell. Elliott stated that he had not intended to make any reference to me . . . that he meant Mr. Clark wholly; I told him that Mr. Clark was an associate of mine and that I objected strongly to the use of such a term in connection with him. He persisted in talking of interference with his work and continued in an irrational and passionate manner, in spite of my repeated assurance that the whole object of the instructions was to have made a careful and impersonal investigation by both parties, as the result of which an agreed statement of facts would be prepared to and signed by both sides. He told me he would not submit to any joint investigation . . . and that he would not enter into any joint work with Clark or anyone.⁴³

The Agent's Log thereafter offered no comment on relations between Clark and Elliott, except that Clark went to meet Elliott at Northeast Point the evening of July 14, and returned without Elliott the following afternoon. Elliott and Gallagher proceeded to St. George Island on July 17 without Clark. Following their return to St. Paul Island on July 19, only one other encounter between Elliott and Clark was noted in the Agent's Log. Although of little significance, it sustained the lack of respect Elliott held for Clark.⁴⁴ Clark, Elliott, Gallagher, and Lembkey departed St. Paul Island on July 30, with Clark debarking at St. George Island to continue his assignment, which included drafting topographical maps of the rookeries and seal harems on both islands. Clark's highly accurate maps were not recognized as such until biologists Wilfred H. Osgood, Edward A. Preble, and George H. Parker published them as part of their 1914 investigations.⁴⁵

CLARK, HARRY N. (B. 1860)

Sealing Gang Boss, Teacher, Storekeeper, Alaska Commercial Company, St. George Island, 1884–1889

Biographical Sketch

Harry N. Clark was among the many Vermonters who through apparent common associations became involved with the Pribilof Islands fur-seal industry, and subsequently the Napa Valley wine industry developed by Seal Islands luminaries Gustave Niebaum and Hamden McIntyre.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Harry Clark deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 16, 1892, before Notary Public R. Hilderbrandt in the County of Tehama, California:

I am 32 years old, a native of Vermont, and now a resident of Vina, Tehama County Cal., and by occupation foreman of vineyard cultivation at Governor Stanford's Vina Ranch. From 1884 to 1889, inclusive, I was in the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco, on St. George Island, Alaska, engaged through each sealing season as boss of a gang of seal hunters and in the winter, excepting that of 1886 and 1887, as teacher and storekeeper on that island.

My work as the leader of the "sealing gang" gave me as perfect opportunity as could be had for studying the habits and peculiarities of the seal and determining the best manner of caring for them.

I was reared on a farm, and have been familiar from boyhood with the breeding of domestic animals, and particularly with the rearing and management of young animals; hence a comparison of the young seals with the young of our common domestic species is most natural. From my experience with both I am able to declare positively that it is easier to manage and handle young seals than calves or lambs.⁴⁶

COUES, ELLIOTT (1842–1899)

Ornithologist and author of the first Pribilof Islands ornithology record

Genealogy

Elliott Coues was born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1842 to Samuel Elliott Coues and Charlotte Haven (Ladd) Coues. Elliott Coues married twice, first Jane Augusta McKenney and then Mary Emily Bates. Elliott Coues had no children. Elliott Coues died in 1899 while doing research for his last publication.⁴⁷

Biographical Sketch

Elliott Coues received his MD degree from George Washington University in 1863, and served as assistant surgeon during the Civil War. His interest in birds as a youth led him away from his medical career into the field of ornithology, which became his life's work.



Elliott Coues. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Coues-3a43734.)

Coues' assignments in the army took him to various outposts in the West at a time when it was as yet little affected by civilization. He was stationed at Fort Whipple, Arizona, in 1864; at Fort Macon, North Carolina, in 1869–70; at Fort Randall, Dakota, in 1873; and he was appointed naturalist and secretary of the United States Northern Boundary Commission, 1873–76. Wherever he was located he made collections, discovering a number of hitherto unknown bird species and securing a vast amount of information for later publications. Realizing that the exploration of the West had so increased the knowledge of its

ornithology as to render all general works on the subject out of date, he conceived and published, in 1872, his famous *Key to North American Birds*.⁴⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

Elliott Coues' *Ornithology of the Prybilov Islands* (1875) represented the first written scientific study of birds at St. Paul and St. George islands. He identified the specimens provided by Henry Wood Elliott and relied on Elliott's 1872–73 field notes to write his important study.⁴⁹

In 1875, J. E. Harting of Great Britain published *The Fauna of the Prybilov Islands*, which included excerpts of Coues' *Ornithology of the Prybilov Islands* as well as some material about mammals found in *Report on the Prybilov Group or Seal Islands of Alaska* by Henry Wood Elliott (1873). Secretary of the Treasury Richardson had pulled Henry Elliott's report because he found some of the naturalist's denigrating comments about both the government and the Alaska Natives too offensive for publication. Henry Elliott revised the offensive material and the document was published under different titles in subsequent years (e.g. Elliott 1873 and Elliott 1881).

CREIGHTON, ELMER ELLSWORTH FARMER (1873–1928)

Assistant, Fur-Seal Commission, 1897

Genealogy

Elmer Creighton was born on April 10, 1873, in California to William Coburn Farmer and Eleanor C. N. (Creighton) Farmer. Elmer Farmer (Creighton) was six years old when his father died. Later in life, Elmer adopted his mother's maiden name, becoming known as Dr. Creighton. Creighton never married. Elmer Creighton died in Schenectady, New York, on January 12, 1928.⁵⁰

Biographical Sketch

Elmer Creighton was an expert electrical engineer with General Electric and a professor at Cornell University.⁵¹ He was the brother-in-law of artist Bristow Adams, who prepared numerous sketches of fur seals.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Elmer Creighton served as assistant to David Starr Jordan, Chief Commissioner of the Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission, during the 1897 summer investigations on the Pribilofs.

CROWLEY, JOSEPH BURNS (1858–1931)

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1893–1897

Genealogy

The son of Samuel Burns Crowley and Elizabeth (Williams) Crowley, Joseph Burns Crowley was born on July 19, 1858, at Coshocton, Ohio. Joseph Crowley married Alice A. Newlin on December 1, 1889, at Robinson, Illinois. Joseph and Alice Crowley had two children: Emily and Joseph Burns Jr. Joseph Crowley Sr. died in Robinson on June 25, 1931.⁵²



Sketch of Joseph Crowley. (The Robinson Argus, 1902.)⁵⁴

Biographical Sketch

Joseph Crowley received his education in Illinois schools, studied law in the office of George N. Parker, and was admitted to the Illinois Bar in May 1883. He set up a law practice at Robinson, Crawford County, Illinois, and became a leading citizen of the state. He was elected judge of Crawford County in 1886, a position he held until 1893, when he became a Treasury agent. Judge Crowley was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served during the years 1899–1905. He was state attorney for Crawford County, Illinois, from 1912 to 1916.⁵³

Pribilof Islands Experience

Joseph B. Crowley was appointed by President Grover Cleveland as special Treasury agent to the Seal Islands in 1893, and he continued in that position until the end of the 1897 sealing season. The Secretary of the Treasury issued Crowley the following instructions:

Instructions to Treasury Agent, Seal Island
Treasury Department
Office of Secretary
Washington, D.C. April 26, 1893
Mr. Joseph B. Crowley,
Special Agent in charge of Seal islands,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Having been appointed Treasury Agent in charge of the Seal Islands in Alaska you are directed to proceed to San Francisco, California, so as to arrive there as early as the 10th proximate, and to take passage on the first available conveyance to the islands. Special Agents Hall, Adams, and Murray will accompany you, one of whom you will assign to duty in charge of St. George Island to relieve Special Agent Lavender, who will return to his home by the first vessel leaving the islands. One of these Agents will relieve Lieutenant Ainsworth of the Revenue Marine Service, who was temporarily detailed for duty on the island of St. Paul.

Upon arrival at the islands you will at once assume charge of the interests and property of the Government and see to it that your authority as the chief representative of the Government there is properly respected.

Enclosed herewith you will find a copy of the contract between the U.S. and the North American Commercial Co. and it will be your duty to see that its provisions are enforced and that the rights of the Government and those of the Lessees there-under are duly protected.

Copy of the *Modus Vivendi* between the U.S. and Great Britain is also enclosed for your information, which you will observe continues in force pending the arbitration of the Bering Sea Question, unless otherwise provided for after Oct. 31st 1893.

In accordance with the provisions of the *Modus Vivendi* the number of seals to be taken during the season of 1893 will be limited to 7,500. In taking this number you will permit no seals to be killed except those yielding good marketable skins. The killing of pup seals for food for the natives or any purpose will not be permitted.

The killing season will begin as soon after your arrival as in your judgment the rookeries are in proper condition for driving, and the time for taking seals is left to your discretion, with the exception that no seals are to be taken during the stagy period, which is understood to be the period between the 10th of Aug. and the 30th of Sept.

It is believed that the killing should be confined between the 1st of June and the 10th of Aug. a better quality of skins would be obtained and less injury be done to the rookeries. This matter is, however, left as above stated, to your discretion, and in reference hereto you will confer fully with the representative of the company; its interests and those of the Govt. in the preservation of the Fur Seal Industry being identical. You will endeavor to cultivate and promote harmonious relations with the Agents of the Company with respect to affairs on the islands, taking care at all times that the provisions of the law and of the contract are faithfully observed.

Should any disagreement arise between you and the Company's Superintendent with respect to the construction of the law on the contract between the Government and said Company, or upon any matter of administration on the islands, your decision must govern for the time being, but in all such cases you will require the Superintendent to furnish you a statement in writing of his views upon the question involved, which you will submit to the Department with your annual report.

The Department desires you to make a thorough examination during the sealing season as to the habits, numbers and condition of the seals and seal rookeries, the results of such observations to be embodied in your annual report.

The care and welfare of the natives will receive your careful attention and you will see that the Lessees shall perform all the obligations of their contract towards these people. You will ascertain the prices charged at the Company's stores and compare them with prices at San Francisco and will report any instances where the natives are compelled to pay more than a fair price for articles sold them, and you will also inspect the articles sold them, and you will also inspect the articles supplied as to quality and quantity, and if deficient you will report the fact to the Department. The compensation to be paid by the Company to the natives for killing, salting, and loading the seal skins on board the Company's steamer will be fifty cents for each skin taken from the islands during the season. The money thus earned constitutes a community fund, and is to be divided among the natives according to their respective classification. This division may be made by the Company subject to your approval and you will transmit with your report a schedule showing the apportionment with the name of each person sharing therein.

Under previous instructions from this Department: A system was adopted by which orders are made upon the Company for supplies necessary for the support of the native inhabitants. This system will be continued by you. An appropriation of \$19,500 was made by Congress for the current fiscal year for the support of the natives, and the same amount has been appropriated for the coming fiscal year. Careful accounts will be kept both upon the islands of St. Paul and St. George of the articles thus furnished in order that you may be able to certify the bills of the Company therefore. The supplies to be furnished will be



Joseph Crowley (center with dark hat), George Tingle (?), and Joseph Stanley-Brown on warehouse porch, St. Paul Island. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC172, neg. 101114.)



Left to right: William D. J. Ainsworth (?), 2nd Lt. U.S.R.M. retired, Acting U.S. Treasury Agent, St. Paul Island; Joseph Murray, Assistant Treasury Agent St. Paul Island; Mrs. Mary (Garfield) Stanley-Brown and husband Joseph Stanley-Brown, Special Treasury Agent; Mrs. Alice (Newlin) Crowley and husband Joseph Burns Crowley, Chief Treasury Agent, Pribilof Islands; Harry Dennison Chichester, Clerk to Joseph Stanley-Brown, Assistant Special Treasury Agent. (NAA, Arctic: Aleut series, lot 24, 1453000.)

confined to the substantial means of subsistence. The funds appropriated will probably fall short of the amount needed for necessities, and the natives should not be permitted to buy at the Company's stores expensive luxuries. You will endeavor to secure the co-operation of the Agents of the Company in enforcing economy in these expenditures.

The Department has arranged with the North American Commercial Company to deliver to the islands two hundred ninety (290) tons of coal in addition to the eighty (80) tons which they are required to furnish under the terms of the lease. This will be a supply of St. Paul and St. George for the ensuing fiscal year.

You will take account of the coal to be furnished by the Company and cause it to be divided as follows, unless in your judgment a different division should be made in the interest of the natives:

On St. Paul Island

For the Government House—10 tons

For use of the natives—240 tons

On St. George Island

For the Government House—10 tons

For the use of the natives—110 tons

Total=370 tons

The schools upon each of the islands of St. Paul and St. George are to be maintained from Sept. 1st to May 1st, and are to be open five days in the week. It will be your duty and that of the Agents who may be assigned to the islands during the winter to see that the teachers appointed by the Company are competent to teach the English language, and that they faithfully perform this duty.

The North American Commercial Company under its lease has the exclusive privilege to trade in seal skins on the islands of St. Paul and St. George, and you will see that no other persons are allowed to trade with the natives for peltries of any kind.

It is understood that the number of blue foxes on the islands has greatly decreased. For the benefit of the natives, to whom fox skins hair has heretofore been a source of considerable income, you will take such measures in co-operation with the Agents of the lessees as in your judgment may be deemed best to restrain the wholesale killing of foxes during the winter. It is believed that if the foxes could be trapped in such a way as to prevent his injury and all females so caught turned loose, such a course would tend to increase the supply of these valuable animals and you are authorized to take such measures as may seem best to promote this end. The lessees have the exclusive privilege of purchasing these skins from the natives and you will inform yourself as to their value, and will fix a fair price for them to be paid by the Company to the natives.

Visitors who may come upon the islands will not be permitted to trade with the natives and no unauthorized person will be allowed to land upon the islands. (Under no circumstances will visitors be allowed to go upon the rookeries as it is understood that miscellaneous visiting by unauthorized persons is injurious to the Seal herd.)

You will be personally present upon the grounds during the killing season, and support the officers of the company in securing faithful work by the natives.

You will endeavor to secure the good will and confidence of the native inhabitants and advise them of their rights as American citizens, and by proper means endeavor to increase their friendship to the Government and people of the U. S.

You will give careful attention to the sanitary condition of the villages and houses of the people, and will require the Company to make such repairs to the dwellings as are needed from time to time to make them comfortable.

It is not intended that the appropriation of Congress for the care of these people shall be disbursed to them entirely as a gratuity, but they will be expected as an equivalent therefore

to perform such services as you may elect such as guarding the rookeries, making roads, repairing dwellings, unloading and delivering coal for their use, and carrying in effect such other measures as you may deem advisable for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the villages and general health of the natives. The work thus performed, however, must not be regarded as relieving the Company from their obligation under the lease to employ the natives for such work upon the islands as they are fit to perform at a fair and just compensation, and to contribute all reasonable efforts to secure the friendship, health, education, and promote the morals and civilization of such native inhabitants.

It is understood that many of the natives use sugar to make *quass*, and then indulge in drunkenness and disorderly conduct. As the chief representative of the U.S. on the islands it will be your duty to correct these evils and punish offenders against good order and good morals on the islands. The mode of accomplishing this must be left to your sound judgment, but such measures as may be adopted must be of a mild correction character, and must in no case be harsh or oppressive.

When it is established that a man or woman has made *quass* from the sugar supplied them the further issue of sugar to such persons should be restricted or entirely cut off; but care should be taken to avoid punishing the innocent members of a family by such deprivation on account of the misuse of sugar by one of their number.

A copy of these instructions will be furnished by you to the Agent to be placed in charge of St. George Island, and to the Agt. who may be at any time placed in temporary charge of St. Paul Island, for their guidance. You will make such assignment of the Assistant Agents as you may deem best, but neither the island of St. George nor St. Paul must be left at any time without the presence of a Special Agent.

Respectfully yours,
C. A. Hamlin,
Acting Secretary
A.K.F.⁵⁵

It appears an unlikely coincidence that the Treasury Department appointed Joseph Crowley as agent at this juncture of the Seal Islands history. Crowley was an appointed judge from Crawford County, Illinois, and if ever the islands needed an agent familiar with upholding the law, this was the time. The Bering Sea controversy over the rights to the seal fishery was in arbitration before an international tribunal at Paris, France. The Treasury Department needed an exceptional man to assist them in the field.

U.S. Treasury Agent-in-Charge Joseph Crowley arrived at St. Paul Island aboard the North American Commercial Company steamer *Farallon* on June 3, 1893. He replaced acting Agent-in-Charge Lt. D. J. Ainsworth, Revenue Marine.⁵⁶ Crowley stayed on St. Paul Island during the sealing seasons of his tenure, while the assistant special agents covered for him throughout the calendar year.

Numerous examples as gleaned from the Agent's Log depict Agent Crowley setting about his business in accordance with his instructions from Acting Secretary of the Treasury Hamlin. Interested students are encouraged to delve into the historical record for more information and to allow individual interpretation as to the significance of Crowley's influence in the short or long term. Some examples are provided here.

Special Assistant Agent Thomas E. Adams (see Adams' biography) worked with the community to form the first St. Paul Island Council, which led to the adoption of Native community rules. Crowley applied his legal expertise to settle a question raised by the

council regarding use of the Pribilof Island church funds to support other than Pribilof Island community needs. Other actions of Crowley's were recorded by the agent:

Wednesday June 21st 1893

32 native men call on Treasury Agent Crowley at Government House, and request the removal of Chief, Nicoli Krukoff for cause and after hearing charges the matter of removal of the chief was deferred, time indefinite and the natives go away satisfied.⁵⁷

Friday June 23rd 1893

The labor of unloading coal [circa 125 tons] from steamer [*Farallon*] still in progress. . . . Lee, the companies [sic] Chinese Laundry man called [and] filed complain [sic] against Paul Koshievnikoff a small native boy for throwing and striking him in the face with a stone. The boy was sent for and came to Government house accompanied by his mother who after facts gave her young son a good strapping and accompanied him home.⁵⁸

Friday June 28, 1893

Assistant Agent [Joseph] Murray, in pursuance of instructions from Chief Agent Crowley ordered the following [four of eight orders; the other four were specific to individual families]:⁵⁹

1. No native having money on deposit with the N.A.C. Company on account of inheritance, shall be permitted to withdraw the deposit, or any portion thereof, or to contract indebtedness to the Company to be paid therefrom, unless upon written order of the Government Agent in charge.
2. No native having credit on account of the division of earnings in taking and handling seal pelts, or for fox skins sold to the N.A.C. Company, shall be paid money by the Company on account of such credits except as specified by the Government Agent in charge, in writing.
7. That the compensation to natives, when employed by the Government, shall hereafter be \$1.50 per day, and, by the hours, 15 cents, instead of 10 cents, as heretofore these being the rates allowed on St. Paul Island.
8. That hereafter, until further orders, widows and their families shall be supplied with coats by the Government—the ration to be the same as to other families.

Monday July 3rd 1893

The smoke house used in 1892 for smoking and curing seal meat was overhauled, cleaned out and converted into a coal house for native coal. There was eleven barrels of smoked shoulders taken out of same but as the natives refuse to eat same they were thrown away and the house filled with coal.⁶⁰

Tuesday July 4th 1893

Day bright – sun shining and warm. The Government House decorated with American Flags. The forenoon was passed by the natives smoking cigars furnished by Company and Government agents and in singing songs of their own selection. Their rendition of “America” was far superior to what we often hear on picnic grounds down in the states. While partaking a sumptuous dinner at Co. house the telephone bell rang and following it came the information from the watchmen at N.E. Point. “Schooner in sight!” Soon after dinner, two sail boats could be seen from top of hill at west landing. They were near shore at west point. Some natives fishing about two miles out could both see and hear them shooting from their sail boats. Agent Adams accompanied by four natives went on guard at S.W. Bay Rookery and west point, and Agent Crowley accompanied by four natives went to N.E. Point to assist the guard there and the schooner was found in sight as reported, . . . until about 11 o'clock P.M when it disappeared from sight.

Who is having the best time? The men of the revenue cutters down at Unalaska or the seal poachers just out of gunshot reach along the rookeries of St. Paul Island?⁶¹

Joseph Crowley resigned as agent-in-charge after overseeing the on-island activities of the Second Joint Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission during 1896–97. He subsequently accepted the Illinois Nineteenth District Democratic nomination to Congress and won. He is credited with making numerous changes to the administration of the Pribilof Islands.⁶²

CULBERTSON, RICHARD GUY (1895–1969)

Assistant Agent, Schoolteacher, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, St. George Island, 1923–1925

Agent, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, St. George Island, 1926–1927

Agent, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, St. Paul Island, 1927–1929

Storekeeper, Disbursing Officer, Jailer, Keeper of the Spirits, St. Paul Island, 1927–1929

Genealogy

Richard Guy Culbertson was born in 1895, at Woodleaf, North Carolina. During a furlough from the Pribilof Islands in 1924, Richard Culbertson met and married Mary S. Sandidge of Lynchburg, Virginia, while she was teaching in Mooresville, North Carolina. Richard and Mary Culbertson's son, Richard K. Culbertson, was born at St. Paul Island in 1928. After retiring from government service, Richard Guy Culbertson resided in Greenville, North Carolina, until his death on October 3, 1969. Mary Culbertson subsequently lived at Virginia Beach and Blacksburg, Virginia, where she died in 1988.⁶³

Biographical Sketch

Richard Culbertson was educated at King Business College in Charlotte, North Carolina. During World War I, he joined the U.S. Navy and served as a yeoman on the supply ship USS *Nashan*, which worked in Alaskan waters. During that duty Culbertson became familiar with the Pribilof Islands, and in 1920 he applied for a position with the Department of Commerce.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Richard Culbertson began his Pribilof Islands career on St. George Island as a senior schoolteacher in 1923. The following sealing season he became an assistant agent, a position he maintained for three years while alternating as a teacher during the off-season. He



Richard Culbertson on St. Paul Island. (Alaska State Library, Richard G. and Mary S. Culbertson Photograph Coll., PCA 390.27.)

subsequently served on St. Paul Island as the agent, storekeeper, disbursing officer, jailer, and “keeper of the spirits” [liquor] from late 1927 through the 1929 sealing season.

Mary Culbertson organized and taught “junior school” (kindergarten) at St. George Island; she later taught in the junior school at St. Paul Island. Her letters home during the fall of 1924 provided her parents with descriptive views into everyday island life—living conditions, means of communication, social activities, and occasional electric interruptions—as excerpted here:

St. George Island, Alaska

Sept 2, 1924

The coast guard cutter “Mojove” brought mail from Unalaska, an overnight trip from here. As soon as some native children, who have the keenest eyes ever, saw the top of the mast on the distant horizon, they began yelling, “steamer, steamer,” at the top of their voices. Soon we heard her steamer whistle, saw her anchor flag go up, and then our men put off in a skin boat towed by the launch to bring in our mail bags.

... I am afraid that Dick and I are going to be disappointed in getting our own house this fall. There were so few natives here to work during the season that it has taken longer to install the new water system for the village. The cold weather may set in before the concrete walls can be poured and the top put on. Should they get that much done before freezing we would be o.k. All our sand and gravel has to be brought in boats from a beach some miles away. This can only be done when the sea is very calm too. As things are now, we couldn’t ask to be more comfortably situated except for a place to do our own cookies.

... For the last week we have had company in our house. The radio operator and his wife, Mr. & Mrs. Picken, who are packing up their household furniture preparatory to going to the states about the 8 or 10 of Sept. That means that our radio station will be a thing of the past. But we have been blessed with a radio telephone with which by ringing a little buzzer we can call up and talk with the people on St. Paul anytime. All messages will be telephoned to us instead of being sent in code. We often hold lengthy conversations with folks forty miles away with no connecting wires between!

October 22, 1924

Our light engine is crippled these days. The crank shaft broke so we have to use kerosene lamps until December when we get a new shaft.

... The wind blows so hard that the carpet ripples and the wall paper rattles. That’s true! Not in our apartment, however, but upstairs in my school room facing the north. This house is about fifty years old, and will be torn down next year which is not any too soon. These rooms we have are some that Dick practically built over last year before he came home so that they are as nice as can be.

Our new house is going up slowly. The basement walls have been poured, and the men are almost ready to pour the first floor walls. Then comes the roof making a place the men can work on inside all winter. We can watch them work right back of our house here.

One of the natives is making me an ivory comb. He makes lovely ones too, copies patterns from books.⁶⁴

The Culbertson family left the Pribilof Islands in 1929, when the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries assigned Richard office duties at Washington, D.C.



Left to right: Richard Culbertson, Henry D. Aller, Mrs. Barbara Aller, Mrs. Peterson, Mrs. Mygatt, Henry Mygatt, Watson Colt Allis, Harry A. Peterson, Dr. Bowlby, MD, 1922. (Alaska State Library, Richard G. and Mary S. Culbertson Photograph Coll., PCA 390.37.)



Teacher Mary Culbertson and school children having a picnic by a camp house at Garden Cove, St. George Island, circa 1924. (Courtesy Deacon Father Andronic Kashevarof, DAK7.)



ST. GEORGE ST. PAUL (?)

Teacher Richard Culbertson with senior grade school class (grades 1–8), St. George Island, circa 1923. (Courtesy Deacon Father Andronic Kashevarof, DAK9.)



1921

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mule team-drawn wagons provided transportation on the Pribilofs, as in this example at St. George Island, 1920s. (Courtesy Deacon Father Andronic Kashevarof, DAK23.)

- 1 <http://www.congressionalgoldmedal.com/samueljcall.htm> (accessed Oct. 14, 2005); http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/goldMedal.html (accessed July 20, 2009); Alaska State Library, Samuel J. Call Photograph Collection guide, PCA 18, biographical information; Albert J. Cocke, "Dr. Samuel J. Call," *Alaska Journal*, 4, no. 3 (1974): 181–8; and "Samuel J. Call," Ancestry.com, .
- 2 <http://www.congressionalgoldmedal.com/samueljcall.htm> (accessed Oct. 14, 2005); and http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/goldMedal.html (accessed July 20, 2009).
- 3 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor on House Resolution No. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 1113–4.
- 4 U.S. Census 1870, Lost Creek Township, Vigo County, IN, 43; U.S. Census 1920, Oakland Township, Alameda County, CA, AD5, ED72, sheet 13B; U.S. Census 1900, Sacramento River, Shasta, CA, ED 118, sheet 1B; H. W. Beckwith, *History of Vigo and Parke Counties* (Chicago: H. H. Hill, 1880), 391–5; "Census Taker is Ill," *Oakland Tribune*, Sept. 16, 1913; "Chamberlain," *Oakland Tribune*, Aug. 18, 1921, 6; and Tom Burger Family Tree, Ramona Ward, Ancestry World Tree, Ancestry.com.
- 5 U.S. Census 1880, Lost Creek, Vigo County, IN, T9-0318;223B; Office of the Registrar, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN; telephone verification by Susan Kay of Frederick M. Chamberlain's graduation given to Betty A. Lindsay, Jan. 19, 2007; William E. Cox, SIA RU 7258, Frederick M. Chamberlain Papers, 1899–1909; "Scientific Crew of Albatross," <http://vertebrates.si.edu/fishes/albatross/people.html> (accessed Jan. 18, 2007).
- 6 Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History. "Scientific Crew of Albatross," <http://vertebrates.si.edu/fishes/albatross/people.html> (accessed Jan 18, 2007).
- 7 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 23–5, 1913.
- 8 Ibid., Aug. 30, 1913.
- 9 Chichester family information acquired from U.S. Federal Census, Ancestry.com, and <http://USGenweb.com>.
- 10 Ibid.; and U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 922–3.
- 11 NOAA funded the American Museum of Natural History's digital scanning of Chichester's collection in 2005, and has published Chichester's collection in John A. Lindsay, Gina Rappaport, and Betty A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Guide to Photographs and Illustrations* (2009).
- 12 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 277–8.
- 13 Barton Warren Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1911*, Bur. of Fisheries, Doc. no. 766 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912), 90.
- 14 Obituary, "Joseph Chomski, 46," *New York Times*, Mar. 24, 1993, B7.
- 15 "Dr. Isaac Chomski, 80, Dies," *New York Times*, July 7, 1984, 14; and obituary, "Marsha Chomski," *New York Times*, Apr. 1, 1993, D24.
- 16 "Joseph Chomski, 46," *New York Times*, Mar. 24, 1993, B7.
- 17 The name Christophers has taken various spellings, as found in the U.S. Census records of the family, including Christoffer and Christoffers.
- 18 William Whalley of Camas, WA, grandson of Elsie's sister Marie Kokrine, provided Christoffers and Kokrine biographical material to Betty Lindsay during Oct. 2005.
- 19 Phone conversation with grandson Henry Christoffers, Oct. 25, 2005; and "Mrs. Christoffers' father was chief of all the Indian tribes in Alaska at the time of the gold rush there," *Atchison Daily Globe* (Kansas), July 6, 1946, 10.
- 20 Canon Bertal Heeney, ed., *Leaders of the Canadian Church*. Vol. 2, Robert McDonald (Toronto: Musson, 1920), 120.
- 21 Official Journal, St. George Island, Alaska, 1939, Sept. 8, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22.
- 22 Barrett Willoughby, *Alaska Holiday* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940), 216–7.
- 23 Watson Colt Allis Scrapbook, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., UAF.
- 24 Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1939*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Administrative Rep. no. 40 (1940), 160.
- 25 U.S. Census, 1920 and 1930; and Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries*, annual administrative reports 1918–38.
- 26 Clark family information provided by Chuck Rodekohr, Rochester, NY, Oct. 24, 2005; Beverly Ray, Covina, CA, Oct. 31, 2005; Ted Jackson, Rochester, NY, Oct. 31, 2005; U.S. Coast Guard History FAQs, <http://www.uscg.mil/> (accessed Oct. 20, 2005); and U.S. Federal Census, Ancestry.com (ac-

- cessed Oct. 31, 2005).
- 27 Letter from John C. Metzler, Superintendent, U.S. Dept. of the Navy, to Beverly Ray, Covina, CA, Dec. 14, 1994, re: interment of Ezra W. Clark, his wife, and son, courtesy of Beverly Ray, Mar. 2003.
 - 28 Notarized affidavit by Ezra W. Clark, March 18, 1905, accompanying an application to the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Pensions filed March 10, 1905, stamped U.S. Army Division, Pension Bureau, March 22, 1905.
 - 29 "The Fur Seal Monopoly," *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1890, 5.
 - 30 "Alaska Fisheries Leased," *New York Times*, May 1, 1890, 5.
 - 31 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 927.
 - 32 The "junior school" serviced four- and five-year-olds prior to their entering the first grade.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, 141–2.
 - 34 Barton Warren Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1912*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 780 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), 12; and Wilfred H. Osgood, Edward A. Preble, and George H. Parker, "The Fur Seals and Other Life of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, in 1914," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries* 34 (1915): 117 provided a follow-up account of the reindeer introduction on the Pribilof Islands.
 - 35 Victor B. Scheffer, "The Rise and Fall of a Reindeer Herd," *Scientific Monthly*, Dec. 1951.
 - 36 "She's From Washington and Lives Up On a Seal Island," *Washington Star*, date unknown, courtesy of Livingston Co. Historian's Office, loose paper file under Ezra Westcote Clark, 30 Center St., Genesee, NY, provided by Beverly Ray, Covina, CA, Mar. 2003.
 - 37 Guide to the George A. Clark. Fur Seal Controversy Papers, 1892–1969, Coll. no. M118, Stanford University Libraries Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford, CA.
 - 38 J. M. Macoun, "The Fur-Seal of the North Pacific," *Transactions of Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society* 1 (1897), 69.
 - 39 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1897, 147.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, July 12, 1913.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, July 9, 1913.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, July 9, 1913.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, July 12, 1913.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, July 23, 1913.
 - 45 Osgood et al., "The Fur Seals and Other Life," 27.
 - 46 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 158–9.
 - 47 Witmore Stone. "Elliott Coues." *Dictionary of American Biography Base Set*. American Council of Learned Societies, 1828–1936. Reproduced in *Biography Resource Center*. Farmington Hills, MI: The Gale Group <http://www.galenet.com/servlet/BioRC> (Document Number:BT2310015496; accessed Sept. 2, 2003.)
 - 48 *Ibid.*
 - 49 Henry W. Elliott, *Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1873), 80–115.
 - 50 Obituary of Elmer Ellsworth Farmer, *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1928, 17; Guide to Bristow Adams Papers, Cornell University Library, Rare Manuscript Collection, Coll. 3205; Ancestry.com; and U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications, 1795–1905, NARA microfilm publication M1372, passport no. 1368 issued May 31, 1898.
 - 51 Obituary of Elmer Ellsworth Farmer, *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1928, 17; Guide to Bristow Adams Papers, Cornell University Library; and Ancestry.com.
 - 52 Paul Selby, ed., *Illinois Historical Crawford County Biographical* (Chicago: Munsell, 1909), 628 and 703; "Crowley, Joseph Burns, (1858 - 1931)," Library of Congress, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=C000943> (accessed Jan 3, 2007); and U.S. Federal Census, 1860, Ancestry.com.
 - 53 *Ibid.*
 - 54 George W. Harper, *The Robinson Argus* (Robinson, IL), June 18, 1902, 6, courtesy Carnegie Public Library, Robinson, IL.

- 55 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1893, 158–70.
- 56 Ibid., 143.
- 57 Ibid., 148.
- 58 Ibid., 148.
- 59 St. George Island Agent's Log, 1893, 290.
- 60 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1893, 150.
- 61 Ibid., 151.
- 62 Harper, *The Robinson Argus*, 6.
- 63 Richard K. Culbertson, MS 4-22-9, Alaska State Library, Juneau.
- 64 Letters and biographical information courtesy Alaska Dept. of Education, Division of Libraries, Archives and Museums. Richard G. and Mary S. Culbertson Papers, 1924–1931, MS 4-22-9, Alaska Historical Collections.



Harry D. Chichester gathering arries eggs at Walrus Island 1892. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC260, neg. 101139.)



THE VILLAGE HILL, ST. PAUL'S ISLAND.
From the Steamer's anchorage in Zotoi Bay—Native "Bidarrah"—August 15, 1872.

The Village Hill, St. Paul's Island. From the Steamer's anchorage in Zotoi Bay—Native "Bidarrah"—August 15, 1872. (*This Henry Elliott sketch depicts Natives in their skinboat or "Bidarrah" and Village Hill on St. Paul Island as viewed from Zolotoi Bay.*) Henry Wood Elliott. 1873. Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska.



NATIVE BOAT, OR "BIDARRAH."
Made out of Sea-lion skins stretched over a wooden frame—Village cove, St. Paul's Island.

Native Boat, or "Bidarrah." Made out of Sea-lion Skins Stretched over a Wooden frame—Village Cove, St. Paul's Island. Henry Wood Elliott. 1873. Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska.

D

DALL, WILLIAM HEALEY (1845–1927)

Scientist, St. George Island, 1868

Biologist, Geologist, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Pribilof Islands, 1874, 1880

Genealogy

William Healey Dall was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on August 21, 1845, to the Reverend Charles Henry Appleton Dall, a Unitarian minister, and Caroline Wells (Healy) Dall. Charles and Caroline Dall had four children: Charles Whitney, Marion, Marcus H., and William Austin. William Dall married Annette Whitney on March 3, 1880. William Healey Dall died on March 27, 1927.¹

Biographical Sketch and Pribilof Islands

Experience

At the beginning of his career William H. Dall worked with Henry Wood Elliott in the South Tower Room at the Smithsonian Institution. At the time, they considered themselves friends. Together in 1865, they took advantage of an opportunity to participate in the Western Union Telegraph Expedition (aka [Perry McDonough] Collins Overland Telegraph Expedition and the Russian-American Telegraph Expedition) to



William H. Dall, July 9, 1865. (SIA 1156, neg. 2004-18871, RU 95, box 6, folder 42.)



33. Bidarka traveling, ready to start.

William H. Dall in "Bidarka traveling, ready to start," circa 1871. (Photo: Hartmann and Weinland. SIA 2004-43552, RU 7073, box 53, W. H. Dall Papers.)

Alaska. The Expedition was divided into three divisions: Canadian, Russian American, and Asian. Although Dall and Elliott socialized together during that time,² they took separate paths. Dall went to Russian America, including the Yukon River region, whereas Elliott went with the Canadian Division. In 1866, after the untimely death of the Expedition's leader, Robert Kennicott (1835–1866), Dall, then an aspiring biologist and paleontologist, became Director of the Scientific Corps for the Expedition.³ When in 1867 the Expedition was terminated for the reason of obsolescence following the successful laying of the Atlantic cable to Europe, Dall remained in Alaska until the late summer of 1868 to conduct further exploration.⁴ Dall credited Henry Elliott in his book *Alaska and Its Resources* (1870): "The illustrations are all from original sketches by the writer, or from the articles themselves, and owe whatever artistic merit they may possess to the pencil of Mr. H. W. Elliott." However, it appears that from that point their paths began to part (see Henry Wood Elliott biography).⁵

In 1892, Dall summarized his professional experience in a deposition before John J. Malone on April 9, 1892, for the U.S. presentation before the International Fur-Seal Tribunal of Arbitration.

That in connection with my scientific studies at Cambridge, Mass., I devoted nearly three years to the study of biology, anatomy, and medicine; that since completing my studies with Prof. Louis Agassiz at Cambridge [Massachusetts], in the year 1863, I have been engaged in scientific work, and am now a paleontologist in the U.S. Geological Survey. I first visited Bering Sea in the summer of 1865 as a member of the scientific corps of the Western Union Telegraph expedition. Visited the Aleutian Islands and went to St. Michael, passing near the Pribilof group. . . . In the fall of 1868 I made my way back to San Francisco on the schooner

Francis Steele, owned by the Pioneer American Fur Company [aka Parrott and Company], which had a station at St. George Island, where we stopped on our way south, and thus gave me a chance to observe seal life for several weeks. In 1871 I joined the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for the purpose of carrying out a proposed survey of the Aleutian chain of islands. I was thus engaged from the summer of 1871 to the end of the season. . . . During this period had opportunity to familiarize myself with aquatic seal life, and in 1874 made a reconnaissance survey of the Pribilof Islands, which afforded me additional opportunity to observe seal life on the rookeries.⁶

Others would add to Dall's summary of professional experience:

In addition to his services for the government he also held the chair of invertebrate paleontology in the Wagner Institute of Science in Philadelphia . . . he received in 1889, the gold medal of the Institute. During 1899–1915, he was an honorary curator of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii.⁷

In Dall's 1892 deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration he included comments about his 1868 visit to St. George Island:

During my visit to St. George Island in 1868,⁸ this vast territory of Alaska had just fallen into the possession of the United States, and the Government had not yet fairly established more than a beginning of an organization for its management as a whole, without mentioning such details as the Pribilof Islands. In consequence of this state of affairs private enterprise, in the form of companies dealing in furs, had established numerous sealing stations on the islands. During my stay, except on a single occasion, the driving from the hauling grounds, the killing, and skinning was done by the natives in the same manner as when under the Russian rule, each competing party paying them so much per skin for their labor in taking them. Despite the very bitter and more or less unscrupulous competition among the parties, all recognized the importance of preserving the industry and protecting the breeding grounds from molestation, and for the most part were guided by this conviction.⁹

In *Alaska and Its Resources*, Dall proposed that the Pribilof Islands' Aleuts, through legislation, be the sole authorities to kill fur seals and to sell the pelts to trading companies, who themselves (i.e., the companies) would be required to pay taxes to the government on each pelt purchased.¹⁰

Dall described the Pribilovians' utilization of the seal:

The flesh of a young fur-seal, placed in running water overnight and then broiled, is far from disagreeable. In fact, it tastes almost exactly like mutton-chop. The young sea-lion is said to be even better eating. . . . The Aleuts make boot-soles, which are very durable, of the skin of the flippers. The fat cut from the nearest carcass serves them for fuel. The blubber of the fur-seal makes oil of the first quality, and is worth about two dollars a gallon. . . . Each seal will make half a gallon.¹¹

The British had challenged the U.S. claim of sovereignty over the entire Bering Sea east of the Russian territorial line and its claim to the northern fur seal both on the high seas and within the territorial sea. To that end, the British attempted to overturn every stone concerning the Seal Islands to uncover facts and opinions in support of their case before an International Tribunal of Arbitration



Spine of Alaska and Its Resources.

convened at Paris, France. Respecting Dall, the British counsel borrowed his following statements:

I have not arrived at that point where I should believe that the Government habitually employs dishonest Agents, though long experience in Alaska might shake any man's optimism.¹²

... it would be very desirable that the officers of the United States employed on the Pribyloff Islands should be prohibited from receiving pay from, or rendering services for pay to, the Company whom, practically, they are placed there to watch. That this has occurred in several instances I am aware, and probably in some cases without any improper intent on either side; but it is evident at once that it opens a wide door for scandal, if not for fraud.¹³

William H. Dall was appointed Acting Assistant of the U.S. Coast Survey, later to become the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, in 1871. In 1884, he accepted a position as paleontologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, which assigned him to the National Museum as Curator for the Division of Mollusks and Tertiary Fossils.¹⁴ In that capacity, Dall participated in the Harriman Expedition to Alaska, which included a stop at the Pribilof Islands in 1899.

Dall wrote a significant number of scientific publications as a result of his explorations into the Alaska frontier. His 1870 publication *Alaska and Its Resources* was accepted for many years as the authoritative text regarding Alaska.¹⁵ Besides the Dall sheep (originally Dall's sheep), several geographical features in Alaska bear Dall's name, including Dall Island in Southeast Alaska and Dall Mountain in the McKinley Range.¹⁶ Among Dall's most important Aleutian works were *On the Remains of the Later Prehistoric Man Obtained from Caves in the Catherina Archipelago, Alaska Territory, and Especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands* (1878) and *On Masks, Labrets and Certain Aboriginal Customs with an Inquiry into the Bearing of their Geographic Distribution* (1884).

GENERAL WILLIAM WARD DUFFIELD (1823–1907)

Superintendent, Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1894–1897

Soldier, Civil Engineer, Lawyer, Politician

Genealogy

William Ward Duffield was born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1823, to the Reverend George and Isabella Graham (Bethune) Duffield. William Duffield married Annie Louise Ladue, June 27, 1854, at Detroit, Michigan. Annie Louise was born October 19, 1832, in Rensselaer County, New York, of Andrew Ladue and Louise Angel Ladue. William and Annie Louise had two children born at Detroit, Michigan: Louise Angel Duffield, born April 19, 1855, and William Ward Duffield Jr., born November 12, 1858. William Ward Duffield Sr. died at Washington, D.C., June 22, 1907, and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Annie Louise Duffield died at Harlan, Kentucky, April 17, 1916, and is buried beside her husband at Arlington.¹⁷

Biographical Sketch

William Ward Duffield spent the majority of his adult life in government service as a military leader and civil engineer. President Grover Cleveland appointed him Superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington, D.C., in 1894. Earlier he had been prominent as a civil engineer with many of the country's major railroad construction lines. He also served two terms as a Michigan state senator. Duffield received his degree as a civil engineer from Columbia College [now Columbia University] in New York City in 1842.



GENERAL W. W. DUFFIELD.

William Ward Duffield. (Middletown Daily Argus, Middletown, NY, Oct. 9, 1884, 2.)

Duffield . . . a Senator from Wayne County in 1879 . . . became a resident of Detroit in 1836. By profession a civil engineer, also a member of the Detroit bar. He was adjutant of the 2d Tennessee in the Mexican war; was engineer and superintendent of railroads in New York; surveyed the Detroit & Milwaukee railroad in 1852 from Pontiac to Grand Haven; also the road from Detroit to Port Huron, and from Mendota to Galesburg, Ill.; went out in 1861 as lieutenant colonel of the 4th Michigan infantry, and became colonel of the 9th infantry; commanded 23d brigade, was military governor of Kentucky, and was wounded and compelled to resign; had charge of coal mines in Pennsylvania and iron mines in Kentucky, and was chief engineer of the Kentucky union railroad.¹⁸

Duffield had also worked as a civil engineer surveying government lands in the western Dakota and Colorado territories during 1869–1872. He was made chief engineer of the Kentucky Union Railroad in 1885 and took charge of the survey and examination of all the lands of that line. While residing in Pineville, Kentucky, and working as chief engineer building the Kentucky Union Railroad, Duffield received word from Washington.¹⁹

In September, 1894, General Duffield was honored by President Cleveland with the appointment as superintendent of the Geodetic Survey; and we again quote from the Detroit Free Press of September 26, 1894: "The appointment of General W.W. Duffield, of Detroit, to be superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, in place of Professor T.C. Mendenhall, resigned, was announced at the Treasury Department, Washington, September 25th. The position is worth six thousand dollars per annum. . . . The selection of General Duffield for this important position was made by the President after careful consideration of the claims and qualifications of more than a score of candidates, several of whom possessed unusual scientific attainments in the line of work of the survey. General Duffield's great experience as an engineer, and especially his national reputation in his profession, which guaranteed that his appointment would be well received, finally decided the President in his favor. . . . General Duffield is an earnest and lifelong Democrat, and was elected to the Michigan State Senate of 1881 [also 1879]. He was alternate at large for Don M. Dickinson in the Democratic National Convention in 1892. His qualifications for the important position to which he has been nominated are everywhere conceded, and his residence in different portions of the country has given him an extensive circle of warm friends that will be heartily pleased that the gallant veteran has received such handsome recognition."²⁰

Several months after taking his new post, Duffield received news that funds would be made available for many mapping projects, including in Alaska.

Considerable work under the coast and geodetic survey has been made possible by the Sundry Civil bill. . . . It is estimated that it will take nearly \$20,000 to conduct this important work. . . . There will be also resurveys of San Francisco Harbor, and a continuation of the exploration of the waters of Alaska, including a survey of the Aleutian Islands and an examination of the mouth of the Yukon River.²¹

During mapping in 1895, Lt. Commander E. K. Moore, USN, named Duffield Peninsula on the north coast of Baranof Island for General William Ward Duffield.²² The discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1896, and the resulting frenzy of the Gold Rush gave new urgency to a longstanding boundary dispute between Alaska and Canada. General Duffield's office was central to the discussion.

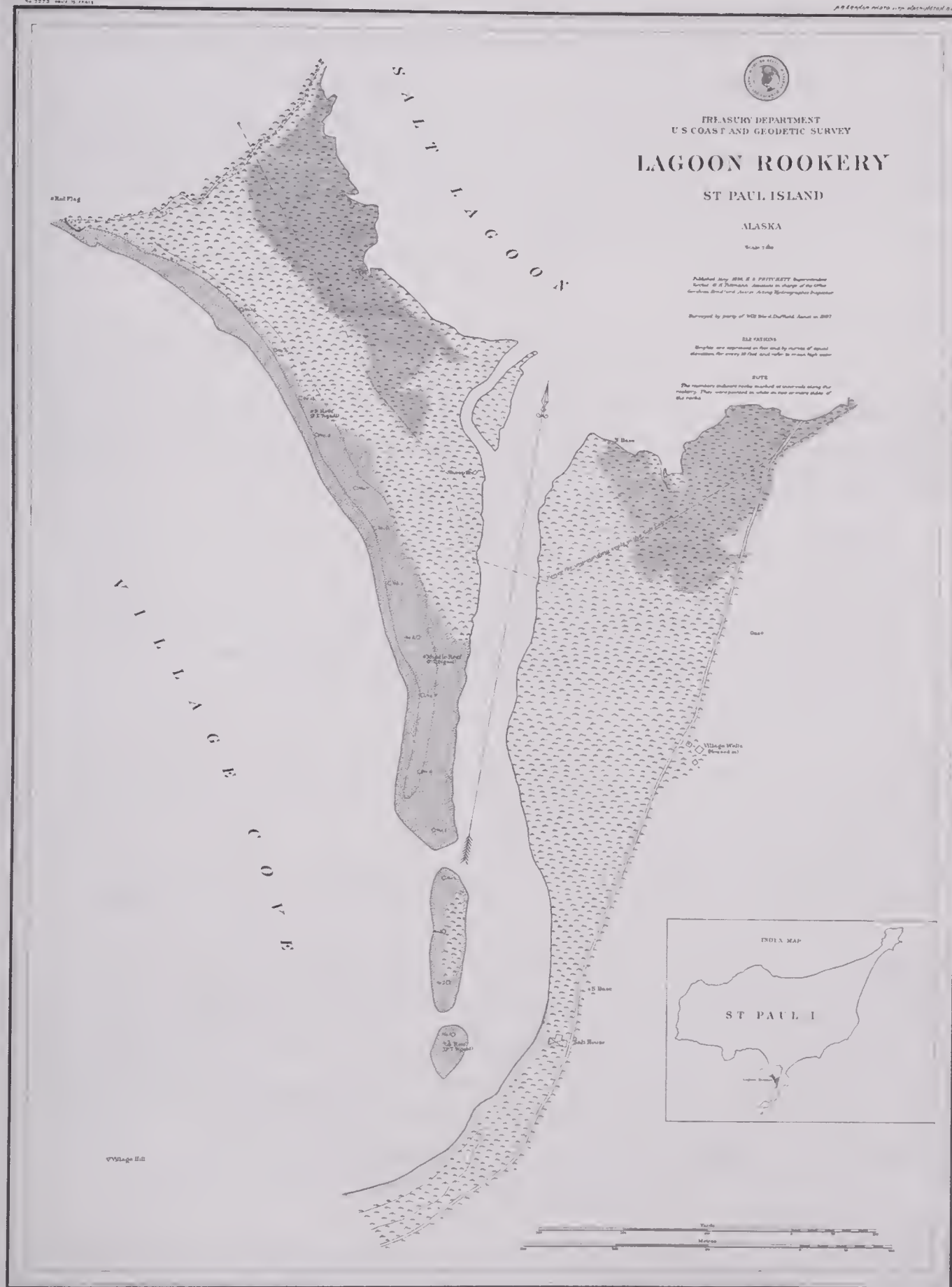
Washington, Aug. 22. – Gen. Duffield: The boundary line is fixed by treaties between this country and Great Britain and between Russia and Great Britain. The work of the surveyors is definitely to mark the lines laid down by those treaties. We have an engineering party engaged in that labor, and so have the English, and the surveys are being made as rapidly as the appropriations and the seasons will permit. When the work is completed, a report will be made to the respective Governments.²³

Nothing can be done more than already has been done toward marking the boundary line between Alaska and the British possessions along the one hundred and forty-first meridian until the Senate passes upon the boundary treaty now before it. There is, however, no doubt of the location of the line along this meridian, and most people in the locality know where it is. . . . Gen. Duffield has spent considerable time in Alaska. He expresses the opinion that a railroad easily can be constructed from Taku Inlet to the Klondike gold fields, and believes that the enterprise will be worth undertaking, because of the richness of the mines.²⁴

Duffield was also quoted as saying:

The one hundred and forty-first meridian was designated as the boundary between Russia and Great Britain, and nothing remained after our acceptance of that understanding but to locate the meridian. The location was made on the north of the Porcupine River by our surveyors, and in the vicinity of the Yukon by the Canadians under Ogilvie, and their work there checked by our men. We found that where the Ogilvie line crossed Forty Mile Creek it was 15-100 of a second or six feet and nine inches too far east, and where it crossed the Yukon it was 14 seconds or 618 feet too far west. Thus it may be seen that the line as located by Ogilvie is substantially correct. There is no possibility of an error the correction of which could place the new gold region in American territory. The nearest point, Dawson City, is fifty miles on the Canadian side of the Ogilvie line. If the treaty now before the Senate providing for fixing the boundary is ratified, a commission will be appointed to perform this duty.²⁵

The Alaskan boundary dispute that had plagued Duffield's service was not fully settled for another twenty-eight years. In 1898, a Joint High Commission between the United States and Great Britain was formed as Duffield had suggested. However, five years would pass before an agreement on the dispute would be reached. On January 24, 1903, the two nations finally agreed to appoint an Alaskan Boundary Tribunal consisting of six impartial judges to resolve the dispute. The majority of the tribunal decided in favor of the articles in question; thus the boundary along hundreds of miles in Southeast Alaska was finally settled on October 20, 1903.²⁶ Two other treaties, one in 1908 and another in 1925, between the United States and Great Britain also addressed the Alaska-Canadian



(Lagoon Rookery, St. Paul I) U.S.C. & G.S. 3223

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Lagoon Rookery (subsequently extinct), St. Paul Island. Surveyed by party of Will. Ward Duffield, Assist., 1897; printed 1898.

boundary. The 1908 treaty provided for a permanent commission, and the 1925 treaty agreed to maintain a 20-foot wide demarcation along the border.²⁷

Having been appointed by President Cleveland, General Duffield was requested to resign, as was the custom, when the administration of William McKinley took office in October 1897. Duffield stepped down on November 30, 1897, and resided with his wife in Washington, D.C., until his death. His replacement as Superintendent of the Coast Survey was Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett.²⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

"In April 1897 the coast survey was directed to conduct a topographical survey of the Pribilof Islands and the seal rookeries," wrote geographer Donald J. Orth. "Complete topographical surveys were made of St. Paul, St. George, Walrus, and Otter Islands. Results of these surveys were published on the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey charts in 1898."²⁹ The St. Paul Island Agent's Log for May 1897 noted:

The geodetic surveying party was landed. Capt. Tuttle and Dr. Call of the *Bear* called this morning. The surveying party consists of:

Wm. Ward Duffield, chief; Fremont Morse, Geo. R. Putnam and Geo. L. Flower, assistants; Henry J. Slaken, Joseph E. Freeman, Wm. S. Broughton, Chas. H. Roesch, and Fletcher G. Forny, Edward P. Rudolph and Gustov Bergman, workmen. The purpose is to make a minute survey of the Islands, and especially the seal rookeries thereon, and prepare maps in detail of the same.³⁰

DUNN, POINDEXTER (1834–1914)

Representative, U.S. Congress

Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, 1888–1889

Genealogy

Poindexter Dunn was born on November 3, 1834, near Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina, to Grey Dunn and Lydia (Baucom) Dunn. Poindexter Dunn married Susan Pollock on January 23, 1879, at St. Francis, Arkansas. Poindexter and Susan Dunn had two daughters: Louisa and Annie Poindexter Dunn. In 1905, Poindexter Dunn settled in Texarkana, Bowie County, Texas, where he died on October 12, 1914.³¹

Biographical Sketch

Poindexter Dunn became a lawyer, with both government and private practices. Employment opportunities took him to Los Angeles, New York City, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Pribilof Islands Experience

U.S. Congressional Representative from Arkansas, Poindexter Dunn, served as the Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 50th Congress, second

session (from December 1888 to March 1889), which investigated the Alaska Commercial Company's activities on the Pribilof Islands. The investigation's results were presented in "The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska" 50th Congress, 2nd session, House Report no. 3883. The findings were fundamental to the official deliberations leading to the non-renewal of the Alaska Commercial Company's lease of the Pribilof Islands seal fisheries in 1890. Politically, the ACC was outmaneuvered by the North American Commercial Company for the new twenty-year lease (see Stephen B. Elkins biography).

-
- 1 Alison Pligman, Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com
 - 2 Ibid., 39, which cites Dall Diaries, Dec. 2, 1868, and May 17, 1869, SIA, RU 7073, William H. Dall Papers, box 7, folder 7.
 - 3 William H. Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870), 6. As Director of the Scientific Corps, Western Union Telegraph Expedition, Dall visited St. George Island for a few days during his tour of Alaska.
 - 4 Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources*, 3–6 and 242. Dall returned to San Francisco on Sept. 29, 1868. Additional information is provided at "William H. Dall, Alaskan Explorer," <http://www.si.edu/archives/Documents/dall.htm> (accessed May 28, 2004).
 - 5 Additional information is provided at Archives, Manuscripts, Photographs Catalog, "William H. Dall, Alaskan Explorer," <http://siris-archives.si.edu/ipac20> (accessed Sep. 30, 2003); <http://www.si.edu/archives/Documents/dall.htm> (accessed May 28, 2004); and History of the Smithsonian Catalog, SIRIS, Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (accessed June 21, 2006).
 - 6 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 22.
 - 7 C. Hart Merriam, "Wm. Healey Dall," *Science*, Apr. 8, 1927; and Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen, and Others Who Are Making American History*, vol. 3 (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904).
 - 8 Some interesting background about Dall and his travels from St. Michael Island to St. George Island is given by Harold F. Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," *The Pacific Historical Review* 28, no. 4 (1959): 557.
 - 9 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 23.
 - 10 Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources*, 497.
 - 11 Ibid., 498.
 - 12 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 8, 237, citing U.S. Congress, House, 44th Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. no. 83, 235.
 - 13 Ibid., 236.
 - 14 Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 11–2.
 - 15 Merriam, "Wm. Healey Dall," *Science*; and Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3.
 - 16 Orth, *Dictionary*, 12.
 - 17 Henry Cochran Slaymaker, *History of the Descendants of Mathias Slaymaker* (Lancaster, PA: Slaymaker, 1909), 219–23; General Friend Palmer, *Early Days in Detroit* (Detroit, MI: Hunt & June, 1906), 538–9, and 942; Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, *History of Rensselaer County New York* (Philadelphia, PA: Everts & Peck, 1880), 336–8; U.S. Census, 1900, Census District of Columbia, Washington City, 10A; Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, KY, *Vital*

Statistics Original Death Certificates, Certificate of Death no. 11993, microfilm 1911–1955; Arlington National Cemetery website, <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/wwduffield.htm> (accessed Dec. 2008); “Gen. W. W. Duffield Dead,” *Washington Post*, June 23, 1907, 5; “Gen. Duffield Laid to Rest,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 1907, 5.

18 S. D. Bingham, *Early History of Michigan with Biographies of State Officers, Members of Congress, Judges and Legislators, Published Pursuant to Act 59, 1887* (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godrey, 1888), 238–9.

19 “Gen. Duffield’s Important Office,” *New York Times*, Sept. 26, 1894, 4; and “Head of the Coast Survey,” *Middletown Daily Argus* (Middletown, NY), Oct. 9, 1894, 2.

20 John Bersey, *Cyclopedia of Michigan: Historical and Biographical Synopsis of General History of the State and Biographical Sketches of Men who Have in Their Various Spheres Contributed Toward its Development* (NY and Detroit, MI: Western Publishing & Engraving, 1900), 313–4.

21 “Work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey,” *New York Times*, Mar. 24, 1895, 26.

22 Orth, *Dictionary*, 288.

23 “Article 16—No Title,” *New York Times*, Aug. 23, 1895, 9.

24 “Boundary Question Again,” *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1897, 3.

25 “Article 4—No Title,” *New York Times*, Sept. 3, 1897, 3.

26 The 1898 Klondike gold rush served as the impetus to settle the boundary between Canada and the United States in the panhandle of Alaska, i.e., Southeast Alaska. The Canadians desired a boundary that would give them access to the sea via the heads of several estuaries or fjords along the coastal range of mountains. The United States sought a boundary 35 miles (56 km) easterly of the coastal range. The tribunal moved the United States’ claim a bit westward of its preferred boundary, but left it east of Skagway. The decision allowed access by river at only a single point. See Thomas A. Bailey, “Theodore Roosevelt and the Alaska Boundary Settlement,” in *Alaska and Its History*, ed. Morgan B. Sherwood (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 383–93; and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alaska_Boundary_Dispute (accessed May 09, 2009).

27 Alaskan Boundary Tribunal of United States and Great Britain, *Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, Convened at London, Under the Treaty Between the United States of America and Great Britain, Concluded at Washington, January 24, 1903, for the Settlement of Questions Between the Two Countries with Respect to the Boundary Line Between the Territory of Alaska and the British Possessions in North America*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), 29–32; John W. Foster, *Diplomatic Memoirs* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), vol. 2, 191–210; “Alaska Boundary Treaty, Secretary Hay and Ambassador Herbert Sign a Convention,” *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1903, 3; and James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations* (NY: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1967), 465–92.

28 “Coast and Geodetic Survey,” *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1897, 3; “Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett,” NOAA History, A Science Odyssey, <http://www.history.noaa.gov/cgsbios/biop15.html> (accessed Dec. 27, 2008).

29 Orth, *Dictionary*, 12.

30 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, May 25, 1897, 130–31.

31 “Dunn, Poindexter, (1834 - 1914)” Library of Congress, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present, <http://bioguide.congress.gov> (accessed Feb. 16, 2003); John Hallum, *Biographical and Pictorial History of Arkansas* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, 1887), 471–2; and U.S. Census, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900.

E

ELKINS, STEPHEN BENTON (1841–1911)

Secretary of War, International Fur-Seal Arbitration, 1891–1893

U.S. Senator, West Virginia, 1895–1911

Genealogy

Stephen Benton Elkins was born near New Lexington, Perry County, Ohio, on September 26, 1841, to Philip Duncan Elkins and Sarah (Withers) Elkins. Stephen Benton Elkins married twice. Elkins married his first wife, Sarah Simms Jacobs, on June 10, 1866. Stephen and Sarah Elkins had two daughters: Katherine and Sarah. His second marriage, in 1875, was to Hallie Davis, daughter of Senator Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia. Stephen and Hallie Elkins produced five more children: Davis, Stephen B. Jr., Richard, Blaine, and Catherine Elkins. The senior Elkins died at Washington, D.C., on January 5, 1911.¹

Biographical Sketch

Stephen Elkins graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1860. He taught for a time but continued his studies in law and in 1864 was admitted to the Missouri Bar. That same year he signed on as a cattle drover and ended up at Albuquerque in the New Mexico Territory.



Stephen Benton Elkins. (Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present.)



Stephen Benton Elkins. (Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present.)

Upon his arrival [in New Mexico], he began to learn Spanish so he could represent those living in the area. Within one year, the people so respected Elkins that they elected him to the territorial house of representatives. He served in that body from 1864 to 1865, and then worked as territorial district attorney in 1866. President Andrew Johnson in 1867 named Elkins territorial attorney general and charged him with ending slavery in the territory.²

Elkins served as a U.S. district attorney from 1870 to 1872. In a subsequent business career he became “a wealthy railroad baron by the 1880’s . . . a prosperous businessman who had invested in land and mining.”³

The 1910 U.S. Census taken at the town founded by Stephen Elkins in Randolph County, West Virginia, recorded his sons as having joined their father as railroad and mining executives.

Elkins spent the remainder of his life in government service, ending with his time as U.S. Senator for West Virginia from 1895 to 1911.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Elkins had been an “American lawyer, industrialist, and political leader,”⁴ and his political loyalties led to his service as Secretary of War beginning in 1891. During his tenure, the international dispute over pelagic sealing (the killing of seals in open waters) in the Bering Sea escalated and led to an International Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris, France. The Tribunal was expected to resolve the dispute over sovereign rights to the Bering Sea and a U.S. claim to sole ownership of northern fur seals, outside of Russia and Japan, following the purchase of Russian America. Elkins and Secretary of State James Gillespie Blaine, both members of President Benjamin Harrison’s (1889–1893) Cabinet, spoke fervently against pelagic sealing. Harrison’s administration argued for “an international agreement under which the sealing interests of the United States might be fairly protected and the seals of the Northern Pacific Ocean saved from wanton destruction.”

The former [1885–1889] Secretary [Thomas Francis] Bayard had not contended for any exclusive jurisdiction on the part of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea beyond the ordinary limit of a marine league from the coast. His negotiations were interrupted after the failure to ratify the treaty relating to the Atlantic fisheries, and the result of the political canvass of 1888 had prevented their resumption. The subject was necessarily opened by Mr. Harrison’s Administration in consequence of the seizure of British vessels in the effort to prevent unauthorized sealing within what were legally designated as the *Waters of Alaska*.⁵

Newspapers quickly linked the outspoken criticisms against pelagic sealing by the wealthy and influential Secretary of War, Stephen Elkins, to his social, political and financial affiliations with the owners of the North American Commercial Company (NACC).

After the NACC received the highly contentious and much sought-after twenty-year monopoly to harvest the fur seal (1890–1909), critics portrayed Elkins and the NACC as a single entity. Headlines in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* referred to the company as “Elkins’s Company” as in the following *New York Times* article of June 20, 1891:

**ELKINS’S COMPANY PROTESTS
IT WILL CLAIM DAMAGES—IT ALSO OFFERS SOME ADVICE.**

Washington, June 19.—The North American Commercial Company of San Francisco, lessee of the right to take fur seal on the islands of St. Paul and St. George in Alaska, for the period of twenty years from May 1, 1890, have filed a protest with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury against a close season.⁶

The company represents that it has faithfully complied with all requirements of the law and has obeyed all orders and directions of the Secretary of the Treasury relating to the same. It calls attention to the fact that the lease to them was let under contract and that, relying upon the Government’s assurance, it agreed to pay a sum three times greater than that paid by the former lessee.⁷

Elkins’ Executive Department position failed to alter the Treasury Department’s decision to limit sealing on the Pribilof Islands, thereby denying the NACC the right to exercise its original lease term to take 100,000 seals per year. During its first year the company secured 25,152 sealskins and in 1896 it secured 30,004. Annual takes during its twenty-year lease typically varied from approximately 7,000 to 19,000.⁸ The government reportedly received \$3,235,063 in gross revenues from the NACC, while it spent \$5,472,607 to protect the fur seals during the 20-year leasing period. The result was a net revenue loss of \$2,237,544.⁹

After President Harrison failed to secure a second term in office, Stephen B. Elkins returned to private practice in 1893.

ELLIOTT, ALEXANDRA (ALEKSANDRA) MILOVIDOV (1856–1949)

Daughter of St. Paul Island Russian Governor Alexander Milovidov

Instructor of Russian Language and Wife of Henry Wood Elliot

Genealogy

Alexandra Milovidov Elliott was born on March 27, 1856, at Kodiak, Russian America, the first of two daughters of Russian-American Company Agent Alexander (Aleksandr Alfeev) Milovidov and his wife Alexandra (Aleksandra Mikhailova) Kaminsky (Kaminskii) Milovidov, a Creole. Alexander Milovidov moved his family to St. Paul Island during 1861. At the age of sixteen,¹⁰ Alexandra married Assistant U.S. Treasury Agent Henry Wood Elliott, nine years her senior, at St. Paul Island on July 21, 1872. The couple’s first child, Grace, was born on the island in 1873. After Grace’s birth, the family moved over to St. George where they spent the summer.

Later that year, Henry, Alexandra, and Grace Elliott resettled in Henry’s hometown of Rockport (later Lakewood), Ohio. Henry and Alexandra Elliott raised ten children: Grace (1873–1980), born on St. Paul Island; Flora (1876–1974), who married John N.



ALEXANDRA MELOVIDOFF ELLIOTT

This photo was taken shortly after her marriage in 1872. Picture loaned through courtesy of her daughter, Ruth (Mrs. James Brayton of Indianapolis, Indiana)

Alexandra Milovidov Elliott. Courtesy of her daughter Ruth Brayton. (Butler, The Lakewood Story. p. 101.)

Dodd (1872–1972), an engineer and Princeton graduate (Class of 1893); Marsha (born 1877); Frank Rice (1880–1966), the only child to remain near Lakewood; Ruth (born 1883), who married James Brayton and lived in Indianapolis, Indiana; Edith Alexandra (1886–1985), who worked as a Seattle schoolteacher for 47 years; Narene¹¹ (1888–1940), who became a nurse and married Benjamin B. Mozee; Henry Lionel (1890–1982); John (1894–1975); and Louise Ella (1899–1977).¹²

Narene Elliott and Benjamin Mozee exchanged vows in the church where her parents had wed on St. Paul Island.¹³ The Mozees resided in Alaska, where Benjamin worked as a teacher, later as a U.S. marshal, and then as superintendent of the Alaska Reindeer Service.¹⁴ Narene Elliott Mozee was mysteriously slain aboard a Great Lakes cruise ship on July 29, 1940. Her body washed ashore on Lake Erie near Astabula, Ohio.¹⁵

Alexandra Milovidov died in California in 1949.

Biographical Sketch

Alexandra Milovidov and Henry Elliott married at the Church of Saints Peter and Paul on St. Paul Island, Alaska, on July 21, 1872 (see next page). Some historians have offered that the couple was wed at Unalaska, 250 miles to the south, because there was no resident priest in the Pribilofs at that time. One source specifically (and erroneously) stated, “Visiting priest Nikolai F. Kovrigin of Sitka performed the ceremony [at Unalaska]. Six witnesses included prominent representatives of the Alaska Commercial Company.”¹⁶ Father Nikolai of Sitka was indeed away on visitation, but not at Unalaska at the time of Alexandra’s marriage; he was at St. Paul Island. Father Nikolai had boarded the ship *H.M. Hutchinson* at Unalaska and traveled to St. Paul Island to perform his parochial duties. Several excerpts from Agent Charles Bryant’s Log place him on St. Paul in July:

Friday July 19, 1872

During the night the Alaska Commercial Company’s Steam Schooner *H.M. Hutchinson*, [arrived] with Capt A. Nielson, one of the firms making the annual visit to their different trading posts in the Territory. The schooner also has unloaded a passenger Father Nicholi [sic], a priest of the Russian Greek Church making a tour to minister to the spiritual wants of the people. [The] vessel has also several other passengers. [A]fter breakfast the party landed and the weather being foul the vessel got under weigh [sic] and stood out to sea for an offing [word legibility uncertain]. Father Nicholi proceeding at once to his parochial duties.

Saturday July 20th

In the evening four native couples were married by the priest.

Sunday July 21st

Weather hazy with light west wind and fog at times in afternoon. Schooner *H.M. Hutchinson* came to anchor off the East Landing.

In the evening Assistant Treas. Agent Henry W. Elliott [sic] was joined in marriage to Miss Alexandra Melovedoff according to the rites of the Greek Church of which the bride is a member.¹⁷

The day after the wedding Henry Elliott wrote to “My dear old Friend,” William H. Dall, about his bride:

Captain Niebaum will tell you of my marriage to the daughter of the late Russian Governor of the Island and as we have a good piano here and Mrs. Bryant’s society, I think she’ll make quite a woman for any position in life, even though she was born and raised in Alaska: her physique is superb and she is exceedingly quick and ambitious of learning. She is my “voucher of no uncertain signature” for the Russian language, which I now begin to use quite freely.¹⁸

Elliott’s later critics, and they were many, charged that he often sought to elevate himself by association. Although the record indicates that he did frequently use other people for his own gain, his marriage does not seem to be such an instance. However, Alexandra was instrumental in Elliott’s understanding of Aleut folk lore and historical Russian records,¹⁹ such as Ivan Veniaminov’s *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla* (*Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*), which Elliott applied to his various writings. As best he could Henry Elliott protected his Alaskan Creole wife from the cruel disparagement of the often racist society of the time.²⁰

In an 1873 letter, Henry Elliott wrote to Dall, his former roommate at the Smithsonian, as he, Alexandra, and their baby Grace departed the island. He quipped, “Don’t throw in any sarcasm about the baby here, I tell you my wife is a splendid little woman and the baby is ‘the very image’ etc.”²¹ Author Margaret Manor Butler later reflected on Alexandra Elliott:

In 1873 he brought his young wife and baby daughter Grace back home to Rockport. Residents were very friendly to the petite brown-eyed Russian wife, who found English such a difficult language. They admired her beauty and her long black hair—so long she could sit on it. She loved flowers and gardening and was very devoted to her growing family, which finally numbered ten children. . . . When Alexandra was first introduced to Cleveland social circles, she created quite a stir. Friends and curious acquaintances deposited their decorated calling cards and stayed for a brief chat with the very young and attractive Mrs. Elliott. Her beauty was something to be talked about—blue black hair arranged in a coiled braid on top of her head, clear beautiful skin, a petite figure, and brown eyes with a depth of understanding that bridged the gap of language, and a ready smile that won her a host of friends.

It was she who before long assumed the responsibility of raising their ten children in a strange land, while her husband found his life work in Alaska and Washington, D.C. His career proved a turbulent one, and the commotion in a household of twelve seemed mild in contrast to the confusion in congressional circles.²²

The long absences of Alexandra’s husband, coupled with his devotion to the fur seal cause, presumably led to the couple’s separation by 1920. Thereafter, individual members

of the family moved west—Grace to California farm country, and Lionel, John, Louise, Edith, and Marsha to Seattle, Washington. Alexandra remained in Lakewood with her son Frank for a time but, by 1930, she had joined her daughter Grace near San Francisco. The 1930 U.S. Census recorded her as ‘Alexandra Melovidoff’ rather than Elliott. She remained in California farm country until her death in 1949. After her mother’s death, Grace moved to Seattle, Washington.²³

ELLIOTT, HENRY WOOD (1846–1930)

Naturalist, Artist, and Conservationist, circa 1860–1930

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Pribilof Islands, 1872–1873

Congressional approval to visit islands, July 14–August 3, 1874

Congressional appointment to investigate the Pribilof fur-seal herd, May 21–August 10, 1890

Congressional appointment to investigate the Pribilof Islands, July 1913



Henry Wood Elliott at twenty-four years of age. (SIA RU 7177, box 3, 90-3131.)

Genealogy

Henry Wood Elliott was born on November 13, 1846, at Cleveland, Ohio, to Franklin Reuben Elliott, a horticulturist, and Sophia Appolonia (Hopkins) Elliott. At the time, the family lived in “the old Governor [Reuben] Wood mansion in Rocky River [Ohio] where their children, Henry Wood, Frank, Katherine, Cara, and Cora were born.”²⁴ Henry was apparently given his middle name after the prestigious Governor Wood of Ohio, in whose former home the Elliott family resided.²⁵ At twenty-five, Henry Wood Elliott married a sixteen-year-old Creole named Alexandra Milovidov²⁶ at St. Paul Island on July 21, 1872.²⁷ Alexandra was the daughter of Alexander and Alexandra Kaminsky Milovidov. Alexander Milovidov was the last governor on the Seal Islands for the

Russian-American Company (see Alexandra Elliott’s biography). Henry and Alexandra Elliott’s first child, Grace, was born on St. Paul in 1873. After leaving the Seal Islands, the Elliott family grew to include ten children while living at Lakewood (previously Rockport), Ohio. From their home in Lakewood, Henry regularly commuted to Washington, D.C., and intermittently to Alaska. Eventually he went into debt (see endnote 42), and he and Alexandra separated for unknown reasons. Henry Wood Elliott died at age eighty-four in Seattle, Washington, on May 25, 1930.²⁸

Biographical Sketch

Henry Wood Elliott’s father, Franklin Elliott, was a close friend of physician and natural scientist Dr. Jared P. Kirtland, who founded the Cleveland Academy of Science. Despite some significant financial setbacks, Franklin Elliott managed to purchase a 22-acre lot in

Rockport, Ohio, next door to Dr. Kirtland, who helped him to procure the land. Franklin then “concentrated his energy in turning the place into a paradise with rare shrubs and flowers and fruit trees of every variety,”²⁹ as well as tennis courts, grape vineyards, summer houses, winding paths, and a pond with a large collection of goldfish. Franklin Elliott eventually published the widely acclaimed *Elliott’s Fruit Book; or the American Fruit-Grower’s Guide in Orchard and Garden*. It was in this setting that the adolescent Henry began developing his artistic talent. Through his father’s scientific associations with men such as Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry and Assistant Secretary Spencer Baird, Henry would springboard into renown and occasional notoriety.³⁰

Henry’s father secured a position for his sixteen-year-old son,³¹ who was still in high school, under Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Many of Elliott’s contemporaries were uncertain as to whether Henry had just an honorary position, as suggested by Elliott historian Robert Shalkop,³² or whether he had no official, professional affiliation at all with the prestigious institution, even though he boarded there during his early years and kept in communication with senior members of the institution. The U.S. House Ways and Means

Committee queried Elliott about his affiliation with the Smithsonian Institution during its 1876 inquiry into the business affairs of the Alaska Commercial Company:

Q. You are connected with the Smithsonian?

A. I am an associate of the Smithsonian. They give me a room where I sleep, and a working-room, in return for my voluntary services as a collector.³³

In 1884, he answered a similar question asked by Congressman Morrison, chairman of the same committee, “I thought that you were connected with the Smithsonian Institution.” Elliott replied, “Only as an associate and *collaborateur*.”³⁴ During his early years at the Smithsonian, the young Elliott met and roomed with William H. Dall, who would become a leading scientist and recognized authority on the subject of Alaska (see Dall’s biography). Dall also spoke before a con-



*Sincerely yours
H. W. Elliott
Born Nov 12, 1846*

Henry Wood Elliott at age fifteen.
(SIA, RU 95, box 7, folder 53, 83-6919.)



Joseph Henry, first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. (NOAA People Collection, <http://www.photolib.noaa.gov/700s/pers0124.jpg> [accessed June 12, 2009].)



Spencer Fullerton Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. (NOAA People Collection, <http://www.photolib.noaa.gov/htmls/pers0097.htm> [accessed June 12, 2009].)

gressional committee about Elliott's affiliation with the Smithsonian:

Elliott occasionally occupied a sleeping cuddy in one of the towers in exchange for voluntary service—a loose connection he readily admitted.³⁵

Elliott's Smithsonian experience may have inadvertently taught him to seek advantage in order to compete among formally trained academics, as it appears he never completed high school. Through their Smithsonian connections, Elliott and William Dall acquired positions with the 1865–1867 Western Union Telegraph Expedition (aka Collins Overland Expedition, and the Russian-American Telegraph Expedition). The Expedition was divided into three divisions: Canadian, Russian American, and Asian.³⁶ Dall and Elliott socialized together during that time, but the two later took separate paths. Dall went to Russian America and the Yukon River area, and Elliott went with the Canadian Division, where he

became a telegraph operator. In 1867, the Expedition was terminated because the Trans-Siberian telegraph was no longer considered practical. However, Dall stayed in Alaska to conduct further exploration until 1868, while Elliott stayed in Canada as a telegraph operator until circa 1870.

Elliott's interests in natural history waned due to his growing interest in the telegraph. He became an expert telegraph operator with the Canadian Division. Self-conscious about his change of heart for natural history, Elliott wrote to Professor Joseph Henry, his mentor at the Smithsonian:

As month after month has passed by the mortifying thought of my failure to make, and send to the Smithsonian a Natural History Collection[.] [My failure to make such a collection] has caused me to burn several letters that have been written for my friends at the Smithsonian.³⁷

Elliott also wrote:

I am much pleased with the telegraph business and they tell me that I have acquired it very rapidly having had about six months practice. . . . Please . . . tell them [the Baird family and others] that so completely devoid of romance or interest has wild life become to me, that I cannot bring myself to write to them of it.³⁸

Henry Elliott's romance with the telegraph waned quickly. In 1871, he accepted a position as the official artist for the Hayden Survey of the Yellowstone region.³⁹ The survey's prominent guest artists, Thomas Moran and William Henry Jackson, became Elliott's mentors, and it was their art works, rather than Elliott's, that filled most of the illustrated pages in Hayden's report, the document that convinced Congress to designate Yellowstone as the nation's first National Park in 1872.⁴⁰ From this experience, Elliott



1870 Hayden Expedition, Red Buttes, Wyoming Territory. From left to right, seated: Charles S. Turnbull, physician; John Warren Beaman, meteorologist; Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden, director, U.S. Geological Survey; Professor Cyrus Thomas, agricultural statistician and entomologist; a hunter named Raphael; A. L. Ford; and standing: two cooks; S. R. Gifford, guest; Henry W. Elliott, artist; James Stevenson, managing director; H. D. Schmidt; E. Campbell Carrington, zoologist; L. A. Bartlett; William Henry Jackson, photographer. United States Geological Survey, August 24, 1870. (Photo: W. H. Jackson. NAA 34,065-P; OPSS neg. 17236.)

likely grasped the significance of landscape art as an influence on public opinion, and his association with Moran and Jackson could only have helped him to develop his own artistic mastery. But Dall's 1870 *Alaska and Its Resources* probably inspired Elliott even more. In April 1872, Elliott wrote his former roommate:

Dear Dall, I am going to St. Pauls [sic] nominally as an Agent of the Government assisting Capt. Bryant but really to make as big a collection as I can and collect as much material for a monograph of the Seal Islands as I can during my stay out there which keeps me until October 1873.⁴¹

One biographer described Henry Wood Elliott's personality as "dogmatic, logical, intemperate, courageous, tactless, idealistic, and fundamentally quixotic, suffering many defeats with undiminished faith in the final triumph of justice. We find scant reference, however, to any aspect of his life not related to seals."⁴²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Henry Wood Elliott arrived at the Seal Islands on April 24, 1872, before the appearance of any significant numbers of migratory wildlife. While he dreamed of making a mark for

himself as a natural historian, he could not have envisioned what challenges and opportunities lay before him.

Beginning with Elliott's first St. Paul assignment, and with some poetic license, author James Thomas Gay praised Elliott's devotion to the conservation of the fur seal.

From the first day he landed on the islands and viewed the staggering spectacle of countless seals on the rookeries, his fascination ripened [Elliott landed in April when seals are essentially absent from the islands; if any were present it wasn't a "staggering spectacle"]. Soon he developed such a passionate interest in the animals that his observations, study and note taking occupied most of his time. He made numerous sketches and drawings of seal life as well as of the islanders. It was from these early experiences on the islands, apparently, that Elliott developed his life-long admiration for the fur seal.⁴³

Soon after his arrival at the Seal Islands, Elliott felt less suited for his official role of Treasury Agent. He determined to devote his energies more appropriately, as expressed in a May 1872 letter to his mentor of sorts, Professor Spencer Baird:

As soon as I shall have finished my work this summer on St. George I shall come down and resign my position as Government Agent for I wish to retire into private life where I can devote myself entirely to art for I have already made such progress with the management of color during the past winter that I do not fear entering into competition with the best of artists.

I now have painted a gallery of seventy five pictures eighteen inches by twelve which illustrate the wonderful life on these Islands and the peculiarities of Bering Sea. This series of paintings I value at \$15,000. The copyright alone to it I shall dispose of to some leading photographer for a sum not less than \$5000 – and have made from it a series of transparencies or glass slides for a lime lighted magic lantern to illustrate a lecture which I have prepared upon the subject.⁴⁴

Also, in 1872 Elliott wrote:

See about getting my successor, for there is work yet for scientific collections, and by that procedure prevent some dissatisfied pothouse politician from coming up and making mischief.⁴⁵

Henry Elliott's credentials as a naturalist and artist, especially on the subject of the Seal Islands, would grow over the next four decades, and he would speak before various congressional committees on numerous occasions, either lobbying to protect the fur seals or as a witness during investigations of misconduct by leasing companies and/or government officials.

I first visited those islands in April 1872, by the joint action of Prof. Spencer F. Baird, then assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Secretary Boutwell, Treasury Department. The Secretary allowed me to go up as an assistant Treasury agent, with the distinct understanding that I was to be allowed time to engage in these (sealing) investigations,⁴⁶ and when through, to return without leave of absence. When I got up there I had an idea that I should be able to come back the same year,⁴⁷ but I found things so different from what I had understood, that I made another visit in 1874, under authority of a special act of Congress; and again in 1876, on my own responsibility.⁴⁸

As previously suggested, it remains unclear whether Elliott received his commission as assistant Treasury agent to actually study fur seals, as some authors maintain,⁴⁹ or as his letter to Dall suggested, he withheld his own agenda to write a "monograph of the Seal Islands" from his Smithsonian benefactors and employer. Regardless, he did correspond

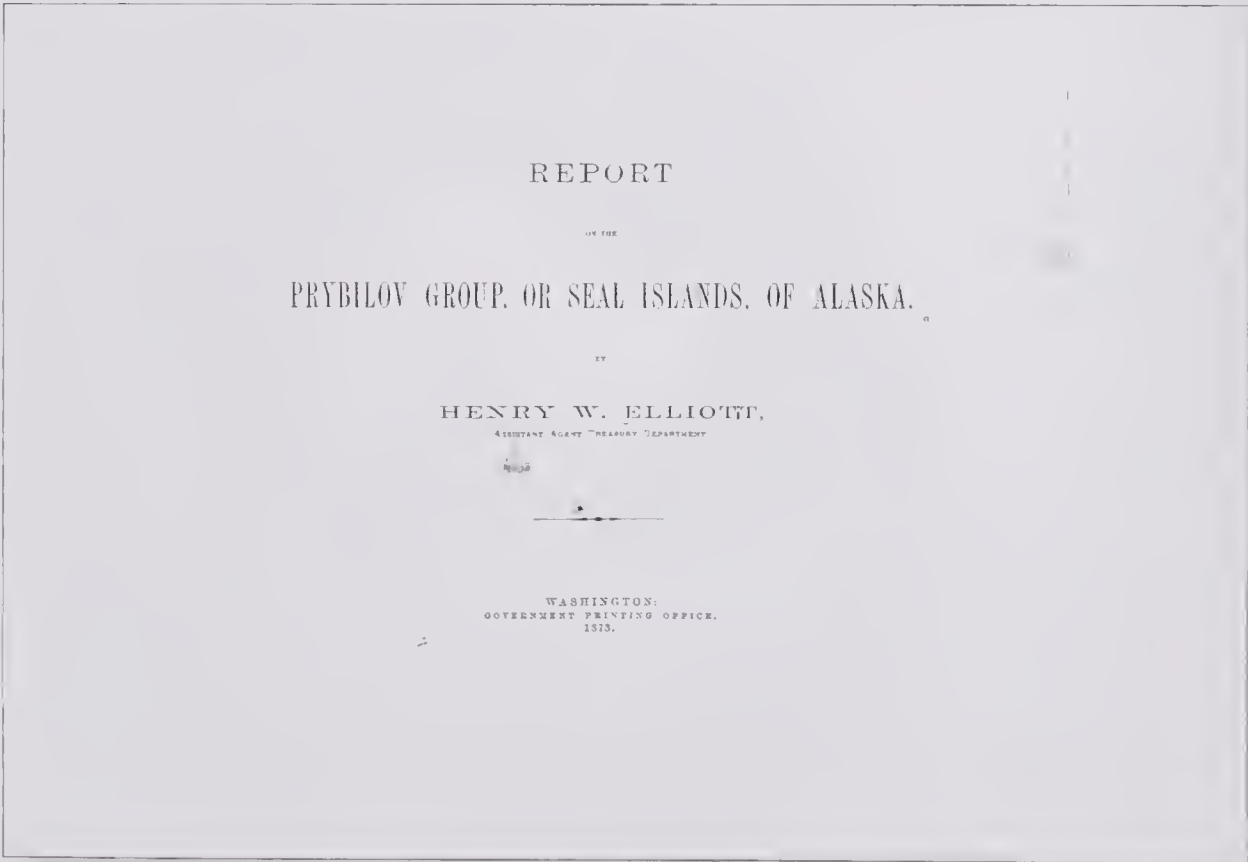


Henry W. Elliott on horseback during the Hayden Expedition to Yellowstone, 1871. (Photo: W. H. Jackson. SIA 2003-90-3132, RU 7177, box 3, folder 36)

frequently with Professor Baird at the Smithsonian, who thus kept abreast of Elliott's findings on the Seal Islands.⁵⁰

In pursuit of compiling his monograph, Elliott sought out scientist Dr. Elliott Coues, who, in 1872, had just published his famous *Key to North American Birds*. Elliott sent Coues bird specimens he collected on the Pribilofs for identification, along with his field notes. Although Elliott implied in a letter to Dall that he (H. W. Elliott) would write the chapter on ornithology, that did not come to pass.⁵¹ By the fall of 1873, Elliott had produced his monograph, *Report of the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands, of Alaska*, but Dr. Coues wrote the chapter titled "Ornithology of the Prybilov Islands," an impressive addition to Elliott's 1873 manuscript.⁵² Unfortunately for both authors, some statements in Elliott's report outraged Secretary of the Treasury William Richardson. Elliott had written numerous vulgar comments about Alaska Natives. For example: "I cannot speak highly of their chastity [although] the women seldom sell themselves."⁵³ Also, "These people are exceedingly thoughtless and improvident, shiftless and dirty, all exist, even the best of them, as a matter of course, with one or two exceptions, in a state of profound ignorance."⁵⁴ He also made unfavorable allegations against the government, charging that agents on the island were "entirely incompetent or dishonest." Secretary Richardson ordered the *Report* pulled off the Government Printing Office's press, and the already-printed copies were discarded in a trash bin.

Elliott claimed that only seventy-five copies of his work were printed before the press was shut down. Purportedly, he recovered all seventy-five copies from the trash.⁵⁵ Only a few are known to remain today.⁵⁶ James E. Harting's *The Fauna of the Prybilov Islands* included excerpts about fauna from Elliott's contraband *Report of the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands, of Alaska*. Harting stated in his Preface:



Cover of Henry Wood Elliott's unpublished 1873 book, *Report of the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands, of Alaska*.

During the early part of 1874 (Dr. Coues informs me that the work referred to, although dated 1873, was not actually published until either January or February 1874), a valuable report on this remarkable group of islands, by Mr. H. W. Elliott and Dr. Elliott Coues, was published by the American Government. As I learn from one of the authors that only seventy-five copies of the work were issued, and as I have reason to believe, the only copy in England is the one now before me.

Subsequent to his failed attempt to publish his monograph, Elliott submitted *A Report upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* on November 16, 1874. Published in 1875 by the Government Printing Office, the *Report* included observations on Alaska in general as well as on the Pribilof Islands. The chapters in the *Report* about the Pribilofs were similar to the material presented in Elliott's "unpublished" monograph, minus the illustrations.⁵⁷ For example, Chapter Seven, "The Habits of the Fur Seal, Etc.," and Chapter Nine, "Ornithology of the Prybilov Islands," in the *Report* are nearly verbatim versions of the material in Elliott's 1873 (printed 1874) monograph, under the headings "The Seal-Life on the Prybilov Islands" and "Ornithology of the Prybilov Islands," respectively. However, the offending material did not appear in the 1875 report.

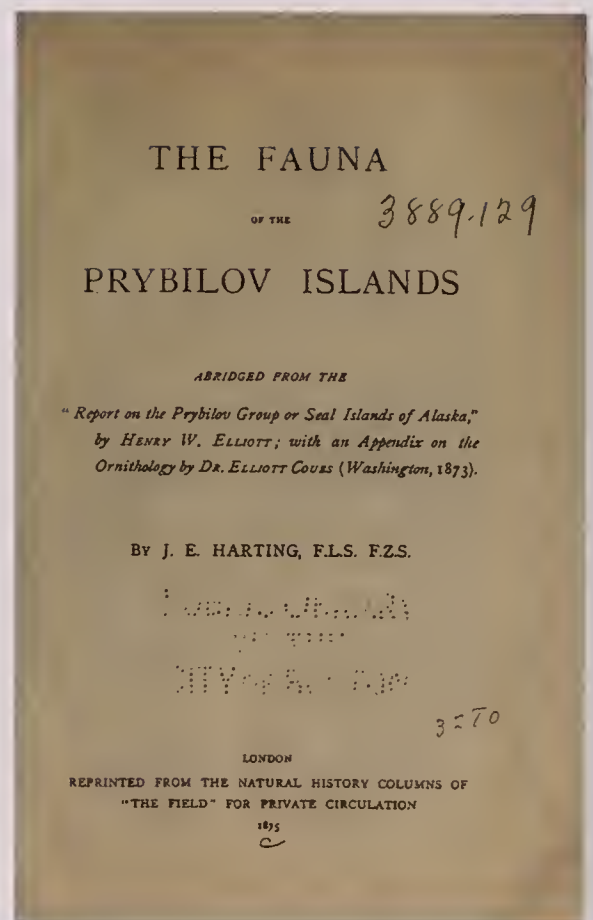
An ornately bound version of the *Report* in the authors' possession has "Elliott 1874" imprinted on the cover's spine, and "1875" on the internal cover page. It does not include either the maps or the illustrations that Elliott referred to in his cover letter to the Secretary of the Treasury,⁵⁸ nor in his letters to his friend William H. Dall.

As I think it not at all unlikely but that I shall meet you in San Francisco next Spring I have not thought it worth while to write much about my work, etc, there is so much to say and discuss which becomes confusion worse confounded when put back and forth upon paper: a memoir upon the Prybilov Islands is now passing through the press illustrated by 50 plates, 9 by 6 inches, royal quarto, and a detailed chapter upon the ornithology by Elliott Coues based upon my MS.S. and material.⁵⁹

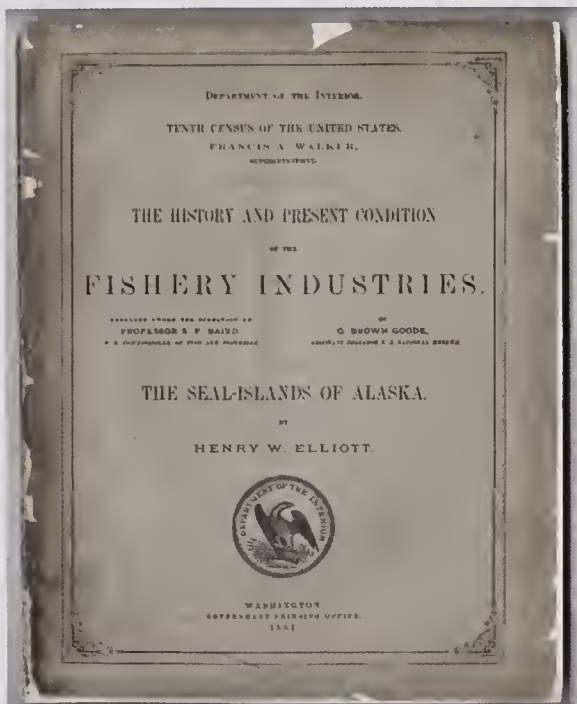
I will have a few copies ready for me in fixing legislation very soon but Heaven only knows when my plates will be ready for the binder.⁶⁰

If a version of the 1874/1875 *Report* was published with Elliott's illustrations, the authors did not locate it during the course of their research.

Elliott eventually achieved his personal goal of producing a natural history monograph about the Pribilof Islands.⁶¹ In 1881, the Government Printing Office published *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska*;⁶² the *Monograph* included illustrations other than those in the 1873 "unpublished" version. The *Monograph* was subsequently reprinted as *The History and Present Condition of the Fishery Industries, The*



Cover of *The Fauna of the Prybilov Islands*.



The cover of Henry Wood Elliott's 1881 monograph, *The History and Present Condition of the Fishery Industries: The Seal Islands of Alaska*.

Seal Islands of Alaska, Section IX [Monograph A] of the Tenth Census of the United States. The full U.S. Bureau of Census, 10th Census, was not published until 1883–1884; this apparent anomaly between publication dates has confused efforts to identify the seemingly disparate documents with the same or similar title.⁶³ To add to the confusion, a revised edition was published in 1882, under the same title.⁶⁴

Elliott continued to write for the government about his observations on the Seal Islands. In 1890, in response to a report submitted by Treasury Agent Charles Goff, Congress passed an “order of special act approved April 5, 1890” to revisit the condition of the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska.⁶⁵ Goff had alleged that the Alaska Commercial Company was taking undersized seals and that the fur-seal herd was in serious decline.

Elliott was charged by Congress with leading the investigation, and Charles Goff assisted him. In 1896, Congress issued the *Report Upon The Present Condition Of The Fur-Seal Rookeries Of The Pribilof Islands Of Alaska*,⁶⁶ which included current (1890) illustrations and maps of the seal rookeries. As will be discussed, the report would lead to significant changes in wildlife conservation efforts and in the management of the Pribilof Islands regarding the fur seals and the Unaaġin (the Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands). In 1898, the Government Printing Office published Elliott's observations from 1872–1874 and from 1890 in a compendium titled *Fur-Seal Fisheries*. None of these post-1873 publications included forty-nine plates that were part of his “unpublished” monograph.⁶⁷ These fine examples of his artistry were likely a portion of those that Elliott desired to sell later for \$15,000.

When Elliott returned to the Pribilof Islands in 1890, the North American Commercial Company (NACC) had replaced the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) as the government's lessee. Consequently, the NACC and not the ACC was subjected to Elliott's wrath over the decimation of the seal herd. At this juncture Elliott became an untiring advocate for the preservation of the fur seal. However, the U.S. government and commercial sealing interests were not yet ready for the concept of wildlife conservation. In 1905, in partnership with U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, Elliott drafted a treaty for managing the seal herds, but politics, including the end of Hay's tenure, interfered. Unwilling to give up, yet frustrated by his inability to sway Congress, Elliott sought the assistance of other influential men dedicated to the conservation cause. He apparently also finally acknowledged his own boisterous and bullying flaws and approached a potential advocate, Dr. William T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Gardens, to speak on his behalf. Hornaday is credited with saving the American bison from extinction. He was also an esteemed member of the board of governors of the Camp-Fire Club of America,



THE LANDING, ST. GEORGE'S VILLAGE.

Elliott on St. George Island in 1890. (The Cosmopolitan, vol. 13, no 1, May 1892, p. 248.)

an organization of hunters and naturalists (see Hornaday's biography). Finally Elliott's conservationist passion met with some success.

In 1911, Russia, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, the four nations most concerned with sealing, signed a treaty outlawing open-water sealing and accepting on-shore management of the seal herds by the United States. *The Convention between the United States and Other Powers Providing for the Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals*, popularly known as the *Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911*, was the first international treaty to address wildlife conservation.

To his detriment, Henry W. Elliott initiated backdoor attacks on friends and associates who, in his mind, competed with him as experts on the subject of Alaska and more specifically the Pribilof Islands and fur seals. Others (e.g., Victor B. Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*; Lisa Marie Morris, *Keeper of the Seal*; and William T. Hornaday, *Thirty Years War for Wild Life: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task*) have touched upon the negative aspects of Elliott's character, but a full retrospection awaits a seriously inclined student, who will have much to ponder in some of Elliott's more caustic writings. For example:

May 1872

This exhibition of seal life . . . is really a wonderful sight and it has thus far been touched by Dall and Bryant in the most superficial manner, especially Dall. That which Capt. Bryant has written is full of error from beginning to end. . . . Allen's paper⁶⁸ is much in error.⁶⁹

May 1873

Dear Professor Baird: . . . To my great surprise, the result of a years observation and survey among the Seals and over the Island of St. Pauls, proves [all emphasis by Elliott] conclusively that almost every statement made by Capt. Bryant, Dall, and Scammon on this subject of the Seal life, is not correct, and in nine paragraphs out of every ten in Capt B's "Account of the Habits etc" in the Bulletin M. C. Zool. Vol. II no. 1 ["On the habits of the Northern Fur Seal (*Callorhinus ursinus Gray*), with a Description of the Pribyloff Group of Islands." *Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology* 2 (1): 89–108. 1870], the very reverse of his statement exists and occurs! I have in consequence of all this fanciful and garbled work of Bryant, Dall and Scammon, given attention to every point, no matter how minute and have spared no physical exertion or exposure in order that I might arrive at the truth and have subsequent observers endorse my work and confirm my theories.⁷⁰

Soon after Elliott wrote to Baird criticizing Dall, he wrote to Dall with an apparent air of friendship.

Dear Dall: . . . have finished my Memoir upon the Seal Life of these Islands. . . . My work upon the Seals will be rough for Scammon, Bryant, and others but it cannot be helped; these gentlemen have been far too superficial in their examinations and have published authoritatively incorrect, glaringly so, statements, concerning the Fur Seal of the North Pacific. . . . I regret exceedingly not to have a meeting with you. . . . the heartfelt hope that you will be successful both for this season and the next, I am ever your friend,

Henry W. Elliott.⁷¹

Later surveys and writings by others, such as Joseph Stanley-Brown, David Starr Jordan, and Victor B. Scheffer, challenged Elliott's own descriptions of the seal rookeries and seal behavior. Spencer Baird wrote to William Dall:

I always knew that our lively Henry was mendacious, but did not suppose he could manage to get quite so far from the truth as in the account of the condition of your Collection at the Smithsonian. . . . It will give me great pleasure to choke Henry, for telling such lies.⁷²

Nonetheless, the aspiring artist and naturalist's public and congressional popularity rose during the 1870s to the early 1880s as "Elliott soon gained a reputation as an authority not only on the Alaska fur seal but on the whole territory."⁷³ His views met with disfavor with some politicians, scientists and businessmen, however, "during the last decade of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century [when] the seal herd was rapidly declining in number, . . . Henry W. Elliott was goading public officials and harrying businessmen, large and small, who were continuing to reap profitable harvests of sealskins."⁷⁴

Over the years Elliott lectured and published many popular articles and books using his illustrations to spark audience interest.⁷⁵ He collaborated with internationally recognized artist Henry Sandham for an article "Leo Marinus, The Sea-King," in *Scribner's Monthly* of October 1878. His popular 1886 book *Our Arctic Province* finally gave Elliott an even greater audience beyond the scientific field. Articles and books such as these, along with his art, propelled him into mainstream celebrity as an authority on Alaska.

After his 1890 visit to the Pribilof Islands, Elliott argued for the next twenty years for the cessation of the killing of the northern fur seal on land and at sea. Then in 1907, Elliott, when asked if he was paid for any of his services, disclosed his clandestine link to the ACC with the following statement before the House Committee of Ways and Means:

"I was paid for it; I was well paid for it. [Hearing before Committee of Ways and Means, January 25, 1907, p. 69, MS]."⁷⁶

Unfortunately for Elliott, his unsubstantiated "scientific observations,"⁷⁷ his obnoxious reputation, and his surreptitious relationship with the ACC, which had begun at least as early as 1876, made him an unwelcome lobbyist in Washington political circles.

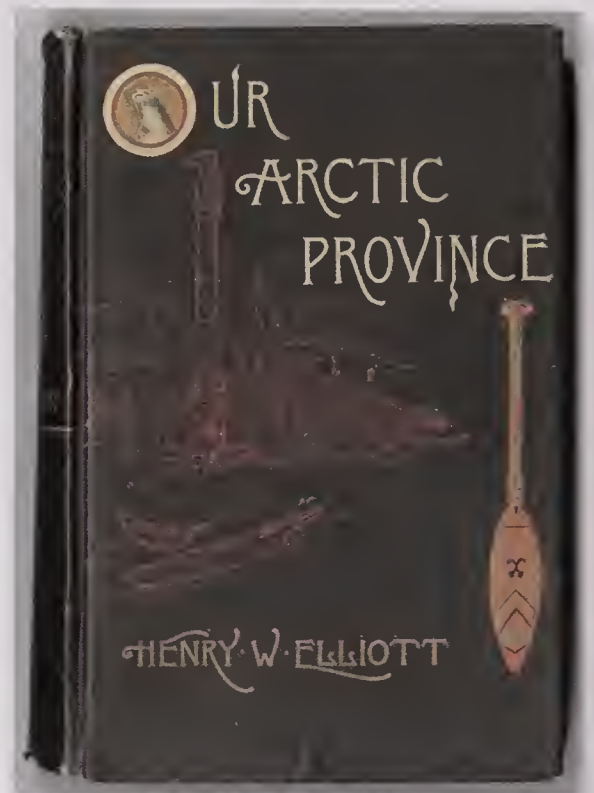
In 1911, the House of Representatives held a hearing led by the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, *To Investigate the Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*. The committee's report included various sources describing Elliott's relationship with the ACC, and the findings further impugned Elliott's reputation. Nonetheless, in reply to the specific question, "Were you not an employee of the Alaska Commercial Co.?" Henry Elliott replied, "No sir; I never was an employee of the Alaska Commercial Co."⁷⁸ However, additional congressional committee responses included:

[Henry Elliott] Entered the service of [the Alaska Commercial Company] two years after his employment in the Treasury [i.e. 1876] as "counsel and adviser" and "under salary of the company" (p. 36, H.R. 2027, 48th Cong., 1st sess.)⁷⁹ and [Elliott] "accepted and had at their hands a retainer to appear whenever it was necessary, from 1881 until the date the lease was lost, the 12th of March, 1890."⁸⁰

From this it is evident that when Elliott visited the islands in 1876 "on my own responsibility" he was actually employed by the Alaska Commercial Co., on whose vessel, the steamship *St. Paul*, he traveled. He was likewise so employed when the monograph was written, although he specifically denied the same (H. R. 2027, p. 36, above cited) and also while lobbying for the bill in 1890, under which he was appointed special agent and of which he boasted "in four weeks we had that act."⁸¹

And

The exposure of his connection with the commercial interests which he had previously denied, together with his statements of a scandalous nature affecting public men, most of whom were dead, not only resulted in his being



The cover of Henry Wood Elliott's 1886 book, Our Arctic Province, which propelled him into national notoriety as a natural history expert on the Territory of Alaska.



Self-portrait in ink, by Henry Wood Elliott, accompanying broadsheet of Elliott's book Our Arctic Province. (Private collection.)

thoroughly discredited by the committee, but disgusted and incensed the latter to such an extent that it prohibited further printing of the proceedings and practically suppressed the entire [record of the] hearings. (Fur Trade Review, March, 1907, pp. 190 and 192.)⁸²

William T. Hornaday later wrote in his memoir about his experience with Elliott. Hornaday seemed to forgive Elliott for his unsavory behavior, highlighting his dedication to preserving the fur seals' existence.

In the spring of 1909, the writer [Hornaday] came broad awake to a compelling sense of his duty to "do something" to save the vanishing fur seals. . . .

It was clear that nothing could be accomplished by more recriminations, more quarreling, or more fighting. But perhaps something good might be accomplished by outsiders who were friendly to all parties concerned! With his matchless fund of fur-seal knowledge and experience, Mr. Elliott would make a powerful advisor and ally, but for the sake of peace and progress, it would be cruelly necessary for him to remain in the background! The situation had become so bad that any change in it would be for the better.

. . . Without a moment's hesitation, Mr. Elliott cheerfully pledged himself to accept and abide by the harsh conditions that the hopeless situation demanded; and he loyally kept his word.⁸³

Hornaday, who made certain that Elliott's crusade to save the fur seal became a lasting legacy, would also write of the blow to his own reputation for taking on the fur-seal conservation fight with Elliott:

the cost to me in old friendships forever broken was great. Even today [1931] it is painful to contemplate. I have many ex-friends who never will forgive me for having started that fur-seal salvage campaign, nor for its having been successful.⁸⁴

Others wrote:

In 1911, Elliott's dream of saving the Alaskan fur seal from extinction was realized when the four powers (Russia, Japan, Great Britain and the United States) agreed to the North Pacific Sealing Convention [*The Fur-Seal Treaty*]. The powers prohibited all pelagic sealing in the open ocean, including Bering Sea. Each signatory agreed to a system of mutually satisfactory compensation. A five-year land-killing suspension for the Pribilof herd was added by Congress due largely to Elliott's efforts.⁸⁵

Despite the 1911 Congressional investigation which cast a scathing light on Elliott, his persuasive manner enabled him to once again gain authority to investigate seal life on the Pribilofs in 1913. On June 20, 1913, the Committee on Expenditures, chaired by John H. Rothermel

ordered, That Henry W. Elliott is hereby appointed as a duly qualified expert to gather certain information touching the conduct of public affairs on the seal islands of Alaska as the chairman of the committee shall require, and that Andrew F. Gallagher is hereby appointed as a duly qualified expert stenographer and notary to accompany Mr. Elliott and record the details of that information as it shall be developed under the instructions of the chairman.⁸⁶

A. J. Gallagher, a stenographer for the committee, accompanied Elliott to take dictation. The St. Paul Agent's Log told something of their trip during the summer of 1913:

At 9 30 a.m. Henry W. Elliott and A. J. Gallagher landed on the West side in the TAHOMA's boat. Elliott, whose connection with the much-vexed "seal question," is well known, comes under some sort of authority derived so far as I can gather from the Congressional Committee of Expenditures in the Department of Commerce to investigate

seal life. Mr. Gallagher, a most pleasant gentleman, is a reporter for the Congressional committee and seems to be here for the purpose of taking notes as dictated by Mr. Elliott. No information as to their coming has been received by me from the Department, and as Mr. Elliott did not specifically state the cause and object of his mission, I must accept as a fact his coming here with proper authority. Mr. Elliott announced to me vehemently that it was his intention to ascertain the area occupied by the [breeding] seals at present as a means of determining hereafter their increase or the contrary; that, to use his expression, he will not tolerate the counting of pups hereafter by anyone, and that he who does count the pups will be made sorry for it. He stated that the question of increase or decrease of seals was the only important question to be considered, and that mere numbers, i.e. whether there were one hundred thousand or whether there were two hundred thousand in the herd was not important as compared with the general question of increase or decrease.⁸⁷

Agent and Caretaker Walter Lembkey soon exposed, at least to himself, Elliott's ruse.

As a result of the talk this afternoon, Mr. Elliott showed me for the first time, this evening, a copy of his instructions. Mr. Gallagher stated to me that they were there under a resolution of the House, whereas, upon reading the instructions I find that no resolution of the House was passed authorizing their visit, but their instructions refer merely to a resolution of the Committee, their instructions being signed by Mr. Rothermel the chairman. They refer repeatedly to oral instructions not covered by the written ones. The whole idea I can gather from the attitude and speech of the two gentlemen is that they are wholly surprised and indignant over the proposition to associate with anyone in an investigation of seal life and that, they would rather omit entirely further investigation, or carry it on surreptitiously, than to submit to any joining of their work with others from the Department. I am forced to believe that Mr. Elliott's endeavor is to establish a[n] ex parte case; that he is here not as a fair investigator but as a special attorney acting solely in the interests of clients—[the text from hereout until July 13, 1913, appears to have been redacted as the sentence ends without a period, and the last quarter of the log book page is uncharacteristically blank].⁸⁸

Lembkey's Agent's Log continued recounting anecdotes of Elliott and Gallagher's activities and behavior on the islands until their July 30, 1913, departure aboard the Cutter *Unalga*. Agent Lembkey embarked with Elliott and neither man ever returned to the Pribilof Islands. Elliott returned to Washington, D.C., to file a lengthy report with numerous exhibits that became Document no. 1 in the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce, *Investigation of the Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska* conducted on October 13, 1913, and January 17, 1914. However, Elliott's investigation was clouded by the earlier findings against him during the Hearing before the Committee of Ways and Means January 25, 1907, and the House Hearings before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor during 1911.⁸⁹ Consequently, Congress refused to pay Elliott's expenses and compensation. The committee chairman, John H. Rothermel, apparently solely authorized Elliott and Gallagher's 1913 investigation and Rothermel, "narrowly escaped being expelled before the expiration of his term" for his complicity with Elliott.⁹⁰

For the rest of his life Elliott remained unrelenting in his efforts to save the fur seal, but his reputation became so tarnished that his good intentions received little respect. William T. Hornaday succinctly dealt with Henry Wood Elliott's legacy in his book *Thirty Years War for Wild Life: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task*:

By the year 2000 Mr. Elliott's great-great-grandchildren may receive for him "the thanks of Congress!" But I doubt it!⁹¹

Mr. Hornaday's doubts notwithstanding, in 2007 NOAA recognized Henry Wood Elliott's contribution to the protection of the northern fur seal and the *North Pacific Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911* as one of the ten most interesting and significant events in the agency's 200-year history.⁹²

EMANOFF, MAMANT (1906–1972)

Coffee Shop Entrepreneur, Leader of the Aleut Civil Rights Movement, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

Mamant Emanoff was born September 15, 1906, on St. Paul Island, Alaska, to Mary Emanoff. Mary had four other sons: Alexey, Joaniky, Maxim, and Peter. Mamant married Anna Misikin (b. February 9, 1910, St. Paul Island, Alaska). Mamant and Anna had two sons born on St. Paul Island: Karp was born October 24, 1927 and Gregory was born December 2, 1928. Mamant Emanoff died on St. Paul Island July 1972.⁹³

Biographical Sketch

Mamant Emanoff was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Pribilovians during their efforts to gain their inherent civil rights in the 1940s and 1950s. He was revered for his knowledge, intelligence, and leadership abilities. His portrait, along with those of four of his comrades, hangs in the St. Paul Island City Council chambers.

Mamant Emanoff received authorization from the government to open a coffee shop, one of five Native businesses on St. Paul Island.⁹⁴

ENNIS, WILLIAM H. (B. 1842)

Lieutenant, U.S. Navy

Adventurer-Signalman, Western Union Telegraph Expedition

Supercargo on "Caldera" for Messrs. Parrott & Company, 1868–1869(?)

Agent for Parrott & Company, St. George Island, 1868

Genealogy

The U.S. Census of 1860 showed William Ennis as being born in Washington, D.C., to Irish-born contractor Philip Ennis and his wife, Catherine. William married Susan D. Coates of Louisiana, the daughter of Moses Coates of San Francisco, on December 8, 1868.⁹⁵ William and Susan Ennis had two children: Scott and Daisy.⁹⁶

Biographical Sketch

In 1866, William Ennis joined the Russian America Division's Arctic party of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, led by Major Robert Kennicott. Using his U.S. Navy training, he served the Expedition as a signalman.⁹⁷ Naturalist William H. Dall was on the

same expedition (see Dall's biography). Ennis' tour of duty took him to Sitka, where he was introduced to the Governor of Russian America and his wife, Prince and Madame Maksutov.⁹⁸ By 1870, Ennis had become a fur dealer in San Francisco.

Pribilof Islands Experience

William Ennis entered the employ of San Francisco trader Parrott & Company in 1868, after his return from the Western Union Telegraph Expedition.⁹⁹ He served aboard the schooner *Caldera* as the company's supercargo (manager of a vessel's cargo), and as agent on St. George Island in 1868. His experiences on St. George were covered in a memoir titled "Cruise of the Caldera."¹⁰⁰ Excerpts are reproduced here courtesy of the California Historical Society.

Cruise of the "Caldera"

The objects of the owners of this vessel wish for the purpose of trading along the North western coast of our new territory "Alaska" and of taking such notes of that country and its resources as would enable the owners to determine whether by carrying on the fur trade extensively, money could be made in sufficiently large sums as to warrant the venture.

For this purpose the "Caldera" a Schooner of one hundred and twenty three tons was purchased and fitted up as conveniently as possible and its command placed into the hands of one Capt. Kensil, but this person having resigned his position, the owners were compelled to seek other parties to carry out their intentions. After some delay and looking around, they were fortunate enough to secure the services of Captain C.P. Holcomb, a man eminently adapted for the command, who had long been in command of a whaling vessel among the ice & snows of an Artic [sic] clime, and whose success during his long experience as captain was ample proof that the right man had at last been found. The writer of this was employed as super cargo, trading & business agent for the owners and for this position he was indebted for the knowledge he possessed of the Northern Country, the habits and languages of the Russian and Esquimaux having been acquired by him while in the employ of the Russian Telegraph Company.

The 20th day of March found our compliment [sic] of men complete and on Sunday the 22nd we bid adieu to San Francisco and stood down the Bay with the following persons on board: C.P. Holcomb, Commander of vessel; Wm. H. Ennis, Supercargo & Agent; Geo. R. Adams, Trader; Osborn Howes Jr., Clerk; Tos. C. Welden, 1st mate; E. Huckins, 2nd mate; Wm. Commance, sailor; Wm. Athnidgo, sailor; Fred Peterson, sailor; John Monoque, sailor; Wm. Holley, cook.

"St. George Island"

After a short run we sighted the smoking volcano "Shilmidinsky" to the west of "Ounimak" and running through the "pass" with a good fresh breeze we entered Behring Sea and headed for the "Island" which we sighted April 23rd. The morning of the 24th anchored off the town and after dinner went on shore. Found the Russian Agent very gentlemanly and explained to him that it was my intention to build houses & establish sealing stations. Gained some valuable information from him regarding the time the seals came, their habits, customs. He informed us that 100,000 could be killed in a season. I shall be content however, if we secure, 10,000 for our trouble. April 25th landed our lumber & commenced the building of our house, found that we were short of timber necessarily making our quarters rather contracted. In the afternoon commenced to blow a fresh gale causing us to stop landing. As there is no harbor on the island, we are continually annoyed by gales of wind which cause us to slip our anchors & run out to sea, and when the gale moderated to run in & anchor. Another great difficulty we are obliged to contend against is the serf

[sic] which rolls “mountains high”, making it an unpleasant as well as dangerous business to land goods. Friday May 1st. Schooner “Thos. Woodward” came in & anchored and finding she had men to land on the Island to carry on the fishing, thought it judicious to enter into an agreement to work the island jointly instead of opposing one another. Drew up a contract obliging each party to land \$5000 worth of goods and at the end of the season to equally divide the skins, said contract to hold good for the period of three years. The “Woodward” having a large quantity of lumber on board, landed a sufficient number of boards & shingles to erect a large and commodious House. While engaged in this work the Steamer “Fideliter” belonging to “Hutchins Khole [sic] & Co” arrived and took possession of their houses & goods on the Island making themselves a formidable opposition to our parties. After much wrangling & quarrelling we compromised the matter by entering into a contract with them to monopolize the entire Island between us & maintain it by force should force be required. At last after much difficulty & worry, I managed to settle everything satisfactory and left as my agents on the Island Messrs Adams and Howes with definite instructions for their guidance. Before leaving the subject of St. George Island I must not forget to state that a terrific gale of wind sprang up while laying at anchor and we narrowly escaped shipwreck on the brakers! [sic] At this time I discovered that my goods and vessel were in danger of confiscation by the Government on account of not clearing properly for trading on the American shores of “Alaska.” This I was not aware of, not having seen any publicity of the order.¹⁰¹

Ennis’ account related to fur-trading activities on St. George Island in 1868. He apparently elected not to mention either Messrs. Parrott & Company or the year 1868, but he did refer to the schooner *Caldera* rather than to a fictional schooner christened *Katie*, as another writer about the journey had done. Osborne Howes Jr. (see Howes’ biography as well as paragraph three of the reproduced narrative below) was the author of an unsigned 1872 *New York Times* article, “An Adventure in Behring Sea,” about his excursion to St. George Island in 1868 aboard the schooner *Katie*. A search of the Port of San Francisco records by the present authors verified that the *Caldera*, and not the *Katie*, entered the Port at the time in question, suggesting that *Katie* is a pseudonym for the *Caldera* in the *New York Times* piece.

According to historian Harold Taggart, after returning from the Pribilof Islands and marrying Susan Coates, William Ennis soon set sail on an adventure to Norton Sound for Parrott & Co. Thereafter, William Ennis seems to have drifted from recorded history.¹⁰²

ERSKINE, MELVILLE COX (1835–1909)

Master Mariner, Alaska Commercial Company, 1868–1892+

Genealogy

Melville Cox Erskine was born in Bristol, Maine, in October 1835 to Wilson Erskine and Elizabeth (Richards) Erskine. Melville Erskine married twice. Sarah J. Batchelder became his wife on April 28, 1856, but died the next year. Melville Erskine’s second wife was Mary A. McCarty. Melville and Mary were married on January 1, 1862, after Melville had moved to San Francisco in 1858. Melville and Mary Erskine’s children included William Wilson, Melville Cox Jr., and Richard Gird.¹⁰³

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Melville C. Erskine was one of the first American sealers to go to the Pribilof Islands. He continued to visit the Seal Islands each year for twenty-four years as an employee of the Alaska Commercial Company. He deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Notary Public Clement Bennett in San Francisco, California, on April 6, 1892.

I am 55 years of age. I reside in San Francisco. I am a master mariner by occupation. I have been going to the Bering Sea twenty-four years. I went first to the seal islands in April 1868, and have been going there ever since, visiting the islands every year until 1890. I have been cruising along the coast from here to the Aleutian Islands, and have had an opportunity of ascertaining the habits of the seals. A year ago last March I saw a herd of seals of from 500 to 600 just above Cape Mendocino [California]. I have also often met large numbers scattered along the coast of Cape Flattery [Washington], generally from 10 to 20 miles offshore. . . . I have been for the past twenty-four years and am now employed by the Alaska Commercial Company, the former lessees of the seal islands.¹⁰⁴

- 1 Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen and Others Who Are Making American History*, vol. 3 (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904), 416; Morten Sorensen's Family Page, Ancestry.com; <http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident> (accessed Nov. 1, 2005); "Senator Elkins Buried," *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1911, 15; and "Senator Elkins Dies At Capital," *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1911, 1.
- 2 <http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident> (accessed Nov. 1, 2005).
- 3 "James Gillespie Blaine," *New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1893, 3.
- 4 *Webster's Biographical Dictionary; A Dictionary of Names of Noteworthy Persons with Pronunciations and Concise Biographies*, 1st ed. (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1943), 477.
- 5 "James Gillespie Blaine," *New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1893, 3.
- 6 The term "close season" was used during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to mean the same as "closed season."
- 7 "Elkins's Company Protests," *New York Times*, June 20, 1891, 5; and Charles S. Campbell Jr., "The Anglo-American Crisis in the Bering Sea, 1890–1891," in *Alaska and its History*, ed. Morgan B. Sherwood (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press), which presents an interesting account of the politics played by Elkins and his political associates during the transition from the Alaska Commercial Company to the North American Company.
- 8 G Dallas Hanna, *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*, ed. John A. Lindsay, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 16 (2008), 36.
- 9 "Club Begins Fight, Movement for Saving the Fur Seal Industry," *The Washington Star*, Dec. 10, 1910, 20. The article gave a revenue loss figure of "\$2,247,544." Assuming the gross revenue and expenditure items were correct, the revenue loss would have been \$2,237,544.
- 10 Robert L. Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott 1846–1930: A Retrospective Exhibition* (Anchorage: Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum, 1982), 20, gave Alexandra's age at the time of marriage as sixteen; he also gave her birth date as Mar. 13, 1858, which would have made her fourteen at the time of her marriage to Henry Elliott. Shalkop's footnote stated "Information given here . . . on Aleksandra's family is taken from vital statistics recorded by the Russian Orthodox Church and deposited in the Alaska Russian Church Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Elliott's marriage is recorded in Vital Statistics, Unalaska, 1872, vol. 16, 26." The St. Paul Island Agent's Log recorded Elliott's marriage on Sunday, July 21, 1871.
- 11 The name "Narene" was spelled "Narine" in Margaret Manor Butler, *The Lakewood Story* (New York: Stratford House, 1949), 106. In all other records, such as the U.S. Census, the name is spelled "Narene."
- 12 U.S. Census, 1900–1930; Social Security Admin., SSDI; granddaughter Constance Elliott Schabitzer

correspondence notes in Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 15 and 20.

13 Butler, *The Lakewood Story*, 106.

14 Ibid., 106 mentioned Narene was married in the church on St. Paul Island where her parents had wed; it would have been circa 1928, inferred from the Mozee family information listed in the 1929 U.S. Census, Nome, AK. At the time of his marriage to Narene Elliott, Benjamin B. Mozee (1886–1984) was a widow with three children: Bonnie Eloise (1917–1998), Jeanne Caroline (1919–1992), and Yvonne Harper (b. 1924) from his marriage to Jessie (Harper) Mozee, daughter of Alaska Yukon pioneer Arthur Harper and Jennie (Seentahna) Bosco Harper, who Benjamin had married in 1916, Tanana, Alaska. Narene and Benjamin Mozee had only one child, Elliott Mozee (b. July 1929, Nome, AK). Elliott Mozee married Trudy Marie Brown July 5, 1952, at Albuquerque, NM. Widowed a second time, Benjamin Mozee married Margaret A. Stocton, Nov. 22, 1942, at New York, NY.

Sources: “Alaska Marriages 1745–1950,” <http://usgenet.org/usa/ak/state/marrs-h.html> (accessed June 08, 2009); Arthur Harper family at RootsWeb’s World Connect Project: Clymer Connections, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&dbas> (accessed June 07, 2009); Mozee and Stocton marriage, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&refl> (accessed June 07, 2009); U.S. Census, 1920, Alaska Territory, Nulato, Fourth Judicial District, roll T625-2030, Enumeration District 104, 5B; U.S. Census, 1929, Nome Township, Second Judicial District, Cape Nome Records District, roll T626-2627, Enumeration District 2-1, 19B; Social Security Admin., SSDI, NM, 1956, <http://search.ancestry.com> (accessed June 08, 2009); “Obituary Bonnie Eloise Mozee Gelotte,” *Anchorage Daily News*, Mar. 26, 1998, B2; “Former Alaskan Dies in Nevada,” *Daily Sitka Sentinel*, June 12, 1992, 3; “Miss Brown Bride Today,” *The Albuquerque Tribune*, June 5, 1952, 4; and “Obituary Margaret Mozee,” *Anchorage Daily News*, Jan. 14, 1992, B3.

15 “Woman Disappears on Great Lakes Ship,” *New York Times*, Aug. 14, 1940; “Cruise Ship Maid Sought in Slaying,” *Charleston Daily Mail*, Charleston, WV, Aug. 16, 1940 (the news article suggested that Narene may have been slain over a large sum of money she carried with her); Ohio Division of Vital Statistics, Death Certificates and Index, December 20, 1908–December 31, 1953; State Archives Series 3094, Ohio Historical Society; Ohio Dept. of Health Death Index, 1940, p. 1280: Narene Elliott Mozee Death Certificate 47801. These authors did not learn whether Narene’s case was ever solved.

16 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 11–2, and 20 n12 and n13—this source erred by stating the couple married at Unalaska.

17 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, July 21, 1872, 126.

18 Letter from H. W. Elliott to W. H. Dall, SIA, RU 7073, box 10 folder 10, 3.

19 Elliott wrote in a July 22, 1872, letter to “My Dear Old Friend,” presumably William Dall, about Alexandra, “She is my teacher of no uncertain significance for the Russian language.” SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10.

20 Briton Cooper Busch, *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery*. (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s Univ. Press, 1985), 121.

21 Letter from Henry W. Elliott to William H. Dall, Apr. 22, 1872, SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10, 2.

22 Butler, *The Lakewood Story*, 102.

23 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 15.

24 Butler, *The Lakewood Story*, 96.

25 Ibid.

26 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 12.

27 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, July 21, 1872, 126.

28 James Thomas Gay, “Henry W. Elliott: Crusading Conservationist,” *Alaska Journal* 3, no. 4, 216; and Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 15.

29 Butler, *The Lakewood Story*, 96.

30 Ibid., 96–7; Lakewood Public Library local history files, biography, Mrs. Townsend’s Scrapbook, <http://www.lkwdpl.org/history/5biographyA-F.htm> (accessed Feb. 29, 2003).

31 Elliott’s age at the time he began his position in the Smithsonian varies among authors, e.g. Gay, “Henry W. Elliott,” 211, stated he was fifteen, whereas Butler, who interviewed family members for *The Lakewood Story*, 97, suggested that he was sixteen because he didn’t begin sketching until that age, and as a reward for his artistry his father introduced him to prominent men in Washington, DC.

- 32 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 9. Morgan B. Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska 1865–1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), 50, stated, “A Brooklyn woman wrote to the Smithsonian to inquire whether Elliott was entitled to the appellation ‘professor.’ Baird said no, but mentioned that Elliott had had ‘large experience’ in exploring the Northwest. Sherwood cited Baird to Mrs. Harriet M. Sutter, Nov. 20, 1878, SIA, stating “In fact, neither Dall nor Elliott was on the Smithsonian payroll.”
- 33 U.S. Congress, House, Committee of Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. no. 623, June 3, 1876, 85. Elliott wrote “[I am] then as now, an associate and collaborator of this establishment [Smithsonian]” (*The Seal Islands of Alaska*. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1976 reprint of 1881 edition, 5). In his 1881 publication, *Seal Islands of Alaska*, Elliott wrote on page 5, “The writer, then as now, an associate and collaborator of the [Smithsonian] Institution . . .”
- 34 U.S. Congress, House, “Notes of a Hearing Before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives on the Question of Recommending an Investigation of the Alaska Fur-Seal Business,” 48th Cong., Mar. 28, 1884, 36, in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. 1906, vol. 2.
- 35 Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska 1865–1900*, 50, cited Henry Elliott to Spencer Baird, Aug. 26, 1881, SIA. U.S. Congress, House, “Alaska Commercial Company,” 44th Cong., 1st sess. H. Rep. 623, 85.
- 36 Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska 1865–1900*, 17, cited Dall Diaries, Dec. 2, 1868, and May 17, 1869, SIA. The authors found the material in RU 7073, William H. Dall Papers, box 7, folder 7.
- 37 Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska*, 46, cited SIA, Henry Elliott to Joseph Henry, Apr. 30, 1869.
- 38 SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10.
- 39 Marlene Deahl Merrill, *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871: Earliest Descriptions and Images from the Field* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press), 8. Others, such as Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 10, stated that Thomas Moran served as the Hayden Expedition’s “official artist.”
- 40 Eugene Lee Sillman, “Yellowstone Lake as Seen by Artists,” in *Yellowstone Lake, Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience*, eds. Roger J. Anderson and Roger Harmon, Proceedings 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Great Yellowstone Ecosystem, Mammoth, Yellowstone National Park, Yellowstone Center for Resources and the George Wright Society, 242–55.
- 41 Letter from Henry W. Elliott to William H. Dall, Apr. 22, 1872, SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10, 1–2. Elliott departed St. Paul Island for St. George Island on May 28, 1873, where “he spent the remainder of the summer” (U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor on House Resolution No. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess. [Washington, DC: GPO, 1911], 1153). Elliott apparently departed in July 1873. In a letter to William Dall he stated: “The steamer has put in her appearance today for the last time this year and on her I am to go down with my wife and family.” Letter from H. W. Elliott to William Dall, July 31, 1873, SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10, 1.
- 42 Shalkop, *Henry Wood Elliott*, 5.
- 43 Gay, “Henry W. Elliott,” *Alaska Journal* 3, no. 4, 216.
- 44 Elliott’s artworks eventually totaled in the hundreds. The Carnegie Museum of Natural History acquired fifty of Elliott’s works. In 2008, Curator-in-Charge Dr. David R. Watters, Section of Anthropology, wrote in his unpublished “Extracts from documents concerning the Elliott watercolors housed in the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania” how Elliott’s watercolors came into the Museum’s possession. The following excerpt was taken from “Monthly Reports of the Director [to the Museum Committee], in vol. 2, June 30, 1905–Oct. 17, 1910, and in vol. 4, June 29, 1917–June 27, 1922,” by Dr. William Jacob Holland, Director of the Carnegie Museum (as it was known at the time of writing), who extended courtesy to the authors to print.

Report of August 31, 1907:

I am in receipt of a letter from Mr. Henry W. Elliott in which he informs me that he has transferred his interest in the collection of fifty water color sketches of the seal herds of Alaska, now on deposit with us, to Mr. M. R. Hemler of Cleveland, Ohio, and requesting me to hold the same subject to his order, and in the event of the purchase of this collection by the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute that the proceeds of the sale be paid to him to the extent of Mr. Elliott’s indebtedness to Mr. Hemler. I am also in receipt of a letter from the United Banking & Savings Co. of Cleveland, Ohio,

informing me of the assignment of Mr. Elliott's interest in the drawings alluded to and stating that the indebtedness for which this assignment was made is evidenced by notes of Professor Elliott as follows: \$1081.91 and interest from November 17, 1906; \$399.16 and interest from August 20, 1907. This transaction relates to a matter concerning which I have already spoken to you several times privately. I think the Committee ought to look into this matter of the drawings, and it is possible that it would be advisable for us to purchase them if satisfactory arrangements could be made. I have made some inquiries quite recently of Mr. W. H. Dall of Washington, and of other gentlemen. They speak very highly of the drawings, but none of them expressed himself to me as inclined to recommend the purchase at the price which Mr. Elliott has demanded for them, to wit, five thousand dollars. Of course we all know that the seal herd has disappeared and in two or three years from now will be absolutely extinct, when these drawings, which represent the herd at the height of its most prosperous period of existence, will be of very great value and interest.

More than ten years elapsed before the Carnegie Museum secured the collection, as suggested in the following letter from a Mr. Mahlon R. Hemler (b. Feb. 1845, PA; d. May 20, 1929, Cleveland, OH, U.S. Census, 1900, Cleveland), who was a grocer on Franklin Ave, Cleveland, OH, and a one-time neighbor of Mr. Elliott's in the Cleveland, OH area:

July 16, 1918

I, M. R. Hemler state that I received these pictures as collateral for approximately \$1500.00, owed me by W. [sic] W. Elliott, in A.D. 1907, and that I have received no interest on the debt for eleven years. I had hoped to get \$2000.00, but will accept \$1200.00, provided a payment of \$500.00 is made in August, 1918, the balance within a year from date of first payment.

- 45 Letter from H. W. Elliott to Spencer Baird, May 1872, SIA, RU 7002, box 19, folder 29, 1–4.
- 46 The records examined are not clear on this assertion by Elliott that he was sent to participate in any “investigations.” Rather the record shows that he had his own agenda about the natural history of the islands, and not particularly the seals.
- 47 In a letter to William H. Dall, Elliott explicitly stated he is expected to remain on the islands until Oct. 1873. Letter from Henry W. Elliott to William H. Dall, Apr. 22, 1872, SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10, 1–2. Also, Elliott arrived on the islands in Apr. 1872 and he did not depart until Aug. 1873.
- 48 U.S. Congress, House, “Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives,” in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 135; and U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1153.
- 49 Lisa Marie Morris, “Keeper of the Seal: The Art of Henry Wood Elliott and the Salvation of the Alaska Fur Seals,” PhD diss. Univ. of Alaska, Fairbanks, 2001, 34.
- 50 SIA, RU 7002, box 19, folder 30.
- 51 Letter from Henry W. Elliott to William H. Dall, Apr. 22, 1872. SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10, 2.
- 52 Victor B. Scheffer, “They Stopped the Press on His Book,” *Pacific Discovery*, 30, no. 1 (1977): 27, clarified that Elliott's book was actually printed in 1874 and never published, although Elliott submitted his report in 1873 as he claimed.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 54 In the paragraph previous to this quote from his report Elliott had written: “The only point upon which I would dwell with reference to the inhabitants of the Prybilov Islands is, that they are not Indians in our acceptation of the term, not any more so than are the lower classes who live in so much squalor and ignorance in all our great cities and industrial centers.” In his next paragraph, Elliott may actually have been referring back to “the lower classes,” in the previous paragraph, but it may not have read that way to the Treasury Secretary.
- 55 Scheffer, *They Stopped the Press on His Book*, 27, cited a quote by Elliott: “[a] report of mine made upon the Pribylov islands in September, 1873, and . . . printed by the Treasury Department during my absence in Alaska. Owing to causes of which I have necessarily no personal knowledge, only 75 copies of this report were struck off.”
- 56 In a letter from Treasury Secretary B. H. Bristow to Chairman, Committee on Territories, Senator P. W. Hitchcock, Bristow stated, “A limited number of a similar report by Mr. Elliott in 1873, was printed with illustrations but only one copy thereof remains within files of the Department.” NARA, Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903, RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3, Jan. 15, 1876. Scheffer, *They Stopped the Press*, 29, observed that a card in the Library of Congress' Rare Book Section reads “127 copies printed.” Scheffer, 27, himself was one of the few

- to acquire a copy through an antiquarian bookseller. Several copies are in the Special Collections of the University of Washington, Seattle, and other locations.
- 57 Several of the illustrations in Elliott's 1873 (printed 1874) monograph *Report of the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands, of Alaska* can be seen in Shalkop, Henry Wood Elliott, 1982.
 - 58 A copy of Elliott's cover letter appears on pages 3–4 of the *Report on the Condition of Affairs*.
 - 59 Henry Wood Elliott letter (3 pages) to William H. Dall, U.S. Coast Survey, San Francisco, Jan. 29, 1874.
 - 60 Letter from Henry W. Elliott to William H. Dall, Apr. 22, 1872. SIA, RU 7073, box 10, folder 10.
 - 61 Several years ago, the authors found several printed copies of two versions of Elliott's monograph at a Juneau, Alaska, antiquarian bookshop. The two soft-cover versions (*Report on the Seal Islands of Alaska* [1880] and *The History and Present Condition of the Fishery Industries: The Seal Islands of Alaska* (1881) have caused some confusion over the years as to the number of Elliott's published works. Version one is undated although it includes a transmittal letter from Elliott to the superintendent of the Tenth Census, Francis A. Walker, with a date of Mar. 31, 1880. In this "1880" printing, the foldout maps of the two major Pribilof Islands are in monochrome and are included at the end of the book. Version two is dated 1881 and includes colored maps as frontispieces. The 1881 version was also reprinted in 1882 as *A Monograph of the Seal-Islands of Alaska*, by Henry W. Elliott, with additions from the "Report on the Fishery Industries of the Tenth Census" (U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, 176-page Special Bulletin). Limestone Press (1976) reprinted the 1881 version, but not as an exact copy of either the 1880 or 1881 versions in our possession. For example, the foldout maps of the two islands are placed as front and back end-papers, respectively. Version two (1881) and the reprinted version (1976) have the same outer cover clearly marked with the publication date of 1881, and included within the title is *Tenth Census of the United States/The History and Present Condition of the Fishery Industries/The Seal Islands of Alaska*, by Henry W. Elliott; the reprinted version lacks the artistic bordering around the title. The second title pages of the 1881 and 1976 (reprint) versions both read "Section IX [Monograph A] *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, Or The Seal-Islands of Alaska* by Henry W. Elliott." All three versions have 176 pages of narrative. We presume the first version (1880) was a proof.
 - 62 The 1881 version of *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press) was republished in 1976 (ISBN 0-919642-72-1). The second title page reads "Section IX [Monograph A]. *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group or the Seal-Islands of Alaska* by Henry W. Elliott, with Twenty-Nine Plates, Two Maps, and Twelve Sketch-Maps of the Islands and the Rookeries by the Author."
 - 63 The 1880 "Tenth Census" was prepared by Ivan Petroff, who at one time, according to Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 26, was employed to gather resources and translate Russian text for use in H. H. Bancroft's 1886 *History of Alaska, 1730–1885*. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1886.) Orth (1079, under "Petroff") also stated that a preliminary 86-page version of the 1880 census was published in 1881, but the final document was not published until 1884.
 - 64 Cf. Orth, *Dictionary*, 12; in his *Selected Bibliography* (1082) he cites the Tenth Census as "U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1884, Tenth Census of Alaska: see bibliography Petroff, 1884." The Census Office became the Bureau of the Census in 1903. The complexity of the various republished titles and dates of Elliott's government publications may have resulted in some confusion or errors.
 - 65 Henry Wood Elliott, *Report of Henry W. Elliott on the Condition of the Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska, Together with all Maps and Illustrations accompanying said Report*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 175 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 3.
 - 66 U.S. Department of the Treasury, Special Agents Division, *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 175, vol. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1898), 312–538.
 - 67 Several of the illustrations in the 1882 version had captions similar to those of the 1873 original, but the illustrations were not the same. For example, plates "unnumbered" (1873), IX (1882), and 45 (1890), captioned "The North Shore of St. Paul's Island," all seemingly illustrated from the same perspective at North Rookery, are different artistic interpretations.
 - 68 Joel Asaph Allen (1838–1921) was one of America's leading naturalists during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Which of Allen's papers Elliott was referring to is uncertain.
 - 69 Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska*, 46, citing the SIA, May 1872.

- 70 Letter from H. W. Elliott to Spencer F. Baird, May 1873, SIA, RU 7002, box 19, folder 29, 2.
- 71 Ibid., 2–3.
- 72 Letter from Spencer F. Baird to William Dall, Oct. 11, 1874, SIA, RU 7073, William H. Dall Papers, box 7, folder 7.
- 73 Gay, *Henry W. Elliott*, 213. Though Elliott claimed great knowledge of the Territory of Alaska and was more knowledgeable than most in political circles, he was not well traveled in it. Once challenged to answer the question of his expertise on the Territory he offered: “I may say at the outset, that while I concede for the sake of argument that Mr. Dall ‘has seen more of the country than any other individual,’ I am not willing to grant the plain inference that he has studied that which he has seen more intelligently or patiently than others, who may have seen less, but still enough to form a correct opinion.” Elliott, *A Report on the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1875), 229.
- 74 Gay, *Henry W. Elliott*, 211.
- 75 Morris, *Keeper of the Seal*, provided a compilation of most, if not all, of Elliott’s publications.
- 76 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1154.
- 77 Elliott’s calculation of the 1872–73 seal herd put the population over 4.7 million. This estimate proved to be a gross miscalculation, as later investigators placed it closer to 2.5 million. In 1890 Elliott argued that the precipitous decline of the seal herd was due to land killing and not to pelagic sealing—again a gross error. His arguments that overdriving male seals “so injured the testes of these animals as to make them impotent” proved wrong. The government’s case against Elliott is presented in U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1153–62. Also see Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech., Rep. NMFS SSRF-780, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1984) for a historical review of the seal herd size.
- 78 “Fur Seals of Alaska.” Hearing before Committee of Ways and Means, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., Mar. 9, 1904 (Washington, DC: GPO), 13; and U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1154. In 1890, the Smithsonian Institution included in its annual report, “Report of S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year Ending June 30, 1890,” the following statement: “Mr. Henry W. Elliott, formerly of the Alaska Commercial Company, [emphasis added] is visiting the Seal Islands of Alaska on business connected with the United States Government, and hopes to be able to secure some fine specimens of walrus, fur-seal, fishes and other zoological material.” U.S. Congress, House, 51st Cong., 2nd sess., Misc. Rep. 129-1, 33.
- 79 The version seen by the authors of the cited “H.R. 2027, 48th Cong., 1st sess.,” has only 2 pages and not 36 pages as the quote suggests.
- 80 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1154.
- 81 Ibid., 2–3.
- 82 Ibid., 1154. The inflammatory list of complaints against Elliott spans pages 1153–62 in the cited document. Before the reader chooses between condemnation or praise of Henry Wood Elliott, one is encouraged to study the man’s greater record and contributions. The *Fur Trade Review*, founded in 1873, was published monthly in New York.
- 83 William T. Hornaday, *Thirty Years War for Wildlife: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task*, Congressional Edition (Stamford, CT: Gillespie Bros., 1931), 174.
- 84 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 181.
- 85 Gay, *Henry W. Elliott*, 216.
- 86 U.S. Congress, House, *Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce: Investigation of the Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1914), 25.
- 87 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, July 9, 1913. Agent P. R. E. Hatton made log entries after Agent Walter Lembkey’s departure.
- 88 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, July 12, 1913.
- 89 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 1153–62.
- 90 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study and Management*, 21.
- 91 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 181.
- 92 <http://celebrating200years.noaa.gov/events/fursealtreaty/welcome.html> (accessed Dec. 23, 2007.)
- 93 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 52, 482, 504, and 620.

- 94 Biographical sketch provided by Larry Mercurieff in an email to John Lindsay, Jan. 13, 2007.
- 95 Harold F. Taggart, "Journal of William H. Ennis. Member, Russian-American Telegraph Exploring Expedition," pt. 2, 167, provided Ennis' marriage date.
- 96 Ibid., 12, mentioned Ennis' son Scott, who became a Masonic leader in California.
- 97 Ibid., 3.
- 98 Ibid., 148 and 167.
- 99 William H. Ennis journals and letters [1865–1869], MS 662, courtesy of the California Historical Society. Ennis' original handwritten manuscript, "Cruise of the Caldera," is fourteen pages in length.
- 100 The *Caldera* was owned by John Parrott and Captain R. H. Waterman of San Francisco; Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," *The Pacific Historical Review*, 28, no. 4 (1959), 354.
- 101 William H. Ennis journals and letters [1865–1869], MS 662, courtesy of the California Historical Society. Ennis' original handwritten manuscript, "Cruise of the Caldera," is fourteen pages in length.
- 102 Taggart, "Journal of William H. Ennis," pt. 2, 148 and 167.
- 103 "The Erskine Family of Bristol, Me.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 1847–1924, 74 (1920), 91.
- 104 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 421–3.



First Herdsmen were John Fratis and Neil Oustigof. "Oliver thought John Fratis and Neil Oustigof were better qualified than most of the other boys to make efficient herders, and I therefore called a meeting today and discussed the advisability of these two becoming apprentices under Oliver [Angoolok, an Eskimo herder 25 years old] to learn the reindeer business. . . I fixed a monthly salary of \$2.50, each for these positions, and placed John and Neil on the regular payroll." (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. James Judge, Assistant Agent, St. Paul Island Agent Log, November 6, 1911. RG 22-95-ADMC-161)



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

*Residence of the Treasury Agents, St. Paul's Island—Built November 10, 1872.
(A similar house is on St. George.)*

The Government House. Residence of the Treasury Agents, St. Paul's Island—Built November 10, 1872. *Henry Wood Elliott*, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF WALRUS ISLAND.

- A. Bluffs occupied by the gulls (Rissa), cormorants (Graculus), and arries (Uria), in nesting from June to September.*
- B. Bell of rocks exclusively occupied by the arrie (Uria arra) in incubating.*
- C. Area of grassy rocky flat occupied by the great white gull (Larus glaucus) for nesting.*
- D. Boulders and shingle in which the sea-parrots and "chooch-kies" conceal their eggs.*

Bird's Eye View of Walrus Island. *Henry Wood Elliott*, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.

F

FALCONER, SAMUEL (1831–1915)

Deputy Collector of Customs, Territory of Alaska, September 1868–September 1869
Hutchinson & Kohl employee, Purser on their Schooner Constantine, September 1869–
September 1870

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, September 10,
1876–October 1876

An expanded genealogy and biographical sketch of Samuel Falconer is presented in the “First Three Managers” section of this volume.

FASSETT, HENRY “HARRY” CLIFFORD (1870–1953)

Agent and Caretaker, Department of Commerce, St. Paul Island, 1914–1918

Genealogy

Henry Clifford Fassett was popularly known as “Harry.” Henry Fassett was born May 9, 1870, to Harris Harding Fassett and Emma Louise (Neal) Fassett at Pacheco, Contra Costa County, California. The Fassett family was descended from Captain John Fassett (1743–1803), one of Ethan Allen’s Green Mountain Boys in Vermont, and Harry Fassett (1794–1872), one of the first physicians in Johnstown, Licking County, Ohio. Harry C. Fassett married Myra Beck (1884–1948) of Mississippi in 1918 while he was on leave from the Pribilof Islands; they had no children. Harry Fassett died December 9, 1953.¹



Harry Clifford Fassett. (Photo: Carl Hoverson. NOAA, NMML Library, no. 459.)

Biographical Sketch

In 1854, Harris Harding Fassett left Ohio for the gold fields of California to join his brother and sister, Chitt and Ann. The Fassett family became shopkeepers in Pacheco, and eventually in San Francisco.² In 1889, Harris' son, Harry Clifford Fassett, went to work for Huntington Hopkins and Company of San Francisco, before signing on at age nineteen as clerk stenographer on the U.S. Fish Commission's steamer *Albatross*. As stenographer, Fassett kept the vessel's scientific records, which he did "until the close of its Philippine Expedition in 1910. He took part in almost continuous investigations, including expeditions to Hawaii, Panama, the South Seas (1899), Japan, and Alaska (1897)."³ The 1900 U.S. Census listed him as clerk on the *Albatross*, off the coast of Japan. Geographer Donald Orth credited Fassett with studies aboard the *Albatross* in southeast Alaska during 1900–1901.⁴ Orth further credited

Fassett with drafting several maps of the Alaskan coast, and with two Alaska geographical names, Fassett Glacier and Fassett Point. Sharon Landwehr of the California Academy of Sciences summarized Harry Fassett's science career:

A resident of San Francisco since 1934 and a member of the California Academy of Sciences since 1945, Harry Fassett was particularly interested in the Academy's Library and donated all of his books over a period of years, along with extensive Reports and Bulletins of the U.S. Fish Commission, Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture, Coast Geodetic Survey and more. At the time of his death on December 9, 1953, in San Francisco, Fassett was the last surviving member of the team that made the steamer *Albatross* famous as an oceanographic institution.⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

Harry Fassett arrived at St. Paul Island during the spring of 1914, as agent and caretaker. He held that position until May 21, 1919, when he departed St. Paul on the steamer *Saturn*. After a temporary leave beginning in December 1917, Harry returned on May 8, 1918, with his wife, Myra B. Fassett, who was employed as a temporary assistant on the island that year.⁶

One of the most significant changes during Harry Fassett's tenure on the Pribilof Islands was the standardization of spellings of surnames and given names among the Native population. The spellings administered by Fassett are still being used today.⁷

Notwithstanding the documented fact that name spellings were standardized in 1916, a legend persists today (2008) that the government and/or the mail carrier (Reeve Aleutian Airways) modified the surnames of families on the islands to improve mail service. For example, two individuals with the same given and family name, such as John

Mercurieff, at times resided on each island. To improve mail delivery, either the post office or the mail carrier modified the surname of the entire “Mercurieff” family to end in a single “f” (Mercurief) on one island while retaining the “ff” on the other island. If this legendary modification in spelling did occur, the authors did not find any supporting documentation.⁸

FISH, CHARLES PATTISON (1842–1879)

Meteorologist, U.S. Army Signal Corps, Weather Service, St. Paul Island, 1872–1876

Genealogy

Charles Pattison Fish was born September 11, 1842, in Michigan, to physician David Dickinson (Dixon) Fish (1814–1886) and Elizabeth (Pattison) Fish. Charles Fish had one brother, Everett W. Fish, and four sisters: Francis E., Ella S., Anna E., and Harriet B. Fish. Charles married January 15, 1871, in the London district of Marylebone, Middlesex County, England, to Emily Eleanor Herbert Clarke, daughter of Robert Herbert Clarke. Emily was born circa 1850, in St. Margaret Parish, Kings Lynn Borough, Norfolk County, England. Emily Fish died in Washington, D.C., April 20, 1917. Charles Fish died September 26, 1879, at New York City.⁹

Biographical Sketch

In his youth, Charles and his brother, Everett W. Fish, lived with their grandparents Dr. Samuel Warren Pattison and Phoebe (Atwood) Pattison in Ypsilanti, Washtenaw County, Michigan. Dr. Pattison was one of the early physicians to practice in Michigan, beginning in 1836 at Fenton and Owosso for thirty-six years, followed by thirty-one years in Ypsilanti, where he died October 23, 1881, at the age of eighty-four.¹⁰ The grandfather’s choice of profession influenced Fish’s father, David, as well as his brother, Everett, who after studying at the University of Michigan became a professor of medicine, as well as a journalist. Charles did not follow the family tradition of practicing medicine but rather followed a military career in the U.S. Army. At the age of eighteen, he enlisted as a private with the Michigan troops of St. Clair County. In the Civil War he served in Company H, Michigan 3rd Cavalry Regiment. He was promoted to sergeant and had served his last two years as hospital steward when he mustered out in 1866 at San Antonio, Texas.¹¹

After the war, Fish participated in commercial ventures in the south and at western forts. These endeavors eventually brought him to London, England, where he met and married his wife, Emily. Charles and Emily Fish resided in Battersea, Wandsworth District, County Surrey, England, where Fish was listed as an American merchant in the 1871 census. Charles and Emily arrived at New York from London on November 15, 1871. On February 8, 1872, Fish re-entered military service as a sergeant in order to participate in the newly formed weather unit within the U.S. Army Signal Service.¹² Fish served five years on the Pribilof Islands before resigning from military service with an honorable discharge on September 12, 1876. He turned his attention to writing and was identified as a

New York reporter upon his death in 1879. On careful observation one can see that the copy of the marriage certificate submitted by Emily Fish in her 1891 application for Civil War pension benefits had been altered to read 1873 as the year of marriage, rather than the year 1871 as recorded in the England Marriage Register of that year. The numeral one (1) is visible behind the smudged numeral three (3) in two places where it appears on the certificate. In her declaration for widow's pension application, Emily entered 1873 as the year of marriage. The question arises as to the reason for tampering with the submitted document. Why was it so important to change the year of their marriage and run the risk of criminal prosecution? We assume the answer lies in Fish's 1872 application for service into the Signal Corps' Weather Service training program. At that time during the infancy of the program, "only unmarried men between the ages of twenty-one and forty were eligible."¹³ When Fish re-enlisted in the Army on February 8, 1872, he listed himself as a single man in order to meet that requirement.¹⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

On June 21, 1860, President James Buchanan created the U.S. Army Signal Corps with his signing of the Army appropriations bill for fiscal year 1861.¹⁵ During its formative years the U.S. Army Signal Corps was often called the Signal Service.¹⁶

Charles Fish arrived at St. Paul Island on August 14, 1872, as a member of the U.S. Army Signal Service. He was the first to establish a meteorological station on the Pribilof Islands. Emily Fish accompanied her husband to St. Paul Island and served as a school teacher.¹⁷

Fish was required to submit weekly reports of the daily meteorological records to the Office of the Chief Signal Officer. Location was noted as latitude 57° 7' 9" N, longitude 170° 17' 52" W. At 9 a.m. each day, he recorded the wind direction and velocity, cloudiness, weather condition, ocean swell, thermometer reading, barometer reading, snow or rain, and any significant remarks. The meteorological information he obtained was passed daily to the government agents on St. Paul; they in turn recorded it as the first item in the Agent's Log. In Henry W. Elliott's printed but unpublished 1873 report (see Elliott biography) there is a tribute to Charles Fish's meteorological work on St. Paul Island. (Interestingly, Fish would later not be so kind to Elliott.)

The Climatology of the Prybilov Islands

Mr. Chas. P. Fish has made an exceedingly exhaustive and full report to the Chief Signal-Officer of the Army, at Washington, and which will be published soon. It is so complete that I shall refer all to it who may wish to watch the weather closely through a year, or years, on the Seal Islands, and simply note here that the winter of 1872-'73 was one of great severity, according to the natives, much more so than usual, it being generally very much warmer; but, cold as it was, the lowest marking by the thermometer was 12° below zero, and that for a few hours only during one day in February, while the mean of the month was but 18° above. The coldest month, March, gave a mean of 12° above, while the usual winters have a mean of only 22° or 26°; but the high north winds, blowing more than three-fourths of the time, make all out-door exercise impracticable; for instance, one day in March, 1873, it blew at the rate of eighty-eight miles per hour with as low a temperature as minus 4°! With a wind traveling only twenty-four or twenty-five miles an hour, at a much

higher temperature, as at 15° or 16° above, it is necessary to be most thoroughly wrapped up to guard against freezing, if any journey is to be made over the Islands.

There are but two seasons, winter and summer. To the former belong November, December, January, February, March, and April, with a mean of 20° to 28°, while the transition to summer is but a slight elevation in temperature, only 15° to 20°, and of the summer months, July is the warmest, with a mean of 48° or 50°.

It is astonishing how rapidly snow melts here at a single degree above freezing, and after several consecutive days at 34° and 36°, grass begins to grow, even if it be under melting drifts and the frost is many feet deep in the ground. The report of Mr. C.P. Fish, Signal Service, United States Army, cannot fail to be of great interest to meteorologists who will find subjects for much thought and reflection in its elaborate details; and with the permission of the Chief Signal Officer, I compiled the following table from the reports of his office, showing the range of barometer, thermometer, wind, cloudiness, &c., during a severe winter on St. Paul's [sic] Island.¹⁸

Charles Fish resigned from the Signal Service in September 1876 and left St. Paul Island (see Edward Gill biography—Gill replaced Fish in 1876). Several months after Fish returned to Washington, D.C., he submitted a fourteen-page letter to Secretary of the Treasury Lot M. Morrill to introduce the one-hundred-page *Report of General Government Charges on past and present management on the Fur Seal Islands, containing suggestions as to the rectification of all and thereon existing. No specifications appended or enclosed although at hand.*²⁰ The report was full of accusations aimed at Agent Bryant, Agent Falconer, the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) agents, and Special Agent Henry W. Elliott. Fish objected to how the seal industry was being managed, objected to statements within the agents' yearly reports that he considered false, and wrote of many reasons why he thought new management was needed. He wanted to see a permanent meteorological observatory on St. Paul Island with Fish as manager. The subject of education of the Aleuts was mentioned often within the report and the letter. Where his wife Emily had been the teacher on St. Paul Island, he felt her progress with teaching the children to read, write, and speak English was not emphasized enough by both the company and government agents as an important achievement. The Fish letter and report of complaints did not result in any special congressional committee investigation or changes in management or administration.

President Rutherford B. Hayes took office March 5, 1877, and John Sherman was appointed as the new Secretary of the Treasury. In vain attempts to return to St. Paul Island, Fish wrote more letters to the Secretary of the Treasury both to chastise the ACC and to gain favor for an appointment as 'weatherman' of the Pribilof Islands. The first letter of March 11, 1877, addressed invoices issued by the ACC. The letter included a long list of items purchased by Fish, what Fish was charged, and what Fish thought the items were worth. Fish also included a general statement outlining his work of the day on St. Paul Island: "practical predictions of weather including direction of wind velocity of usual sunshine and cloudiness, predictions of rain or snow and temperature with 93%–98% verification each prediction."²¹

On August 13, 1877, Fish wrote a more direct appeal for his appointment and return to the Seal Islands:

Month of record	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Mean of barometer, corrected ...	29.773	29.512	29.458	29.488	29.953	29.507	29.768	29.769
Maximum of barometer, corrected ...	30.46	30.04	30.23	30.04	30.5	30.51	30.31	30.35
Minimum of barometer, corrected ...	28.87	28.51	28.62	28.05	29.32	28.26	29.05	29
Monthly range of barometer, corrected ...	1.59	1.53	1.61	1.99	1.18	2.25	1.26	1.35
Greatest daily range of barometer, corrected ...	0.97	0.97	0.87	0.8	0.58	0.95	0.66	0.73
Least daily range of barometer, corrected ...	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.03
Mean daily range of barometer, corrected ...	0.259	0.293	0.339	0.249	0.194	0.421	0.219	0.242
Mean of exposed thermometer ...	44° .2	36° .0	34° .3	26° .6	15° .7	18° .6	12° .6	23° .9
Maximum of exposed thermometer ...	52°	45°	41°	37°	34°	34°	35°	35°
Minimum of exposed thermometer ...	33°	22°	23°	4°	minus11°	minus12°	minus7°	3°
Monthly range of exposed thermometer ...	19°	23°	18°	33°	45°	46°	42°	32°
Greatest daily range of exposed thermometer ...	11°	11°	12°	11°	22°	28°	20°	24°
Least daily range of exposed thermometer ...	1°	1°	1°	1°	0°	3°	3°	3°
Mean of maxima of exposed thermometer ...	46° .8	38° .7	36° .2	29° .1	18° .9	22° .6	17° .1	27° .9
Mean of minima of exposed thermometer ...	41° .8	33° .3	31° .5	24°	11° .9	15° .1	7° .4	19° .4
Mean daily range of exposed thermometer ...	5° .0	5° .4	4° .7	5° .1	7° .0	7° .5	9° .7	8° .5
Mean relative humidity ...	85.6	83.9	86.6	87.8	85.7	86.2	81.8	84.29
Maximum relative humidity ...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Minimum relative humidity ...	56	65	60	70	53	49	46	63
Prevailing wind ...	N.	N.	S.	N.	E.N.E.	N.	N.	N.
Number of miles traveled by wind ...	9,138	11,872	14,539	16,644	17,903	16,646	14,512	18,607
Mean daily velocity of wind ...	304.6	383	484.6	530.5	577.5	594.3	468.1	620.2
Mean hourly velocity of wind ...	12.7	16	20.2	22.1	24.1	24.8	19.5	25.84
Maximum hourly velocity of wind ...	33	42	74	53	43	82	88	53
Proportion of cloudiness ...	92	84	78.9	84	62.8	74.9	68	73.6
Amount of rain-fall, in inches ...	2.89	3.08	2.38	2.99	0.96	5.78	1.21	1.77
Greatest daily amount of rain-fall ...	0.85	0.58	0.31	0.42	0.39	1.07	0.38	0.5
Amount of melted hail and snow, (included in rain-fall) ...	0.2	0.91	0.82	2.38	0.83	4.87	1.21	1.77
Number of days on which precipitation occurred ...	30	29	27	27	21	27	27	26
Number of days on which hail or snow fell ...	4	15	17	24	20	25	27	26

Meteorological abstract for the months from September 1872 to April 1873, made by the Observer [Charles Pattison Fish], United States Signal Service, at the office of the Chief Signal Officer, United States Army, Division of Reports and Telegrams for the Island of Saint Paul, Behring's Sea, for the Benefit of Commerce and Agriculture, compiled by Henry W. Elliott.¹⁹

I have long had in contemplation the establishment of an independent Meteorological winter Observatory on the Seal Islands, and if appointed to an agency thereon, or, what is far more necessary, a general commissionship there, for, I know, from the out come of the past, that the results will justify my selection. At the risk of undue self assertion, I cannot but beg you to consider that I know more of Alaska, including the Fur Seal Islands whereon is concentrated the principal of Alaskan wealth, than any other American visitor. I have paid especial attention to its interesting history and present needs. Indeed concerning all its present availabilities and future claims I can at any time, if ordered, fully report to the proper governmental center. I have arranged a topographical system for charting annually the seal hauling grounds; although naturally opposed with violence by the Alaska Commercial Co., I know that it can be carried into successful operation. I am fully convinced that some energy for the preservation of our valuable Alaskan interests ought to be displayed, contrasting though it may with the corruption of the past. With a final statement that Mrs. Fish taught the children of St. Paul Island to read, write and speak the English language.²²

Charles Pattison Fish never returned to the Pribilof Islands.

FLETCHER, HERBERT V.

Blacksmith and Mechanic, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1882–1884

Fur-Seal Arbitration

Herbert V. Fletcher provided the following deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Notary Public William H. Du Bois at Randolph, Vermont, on June 18, 1892:

I am a citizen of Randolph, VT., where I have had my home nearly all my life. I am by trade a machinist and blacksmith and by occupation a farmer. In 1882 I went to St. Paul Island in the service of the Alaska Commercial Company, as their chief mechanic, and remained there two years and four months, including the sealing seasons of 1882, 1883, and 1884. I was employed a considerable portion of the time in the annual seal killing, and at other times my work took me frequently to the various parts of the island, so that in the course of my stay there I became, as all do who live there a year or more, very familiar with everything pertaining to the seals.²³

FOWLER, COLMAN LOWELL (B. 1846)

Assistant Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1879–1890

Agent, North American Commercial Company, 1890–1892

Genealogy

Lowell Colman Fowler was born in Massachusetts to Benjamin Fowler and Sophia Cowdrey (Stevens) Fowler. Colman Lowell Fowler was the brother of Hubert Green Fowler (see Hubert Fowler biography).

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Lowell Colman Fowler provided the following information during two depositions for the Tribunal of Arbitration, both on St. Paul Island. The first took place on November

24, 1891, before First Lieutenant Frank H. Newcomer, USRM, and the second on June 8, 1892, before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams.

I am 46 years of age, and was born at Stoneham, Mass. I have been a resident of the Pribilof Islands most of the time since 1879, a resident of the seal islands for the past ten years; formerly assistant agent of the Alaska Commercial Com., now agent of the North American [Commercial] Company. I have had eight years' experience on the sealing fields of St. Paul and St. George islands, and I have a practical knowledge of the habits of the fur-seal while on the islands, and of the methods used in taking and preparing the skins for shipment.²⁴

FOWLER, HUBERT GREEN (B. 1845)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1884–1885

Genealogy

Hubert Green Fowler was born in November 1845, in Stoneham, Massachusetts, to Benjamin Fowler and Sophia Cowdrey (Stevens) Fowler. Colman Lowell Fowler was his brother.²⁵

Biographical Sketch

The U.S. Census for 1880, before Hubert Fowler's appointment to St. Paul Island, noted that he was a school principal in Norwich, Connecticut. He later settled as a farmer in Mona, Richmond County, Montana, where he was still living in 1920.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Agent George R. Tingle's 1885 annual report stated that Hubert Fowler was "removed," and the report suggested an ominous circumstance.²⁶ Around the same period (April 1885), St. Paul Agent Henry Glidden expressed interest in the outcome of the presidential elections.²⁷ Then on May 29, 1885, Glidden entered into the Agent's Log that he himself was being replaced because of "a change in the politics of the national administration," i.e., Benjamin Harrison had defeated President Grover Cleveland. The records examined were not clear on this point, but it's possible that Assistant Agent Fowler and Glidden were both political appointees and consequently lost their jobs following the election.

FRATIS, JOHN SR. (1845–1906)

Whaler; Bering and Okhotsk Seas and Arctic Ocean, 1859–1869

Cook, St. Paul Island, Williams and Haven Company, 1869–1870

Alaska Commercial Company, 1870–1890

North American Commercial Company, 1892–1906

Sealer; Laborer; St. Paul Island, 1870–1890, 1892–1906

Cook, St. George Island, winter 1891

Genealogy

John Fratis was born January 20, 1845,²⁸ at the Ladrone Islands²⁹ (Guam), among the Mariana Islands in the South Pacific Ocean. Agent Charles Bryant noted in the 1873 St. Paul Island census that John Fratis was a Spanish Creole native of Guam. Agent Bryant wrote in his annual report dated September 20, 1873:

An attempt was made, on June 11, by the general agent of the Alaska Commercial Company to induce the chiefs to adopt, as a native, to share in the sealing and its profits, an employé of the company, a Spanish creole, a native of the Ladrone Islands. This being contrary to the formerly established law of the Russians, and the principle always kept in view in all legislation—that to the natives of the island belongs the privilege of doing the labor and receiving the pay—this was not permitted.³⁰

The unnamed individual in Bryant's report was very likely John Fratis.

John Fratis married Poleana (Ooleana) Schepetina [Stepeten], a native of St. Paul Island, in October 1870.³¹ John and Poleana Fratis had six children, all born on St. Paul Island: Anna, born 1870, died June 28, 1889; Dahria (a daughter), born March 26, 1874; a son, May 7, 1876,³² Susanna, born 1877; Ellen, 1883; and John Jr., June 18, 1886.

After Poleana's death circa 1889,³³ John Sr. left St. Paul Island for Unalaska on August 19, 1889, in search of a new wife.³⁴ He returned to St. Paul on September 22, 1889,³⁵ married to nineteen-year-old Akoolena (Akulina) Kozmia.³⁶ Akulina gave birth to four children at St. Paul Island: Agrifina, born June 13, 1892; Simeon, February 15, 1894; Juliana, January 13, 1896; and Martha, February 19, 1899.³⁷ John Fratis Sr. died January 26, 1906, on St. Paul Island at sixty-four years of age.³⁸

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

John Fratis Sr. provided the following deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on June 10, 1892, before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska:

I am 47 years of age and was born on the Ladrone Islands.³⁹ I can speak the English, Russian, and Spanish languages, and I understand the Aleut as it is spoken by the natives of St. Paul Island, Alaska. I came to St. Paul Island in 1869, and married a native woman and became one of the people; was made a native sealer and have resided here ever since. From 1859–1869, I was employed on whaling vessels working in Bering and Okhotsk Seas and the Arctic Ocean. I have been along the coast of Bering and Okhotsk seas and along the coast of Alaska in the North Pacific Ocean from Sitka to Unalaska, and I never saw or heard tell of any place in American waters in that whole region, where the Alaskan fur seals haul out on land or breed, excepting on the seal islands of Bering Sea known as the Pribilof Islands. . . . When Mr. Webster had charge of the killing at Northeast Point . . . I generally

did the cooking there, and I cooked seal meat every day, and we all ate it, and our people live on seal meat, yet I never saw a sick or a diseased seal or a carcass that was unfit for food.⁴⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

John Fratis landed at St. Paul Island during March 1869, as a cook in the employ of Williams and Havens Company of New London, Connecticut. In 1870, he began working as a cook and sealer with the Alaska Commercial Company. Fratis spent most of his life on St. Paul Island except for the year 1872–73, which he spent at San Francisco because of ill health, and 1891–92 when he and his family wintered at St. George Island, where John Fratis worked as cook for the North American Commercial Company.⁴¹

FRATIS, JOHN JR. (B. 1886)

Reindeer Herder, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

John Fratis Jr. was the son of John Fratis, from Guam, and Poleana (Ooleana) Schepetina [Stepeten] Fratis, a native of St. Paul Island. John Jr. was born June 18, 1886, at St. Paul Island, Alaska.

Biographical Sketch

John Fratis Jr. was the chief reindeer herder on St. Paul Island; John Mazeekin (aka Misikin?) was his assistant. The herders daily drove the herd, which totaled fifty-two in 1913, from the corral to pasture.⁴²



T. Sedick, R. Bentley, John Hanson, John Fratis Jr., and other unidentified men in a pickup truck parked at the By-products Plant on St. Paul Island, October 1918. (NARA, College Park, MD, RG 22-MP-3-25.)

- 1 Sharon Landwehr, "Harry Clifford Fassett, Biographical Sketch," California Academy of Sciences Library, Special Collections, San Francisco, <http://www.calacademy.org/research/library/special/bios/Fassett.htm> (accessed May 2, 2004)
- 2 Roger P. Kohin, "The Gold-Rush Fassetts from Licking Co., Ohio," from the Fassett Letters, 2001, <http://physics.Clarku.edu/~rkohin/background/Fassett> (accessed May 1, 2004); and Roger P. Kohin, Ancestry World Tree, Ancestry.com (accessed May 1, 2004).
- 3 Landwehr, "Harry Clifford Fassett."
- 4 Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 13, stated that Fassett worked in Alaska in 1900–1919, suggesting that his career aboard the *Albatross* began in 1900. Orth did not mention Fassett's work on the Pribilof Islands.
- 5 Sharon Landwehr, "Harry Clifford Fassett."
- 6 Ward T. Bower and Henry D. Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Docs. Nos. 819, 834, 838, 847 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1915, 1917, 1917, and 1918), 67, 70, 80, and 70, respectively; Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fisheries and Seal Industries in 1919*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Docs. no. 891 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1919), 77; and Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur-Seal Industries in 1920*, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 909 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1921), 73.
- 7 An in-depth review of the standardization of the spelling of family names is given in Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 3–5.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 9 U.S. Census, 1860, Wales, St. Claire County, MI, 1871 (1873, sic); Marriage Certificate no. 200, superintendent registrar's district of Marylebone, England; death record no. 2217, New York City; death record, Washington, DC, 1917; "Obituary" of Emily Fish, *Washington Post*, Apr. 22, 1917; David Dickinson Dixon (sic), "Fish," Ancestry World Tree, Ancestry.com, ID I015; NARA, Civil War Pension File of Charles P. Fish, Widow Application no. 508932, Certificate no. 295713, box 37665, Washington, DC; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871, Kew, Surrey, England, National Archives of the UK, Public Record Office, London, class RG 10, piece 705, folio 38, 12; and St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 14, 1872.
- 10 U.S. Census, 1850, Ypsilanti, Washtenaw County, MI, 436; Thomas Holmes, Horace Carpenter, and Samuel G. Ives, *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman, 1881), 1224; and Franklin Ellis, *History of Genesee County, Michigan, With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Everts & Abbott, 1870), 205–8.
- 11 Military Records of Individual American Civil War Soldiers, Kingston, MA, Historical Data Systems, 1997–2000, Ancestry.com; Donald P. Warner, "Prelude to Populism," *Minnesota Historical Society Journal*, Sept. 1951, 135; and *University of Michigan General Catalogue of Officers and Students 1837–1890* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1891), 340.
- 12 Charles Pattison Fish, Letter to Hon. Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, Jan. 24, 1877, Alaska file of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903, NARA, RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3, page 2 of letter; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871, Kew, Surrey, England, National Archives of the UK, Public Record Office, London, England, class RG 10, piece 705, folio 38, page 12, NARA, New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957, year 1871, microfilm M237, box 351, line 26, list no. 1133; "Passengers Arrived," *New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1871, 8; and Civil War Pension File of Charles P. Fish, Widow Application no. 508932, Certificate no. 295713, NARA box 37665, Washington, DC.
- 13 Rebecca Robbins Raines, *Getting the Message Through: A Branch History of the U.S. Army Signal Corps*, Center of Military History, U.S. Army, Historical Series (Washington, DC: GPO, 1996), 47.
- 14 Civil War Pension File of Charles P. Fish, Widow Application no. 508932, Certificate no. 295713, NARA box 37665, Washington, DC.
- 15 Raines, *Getting the Message Through*, 8–9; and Gary K. Grice, ed., "The Beginning of the National Weather Service: The Signal Service Years (1870–1891), As Viewed by Early Weather Pioneers," states that the National Weather Service began with President Ulysses S. Grant signing a joint resolution of Congress authorizing the Secretary of War to establish a national weather service on Feb. 9, 1870, <http://www.nws.noaa.gov/pa/history/index.php> (accessed May 10, 2009). On Feb. 25, 1870, the Secretary of War assigned this duty to the Signal Service Corps, http://weather.about.com/od/weatherhistory/tp/Signal_Service.01.htm (accessed May 10, 2009).
- 16 *Ibid.*, 64.

- 17 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 14, 1872, 130.
- 18 Henry W. Elliott, *Report on the Prybilov Group* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1873), 164.
- 19 Ibid., 165.
- 20 Charles Pattison Fish, Jan. 24, 1877, Alaska file of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903, NARA, RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3, item 4363.
- 21 Charles Pattison Fish, General Statement of Fish accounts with Alaska Commercial Company 1873–1876 to Hon. Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, Mar. 11, 1877, Alaska file of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903, NARA, RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3.
- 22 Charles Pattison Fish, Letter, Aug. 13, 1877, "To The Hon . . . , Assist. Secy. Of the Treasury," Alaska file of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903, NARA, RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3.
- 23 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 105.
- 24 Ibid., 25 and 141.
- 25 Family Group Record, IGI v. 5, Benjamin C. Fowler, <http://www.familysearch.org>.
- 26 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 175. Also published as U.S. Congress, House, 1898, 55th Congress, 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 92, vol. 1. Washington, DC: GPO.
- 27 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Apr. 10 and 21, 1885, 364.
- 28 The St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1889, 116, stated Fratis' birthday as Jan. 20, but without providing the year. The 1900 U.S. Census for St. Paul Island gave Fratis' birth year as 1845.
- 29 Besides Fratis' own statement given in his *Fur-Seal Arbitration* deposition regarding his place of origin as the Ladrone Islands, it is also so stated in the July 31, 1890, Agent's Census of St. Paul Island in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 253. The Ladrone Islands included fifteen islands in the western Pacific Ocean formerly known as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and which are now recognized as the independent island of Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands. <http://www.answers.com/topic/mariana-islands> (accessed May 9, 2009).
- 30 U.S. Congress, House, "Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Jan. 20, 1876," in *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*; 44th Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. no. 83 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1876), 99–100.
- 31 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1872–76, 75.
- 32 Ibid., May 7, 1876, 409, commented on a son being born to John Fratis.
- 33 Ibid., 1889, 150.
- 34 Ibid., 169.
- 35 Ibid., 178.
- 36 John G. Brady, *Report of the Governor of the District of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior*. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), 88.
- 37 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1872–76, 75, and 1889, 16 and 78; St. Paul Island Census 1906, 15; and U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 253, 354 and 462.
- 38 St. Paul Island Census, 1906, 15.
- 39 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1872–76, 75 stated that John Fratis was born on Guam, previously known as Ladrone Island.
- 40 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 107.
- 41 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1872, 75 and 135; and St. George Island Census, 1891, 408 and 417.
- 42 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 28, 1913 (unpaginated).

G

GALANIN, PARFIRI (1872–CIRCA 1905)

Rookery Guard, St. George Island, 1890s

Genealogy

Parfiri Galanin was born on St. George Island, November 20, 1873. The Pribilof census records spelled Parfiri's given name variously, such as Parfara, Parfir, Parfaria, and Porfiri.¹ Parfiri was the son of Borese (b. 1829 at Unalaska; d. circa 1889, St. George Island) and Okalina (aka Erina)² Galanin (b. 1831 at Unalaska.).³ Parfiri married Fevronia Swetsoff (born June 25, 1877) on November 22, 1893.⁴ Fevronia Swetsoff was the daughter of Polexinia Swetsoff and granddaughter of Parscovia Sweetsof.⁵ Parfiri Galanin died at St. George Island, circa 1905.⁶

Biographical Sketch

Parfiri Galanin worked for the government as a guard of the rookeries on St. George Island during the 1890s.⁷

GAVITT, WILLIAM (1855–1923)

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1887–1888

Genealogy

William Gavitt was born in January 1855 at Evansville, Indiana. He was the son of Evansville's distinguished Major John Smith Gavitt, who died in a Civil War battle at Frederickstown, Missouri, on October 21, 1861, and Frances A. (Lamphere) Gavitt. William Gavitt married Dora Venneman on April 27, 1887, in Evansville. One week after

the wedding, the couple set out from San Francisco for Alaska, arriving at St. George Island on May 30 of that year. William Gavitt died on August 7, 1923 in Evansville.



William Gavitt. (Univ. of Notre Dame Archives.)

Biographical Sketch

William Gavitt and his brothers John and Joseph were raised by their grandmother, Alice Smith Gavitt. After her death in 1867, the boys' guardian, John Augustus Reitz, saw to their education. Reitz, a wealthy businessman involved with railroads, banking, and real estate, had a great influence on Gavitt.⁸ In 1897, author Joseph P. Elliott summarized the achievements of William Gavitt's life, which he characterized as an honorable one:⁹

William Gavitt was partly educated in the public schools and St. John's school of this city [Evansville], and partly in the college at Teutopolis, Illinois. [He] was a student at Notre Dame, Indiana [at age 17, on September 26, 1872, studying Commerce; he received a Commercial Diploma on June 24, 1874], and afterward [became an] electrician at that celebrated institution of learning. When a mere boy he was upon the western plains, during the Black Hills gold excitement, as one of the advance telegraph operators. In 1887, he was appointed special agent for the United States Treasury Department, in charge of St. George Island, Behring Sea, one of the seal islands. He was complimented by the United States Senate in reports read before them and by Hon. C.S.

Fairchild, his superior officer, then secretary of the treasury. Mr. Gavitt's efforts on behalf of the oppressed natives of Alaska have been well known and have been properly complimented. He will do his duty as he finds it, regardless of consequences. He was arbitrator in the great railroad strikes here, when capital and labor were in anger arrayed against each other. In brief, these sorts of differences, because of his high sense of fitness and justice, were usually referred to him, and he did the public much good by his wise decisions and timely services. He was a citizen who was well known.¹⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

William Gavitt's service as a special agent of the Treasury Department at the Seal Islands lasted just over one year, from May 1887 through August 1888. Whether he became a victim of powerful foes or simply couldn't endure the pressures of remote island life is for other students of history to ascertain.

In his reports on St. George Island activities, Special Agent Gavitt levied accusations of impropriety against employees of the Alaska Commercial Company. Those reports led to the formation of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, originally convened as a special committee

[t]o investigate the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska and all contracts or leases made by the Government with any person or companies for the taking of fur seals and other fur-bearing

animals in Alaska; the character, duration, and condition of such contracts or leases; and whether and to what extent the same have been enforced and complied with or violated; the receipts there-from, and the expenses incurred by the Government on account of any such contract or leases; and to fully investigate and report upon the nature and extent of the rights and interests of the United States in the fur seals and other fisheries in the Bering Sea in Alaska; whether and to what extent the same have been violated, and by whom; and what, if any, legislation is necessary for the better protection and preservation of the same.¹¹

On December 18, 1888, William Gavitt testified before the U.S. House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries regarding his earlier allegations of maltreatment of the Aleuts on St. George Island, as well as of government officials, by employees of the Alaska Commercial Company. For example, Gavitt alleged that some Native husbands were threatened with physical harm if their wives were not allowed to visit the ACC employees for immoral purposes. An Aleut girl was denied the right of marriage “in order to keep that girl for a prostitute.” The island priest was intimidated for attempting to intervene on behalf of his parishioners.¹² The modern term “whistle-blower” could aptly apply to him.

The company’s intentions, I believe, are honest and upright, but in regard to their men employed on the island I can not use severe language sufficient to cover their case. The men with whom I have dealt, that is, myself and my wife, did not respect the laws of God, or man or my wife’s presence or my position. I am referring to Mr. Webster, Dr. Lutz, John Kirk, and a man named John Hall. This administration expected a Government officer to take his wife there, and I took my wife from the altar to the St. George Island, and I have regretted it ever since. I wish a distinction to be understood between the honest intention of the gentlemen in San Francisco and that crowd of men that they have entrusted with their business on that island. I wish for that to be distinctly understood. I believe that the company itself is honest and upright in its intentions. . . . I refer to their powers to antagonize a sworn officer of the law and to make him miserable and crucify him.¹³

Gavitt lacked influential and outspoken supporters willing or able to testify in his favor. He stood nearly alone in his attack against the injustices he observed at St. George Island. He did have the support of at least some of the St. George Island Natives (see Peter Rezanoff’s biography). However, they apparently lacked credibility among members of the congressional committee.

Gavitt was characterized by others, including his supervisor, Special Treasury Agent of the Seal Islands George Tingle, as an incompetent man with a weak mind, unable to perform the task at hand. Tingle obtained affidavits from ACC employees Dr. Lutz, Daniel Webster, and John Kirk denying Gavitt’s allegations. Gavitt was further discredited in testimonies given by those called before the committee; they claimed that no improprieties or misconduct by employees of the lessee had occurred on the Island of St. George. Agent Tingle presented William Gavitt to the Committee as a man who had disturbed harmony between the Natives and the white people of the station and who had falsified the Treasury Department’s daily journal (the log).¹⁴

Few came to Gavitt’s defense, but one was Special Agent T. F. Ryan. A *New York Times* article reported:

T.F. Ryan, another special agent of the Government at the island of St. George from April 1885 to 1887, attributed the lack of discipline and the loose morals on the island of St. George partly to the improper conduct and neglect of duty of some of the Government agents, which was in turn imitated by the agents of the company. When witness [Ryan¹⁵] went to the islands he had no instructions from the Government. The Secretary of the

Treasury had told him to write his own instructions. Witness then formulated rules forbidding females on the island from visiting the company and the Government houses, but Mr. Tingle, his superior officer, had declared such a rule null and void. It was impossible to imagine, he said, what influenced Mr. Tingle to do this, as the order was issued in the interests of law and decency.¹⁶

The 1888 congressional investigation focused the attention of leading newspapers on the affairs of the Alaska Commercial Company in the Seal Islands. Critics took aim at and weakened the company's credibility as a lessee when it was vying for renewal of the twenty-year contract the next year. The Alaska Commercial Company lost the contract, although not entirely, if at all, due to Gavitt's exposé; other political intrigues involving President Benjamin Harrison and Secretary of State James Blaine likely played significantly in the decision to award the new twenty-year lease to the North American Commercial Company. George Tingle, government agent testifying in opposition to Gavitt, became agent of the North American Commercial Company.

The committee failed to take issue with Gavitt's allegations, and life on the Pribilofs continued without change. Gavitt returned to Indiana, where he had a strong family presence. After his year in Alaska, he became a community leader, recognized as a strong individual—not a weak personage, as presented to the committee by men of influence.

Possibly Gavitt's personality was ill-suited for St. George community life. Even today environmental conditions are harsh, and despite having satellite communications and paved runways (installed 2005–06), the Pribilof Islands—and St. George Island in particular—remain relatively isolated from mainland Alaska. Outsiders who worked on those remote islands for any length of time in the late nineteenth century likely possessed strong-willed and often rough personalities, and their work required physical stamina unlike anything imaginable today. Further, their employers, both public and private, expected financial success, which was not easily achieved. Such men might well not respect those with more gentle manners.

As a postscript, the character and credibility of William Gavitt's supervisor, George Tingle, came into question in 1890 when he encountered Treasury Agent Charles Goff (see Goff's and Tingle's biographies).

GEOGHEGAN, RICHARD HENRY (1866–1943)

Linguist expert in the Aleut language

Genealogy

"Richard Henry Geoghegan was born in Dublin [Ireland] in 1866, the oldest son of a prominent Irish physician."¹⁷ He had at least one sibling, a brother, James T. Geoghegan.¹⁸ Richard Geoghegan died in 1943 after a long illness.¹⁹

Biographical Sketch

Richard Geoghegan had a childhood accident which left him physically disabled for life. According to Pribilof Islands historian and Aleut civil liberties advocate Fredericka Martin, his physical handicap steered his interest toward self-study of language, beginning with Chinese. His scholarly achievements earned him scholarships to Oxford University from linguists Professor James Legge and Oxford University Vice-Chancellor Jowett. He graduated and taught languages at various colleges in England. Then, as he recounted:

When I came to Alaska, in the fall of 1902, the possible connections between the Asiatic and the American languages attracted my attention and as at that time, I was in the employ of our Uncle Samuel ["Uncle Sam"] as an officer of his district court,²⁰ I had an opportunity for traveling over practically all parts of this Territory, and became especially intrigued by the Aleut tongue. My official duties and the necessity for constantly moving from place to place allowed me but scant opportunity to acquire a speaking knowledge of it, or even to make all the notes that I should have desired, but, later, when I settled in Fairbanks, I took pains to secure all the known printed matter in and on Aleutian. This, not with the idea of dedicating my days to "Innuityology," but rather for the purpose of making comparisons with Chinese, Japanese, Manchu, Tibetan, Korean, Siamese and Kambojan,²¹ etc., whereof I picked up smatterings in the previous years.²²

Fredericka Martin followed Geoghegan's commentary with her own:

A smattering, if I may be forgiven for explaining the obvious, often seemed to Richard Geoghegan synonymous with what others would consider the result of a lifetime's study, for his "smatterings" consisted of an encyclopedic knowledge of over two hundred languages and dialects.²³

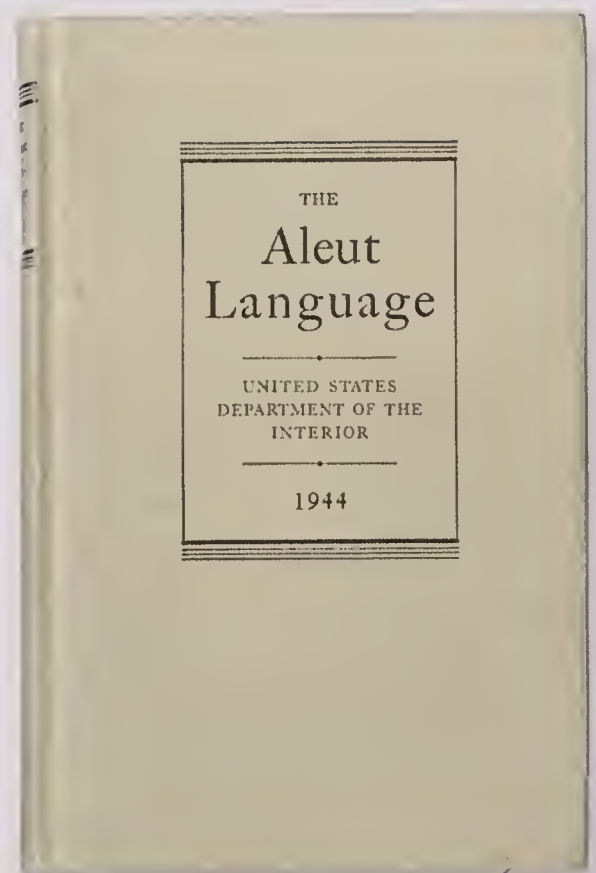
Richard Geoghegan's death left his good friend Fredericka Martin to complete work on his book *The Aleut Language*. However, Geoghegan's words introduced his work:

The Aleut language is such a strongly differentiated dialect of the regular Eskimo language that it may almost be characterized as a distinct language although its structure is purely Eskimoid.

Dr. Svend Frederiksen of the University of Copenhagen informed me that specimens of the language spoken on Kodiak Island which I sent him were readily understandable. He is thoroughly conversant with Greenlandic Eskimo. However the examples of Aleut I submitted, with the exception of an occasional word, were not comprehensible. And the Reverend Hinz who has written a grammar of the Kuskokwim Eskimo dialect, reported that although he could understand the samples of Kodiak dialect the Aleutian seemed almost a foreign tongue.

These differences pose an interesting problem for philologists.²⁴

The present authors did not learn whether Richard Geoghegan ever visited the Pribilof Islands, but the significance of his contribution



Cover of *The Aleut Language*, by Richard Geoghegan and Fredericka Martin.

to preserving the heritage of the Aleuts, whether they reside on the Pribilofs or elsewhere, cannot be overstated.

GILL, EDWARD JAMES (1851–1876)

Meteorologist, U.S. Army Signal Corps, Weather Service, 1876

Genealogy

Edward James Gill was born March 21, 1851, in Brooklyn, New York, the son of James Darrell Gill and Emily W. (Vosburgh) Gill. Edward Gill was orphaned at an early age. Edward's mother died in Brooklyn, New York, February 11, 1857. Edward Gill's father was born in Newfoundland, Canada, of Nicolas Gill and Elizabeth (Burton) Gill. James Darrell Gill died in Brooklyn on March 9, 1864. Edward's siblings were: Theodore Nicolas; Adelaide E.; Albert J.; Anselle V. W.; Caroline Emily; and Herbert A. Gill. Edward J. Gill died on St. Paul Island, Alaska, October 22, 1876.²⁵

Biography

Edward James Gill was descended from Captain Michael Gill (1672–1720), a merchant trader of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who in 1698 began shipping salt, salt pork, and New England cider to Newfoundland. Michael's two sons, Michael Jr. (1699–1773) and Nicholas Gill, emigrated from New England to St. John's, Newfoundland, and by 1768 were leaders in Newfoundland's government. "The Gills seem to have held most of the Government offices; Michael was Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, Keeper of the Rolls, J.P. [Justice of the Peace], public auctioneer, sole sworn broker, and sole notary public, and, later on, lieutenant-colonel of militia; his brother Nicholas seems to have had all the other posts."²⁶ In the 1790s, Edward's grandfather, Nicolas Gill Jr. (1770–1855), with Edward's uncle, Joseph Gill, founded Gill & Company, a trading firm headquartered at St. John's.

The Gill firm was involved in the West Indian trade exporting salt cod to the Indies and importing rum and molasses. Nicolas also established a branch of the firm in New York City in the 1830's. Nicolas Gill sent his son James Darrell Gill to New York to manage the family firm. That firm operated as a distribution centre for Newfoundland products such as seal pelts, seal oil, cod-liver oil, and furs. In return, sugar, corned beef, and clothing were shipped to Newfoundland.²⁷

Descendants of the Gill family in the United States prospered and continued the family relationship with the sea—not in the pursuit of commerce but in the pursuit of science. Three brothers were involved with the Bering Sea and the Seal Islands. Edward, the subject of this biography, embarked on a career with the Army Signal Corps Weather Service as a meteorologist, although his life ended suddenly on St. Paul Island. Edward's sister, Caroline Gill, acknowledged him in her last will and testament:

Item 6. I give and bequeath to the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alaska in whose jurisdiction is located the grave of my brother Edward J. Gill, in the Island of St. Paul, Alaska, and his successors in office the sum of One thousand dollars (\$1000) in trust

to invest and re-invest the same in some safe securities and to apply the income arising there from to the care of the grave and headstone of my said brother.²⁸

Edward's older brother, Theodore Nicolas Gill (1837–1914), became a recognized expert taxonomist in ornithology, ichthyology, mammalogy, and malacology. He became a librarian at the Smithsonian Institution, and later he became an assistant librarian (1866–75) at the Library of Congress. He became a professor of zoology at George Washington University. Edward's younger brother, Herbert A. Gill (1857–1937), served as the chief clerk of the U.S. Fish Commission in Washington, D.C., in 1893. During 1895–96, Herbert Gill served as the Acting Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, which had authority over the Seal Islands.²⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

In May 1876, the St. Paul Island Bering Sea Weather and Signal Station was the most remote of the twenty-two Signal Service stations³⁰ under the War Department.³¹ Meteorologist Edward Gill arrived at St. Paul Island on May 20, 1876, to replace meteorologist Charles P. Fish, who had resigned his commission.³² Gill was the second meteorologist stationed on St. Paul Island after the inception of the National Weather Service within the U.S. Army Signal Service in 1870. (See Charles P. Fish biography for a brief history of the Army Signal Corps, Signal Service, and Weather Service). He was in government service for only five months before he died on October 22, 1876, of a heart attack resulting from exhaustion and cold. He had ventured to the north shore of St. Paul Island with Dr. Dennis Meany and carpenter Seth Washburn. The men were guided by two Natives, Antone Melovedoff and Ivan Galanin, when a gale overtook the party.

They crossed the island by the eastern base of Bogosloff and arrived at the north shore about eleven o'clock, stopped at the station house there and lunched, from there they started to follow the shore around the west end and south side of the island back to the village stopping at the north west station house to lunch again continuing on past the west point and turned then heading for the station at S.W. bay and when within one mile of there the storm came on, the wind blowing in their faces they were soon wet through. Here Mr. Gill first gave out complaining of weakness in his knees. They reached the station house there at a quarter before five. The old house here had been allowed to go into decay and a new one partially built in that there was no shelter there and the whole party were too exhausted that to remain there would be at the risk of all their lives. The two natives were sent forward to reach the village and send assistance while the others followed as they best could. These two natives reached the village about half past seven but [were] so worn out that at first they could not be understood. As soon as they were able to give the necessary information, the mules were harnessed to the wagon and Mr. Hamden McIntyre and a driver started. But, owing to the thick darkness, it was necessary for one to go on foot ahead with a lantern to find the way. [W]hen a half mile out Mr. Washburn was met saying that Mr. Gill was near the lake unable to come any further and that Dr. Meany was with him. All possible haste was made and on reaching the lake, Mr. Gill was found to be helpless and Dr. Meany was in a dangerous condition. They were immediately brought to the house where preparations were made to receive them. All possible efforts were made to restore them with the foregoing result. On leaving S. W. bay Mr. Gill was unable to travel without assistance. Dr. Meany and Mr. Washburn had him between them until they reached the head of the Lagoon when the tide was so high that they had to walk on the upland where the thick grass so entangled Mr. Gills feet as to make traveling impossible so that at this point Mr. Gill lay down. Dr. Meany remain[ed] and help[ed] his limbs and body to keep up the circulation while Mr. Washburn continued to the village, reaching it without

assistance before the boyes [sic] overtook him on their return. . . . Mr. Hamden McIntyre [of the Alaska Commercial Company] took charge of the body, had him removed to his quarters and laid out in his uniform. . . . Mr. McIntyre made a coffin. A grave was dug in the cemetery by permission for his interment with the understanding that should there be any objection from the priest to his remaining there he is to be removed.³³

Edward James Gill's remains still lie undisturbed beneath a granite stone in the graveyard adjacent to the Russian Orthodox Church at St. Paul Island.



Edward James Gill's gravestone in Saints Peter and Paul Churchyard, St. Paul Island, 2007. Gravestone inscription reads: Edward James Gill, Born March 21, 1851, Brooklyn, New York, Died October 22, 1876, St. Paul Island. (Photo: John Lindsay, NOAA.)

GLIDDEN, HENRY A. (B. 1821)

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1882–1885

Pribilof Islands Experience

Agent Henry Glidden's entries into the Agent's Log offered perspective on the isolation of the Pribilof Islands. His entries during April of 1885, also suggested concern about his future as agent, as agents were typically political appointees during that era.

The steamer Dora appeared in sight in the direction of St. George island, apparently from six to ten miles away. A cordon of ice about the island of St. Paul prevented her coming any nearer and she was obliged to put back and return to Onnalaska. It was an aggravation and a disappointment as we were curious to get the news from the outside world, especially the result of the presidential election in November last.

Capt. Williams of the brig *Hidalgo* called at the island for a few moments and brought us a bundle of papers. From these we learn that Grover Cleveland, a democrat, was elected president.³⁴

Glidden's brief entry to the St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 29, 1885, stated, "Being relieved from duty by a change in the politics of the national administration. I return to San Francisco by the St. Paul in a few days."³⁵ George R. Tingle replaced him as agent-in-charge on that day.

According to the Agent's Log, Henry Glidden's wife accompanied him on the island during his tenure.³⁶

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

The following is an excerpt from Henry Glidden's deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 15, 1892, before Notary Public Charles L. Hughes at Washington, D.C.:

I reside at Albion, in the State of New York, am 61 years of age, a lawyer by profession, and am not in the employ of the United States Government. I was appointed special Treasury agent in charge of the seal islands under Secretary Folger. On May 31, 1882, I arrived on St. Paul Island, and remained there until June 8, 1885, only returning once to the States to pass the winter of 1883–84. I was located the entire time on St. Paul Island.³⁷

GOFF, CHARLES JAMES (1847–1905)

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1889–1890

Genealogy

Charles Goff was born on July 3, 1847, at the family home known as "Waldomore"³⁸ in Clarksburg, Harrison County, Virginia (now West Virginia). Charles was the fifth child of nine children born to Waldo Potter Goff and Harriet Louise (Moore) Goff. Charles Goff married Eva S. Hart (1855–95), daughter of Ira Hart, the local iron works manufacturer, on October 31, 1876, in Clarksburg. After a successful business career, "Charles James Goff, died 57 years old, at Providence Hospital, Washington, D.C., Jan. 7, 1905."³⁹

Biographical Sketch

Charles Goff spent his formative years in the company of such prominent relatives as his father, a "self made prosperous merchant and land speculator," justice of the peace and former state senator;⁴⁰ his uncle, Nathan, who "organized the First National Bank in Harrison County, became the



CAPTAIN C. J. GOFF.

Charles James Goff. (Harrison County Herald, 1902.)

county's wealthiest citizen, and served several terms in the West Virginia Legislature;⁴¹ and brothers Thomas, a physician, and Nathan Jr., a lawyer and politician.

Charles Goff's military service as a U.S. Volunteer from Virginia during the Civil War earned him the rank of captain and artillery quartermaster in the Union Army.⁴² In 1898, Captain Goff volunteered to serve the United States during the Spanish-American War, and served as an assistant quartermaster. Captain Charles Goff became part of the Harrison County delegation to the Republican State Convention on July 27, 1876.⁴³

The 1880 U.S. Census recorded the family as living in the Coal District of Clarksburg, with Charles Goff working as a liquor merchant, and his wife, Eva, age 25, keeping house. The census also listed a daughter, Ira Hart, age one and one-half years. Goff's Uncle Nathan (1798–1885), age 82, a banker, lived next door.⁴⁴ In 1881, Goff's brother Nathan Jr. was appointed Secretary of the Navy in President Rutherford Hayes' Cabinet. Nathan Jr. asked Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to appoint his brother Charles as an Indian agent in New Mexico.⁴⁵ Charles' subsequent experience in New Mexico, as well as the Goff family's political position in the Republican Party, presumably led to his selection as a Treasury agent for St. Paul Island in 1889, under the newly installed Republican president, Benjamin Harrison. His appointment followed the resignation of Treasury Agent George R. Tingle, a fellow West Virginian.

The lives of brothers Charles and Nathan Jr. were closely knit in politics as well as in business. Many of Charles Goff's business ventures such as those in Clarksburg, West Virginia are listed in *Acts of the West Virginia Legislature*.⁴⁶ Among his partners in these business ventures was Hugh H. McIntyre, former government special agent and then ACC superintendent and general manager on St. Paul Island. Charles' business ventures included:

Feb 10, 1883: Atwell Burglar Proof Sash Lock Company, Clarksburg

March 3, 1884: Clarksburg Natural Gas Company, Clarksburg (his brothers-in-law John B. Hart and Charles M. Hart were also partners)

1886–1890: silver mill in New Mexico (partners included his brother Nathan Jr.)⁴⁷

August 8, 1887: Harrison County Oil and Gas Company was incorporated. (His brother, now Judge Nathan Goff, and brother-in-law Charles M. Hart were members.) "The Company's purpose was to bore for, obtain, and sell oil and natural gas, with its main office in Clarksburg," with a total authorized capital of \$500,000.⁴⁸

March 31, 1890: Harrison County Development Company, "organized by a certain H.H. McIntyre of West Randolph, VT."⁴⁹ "The company's purpose was to mine, manufacture and sell oil, gas, coal, iron ore and other minerals, and to construct necessary tramways and railways, with its main office in Clarksburg."⁵⁰

November, 1893: Cherry Camp Oil Company (brother Nathan Jr. was also a partner)⁵¹

Charles Goff died in 1905. His obituary from the *Clarksburg Telegram* extolled his life:



Goff homestead "Waldomore." (*National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, Clarksburg, WV.*)

Captain Goff's Death.

Captain Charles J. Goff, of this city, died in Providence hospital in Washington City at 6:00 o'clock Saturday morning, but word was not received here until 6:00 o'clock that evening. He had been in Washington about a month and was stopping at the National Hotel. A week prior to his death he was seized with pneumonia and Wednesday was removed from the hotel to the hospital, where his condition was not regarded serious until a few hours before death came.

Charles J. Goff was born in Clarksburg fifty-seven years ago, and was a son of Waldo P. Goff, now deceased, who was a prominent merchant that came here from New York in pioneer days and became one of Clarksburg's leading citizens. Captain Goff married Miss Eva Hart, sister of Messrs. Charles M. and John B. Hart, Mrs. H. T. Wilson and Miss Lillie Hart, and daughter of Ira Hart, now deceased. Mrs. Goff died nine years ago last July.

Surviving him of the immediate family is his daughter, Mrs. Ira Camden, wife of S. D. Camden, of Parkersburg; Judge Nathan Goff, his brother, Mrs. Richard T. Lowndes, Sr., and Mrs. George W. Porter, of Indianapolis, sisters of the deceased.

Captain Goff served as a railway mail clerk a number of years, running between Grafton and Washington City, and under the Harrison administration he served as inspector and agent for the United States government at the Island of St. Paul, near Alaska, the work of the position being the protection of furs, seals, fisheries, etc. Later he was Immigration Inspector for the United States and was stationed at Montreal and other parts of Canada and other points of country [sic], having his headquarters for some time in New York City.

During the Spanish-American war Captain Goff held a position as assistant quartermaster and had charge of the transport, now *Thomas*, running then between Key West and Cuba and part of the time was stationed at Santiago, Cuba, and after the famous battle was in charge of the department of supplies there.

At the close of the war he came home and engaged in the development of oil fields in the county, especially near and around Bristol, where a splendid development was well under way at the time of his demise, and from which he and those associated with him in the business were deriving handsome revenues.

The deceased was one of Clarksburg's life-long prominent citizens in business, society and politics. For many years he was active in the Republican battles for supremacy in this state and did the party good service, commanding at all times a wide influence, not only in his native county, but other parts of the state as well. He was a gentleman of intellectual attainment, cultured and whole-souled and every one who knew him did so only to be his friend, as he was one whose friendship was warm and sincere.

The remains arrived Monday morning accompanied by Dr. W.P. Goff, his nephew, and S.D. Camden, his son-in-law, who went to Washington City Saturday night to bring them home, and were taken to his home at the Waldomooore [sic].

The funeral will be held at the residence Tuesday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock and will be conducted by Rev. J. F. Plummer, of Christ Episcopal church. Interment will be in the Odd Fellows cemetery.⁵²

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Charles Goff deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration in Washington, D.C., on April 13, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown. Following is an excerpt from his deposition.

I am 45 years of age. During the years 1889 and 1890 I occupied the position of special Treasury agent in charge of the Pribilof Islands. I was located on St. Paul Island, only visiting St. George Island occasionally. About the 1st of June, 1889, I arrived on St. Paul

Island and remained there until October 12, 1889, when I returned to San Francisco for the winter. Again went to the islands in 1890, arriving there about the last week in May and remaining until August 12, 1890. . . . During my first year on the islands the Alaska Commercial Company was the lessee thereof, and during my second year the North American Commercial Company. In 1889, I made careful observations of the rookeries on St. Paul Island and marked out the areas covered by the breeding grounds. In 1890 I examined these lines made by me the former year and found a very great shrinkage in the spaces covered by breeding seals.

In 1889 it was quite difficult for the lessees to obtain their full quota of 100,000 skins; so difficult was it in fact, that in order to turn off a sufficient number of four and five years-old males from the hauling grounds for breeding purposes in the future, the lessees were compelled to take about 50,000 skins of seals of one or two years of age. I at once reported this fact to the Secretary of the Treasury, and advised the taking of a less number of skins the following year. Pursuant to such report the Government fixed upon the number of skins to be taken as 60,000, and further ordered that all killing of seals upon the islands should stop after the 20th day of July. I was further ordered that I should notify the natives upon the Aleutian Islands that all killing of seals while coming from or going to the seal islands was prohibited.⁵³

Charles James Goff came from a financially secure and politically powerful family. He was not one to be easily intimidated, and by association with his brother Nathan, he represented a political threat to the North American Commercial Company (NACC) and to Stephen B. Elkins, who in 1891 became the Secretary of War (see Elkins biography). Circumstantial it may be, but Goff's involuntary resignation as Treasury agent suggests he became a victim of politics.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Whereas William Gavitt created a controversy over abuses to humans on the Pribilofs (see Gavitt's biography), Charles James Goff stirred the pot to a boil over the unbridled slaughter of fur seals.

The thirty-two-year-old Goff arrived at St. Paul Island in 1889. He approached his job as Treasury agent with seriousness; he was not afraid to uphold his duties by taking a stand. In 1889, he reported to Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, his alarm over a marked decline and apparent depletion of the Pribilof Islands seal herd. His actions led to considerable political intrigue and inspired others to save the northern fur seal from extinction—the fate encountered by most of its cousins. Agent Goff wrote:

close observation . . . revealed the fact that it [the decline of the seal rookeries] was owing to the scarcity of the seals . . . and as the killing by the Alaska Commercial Company proceeded, the daily, weekly, and monthly receipts were much smaller than ever before. The small number of pups killed . . . for food . . . , and the alarming decrease in the daily, weekly, and monthly receipts of the Alaska Commercial Company, and as a dernier [last]⁵⁴ resort by said company to secure their 100,000 skins the killing of smaller seals than was customary, attest conclusively . . . that there is a scarcity of seals, and that within the last year or so they are from some cause decreasing far beyond the increase.

As this is the last year of the present lease and there is a new lease to be made, I would respectfully suggest that it is of vital importance to the existence of seal life that the annual quota in the future be limited to the taking of 60,000 skins as the maximum from the Pribilof Islands.⁵⁵

Goff's report was in marked contrast to the one given by his predecessor, George R. Tingle, in 1888 (the same man who took issue with Assistant Agent William Gavitt at St. George Island the year before). Tingle wrote that the herd was at least maintaining its full number.

I have made frequent and close inspections of the rookeries this year and find the lines of occupancy extended beyond those of last year. . . . It is certain, however, this vast number of animals . . . is still on the increase.

The number of seals at present shown to be on the breeding rookeries of the two islands is as follows – 6,357,750.⁵⁶

Oddly, Tingle stated elsewhere in his report: "I think that a deduction of one-fourth from the above would show more nearly correct the true number of seals on the islands."⁵⁷

The difference between the assessments of Tingle in 1888 and Goff in 1889, when the latter reported that the ACC encountered difficulties securing its 100,000 skins, is remarkable.⁵⁸ Four to six million seals and they can't fill their quota of 100,000? This must have been the question going through Goff's mind. Following an investigation in 1890 by Goff and Henry Elliott, as mentioned below, the fur-seal census on the islands totaled 1,059,000 seals; the estimates would continue to fall to 150,000 by 1903.⁵⁹

Goff's annual report for 1889, dated July 31, 1889, coincided with the end of the seal harvest. He sent an unusual supplementary report dated December 23, 1889, to Secretary of the Treasury Windom from his home in Clarksburg, West Virginia. The report contained an alarming statement:

From the first I was forcibly impressed with the decrease in number, taking as a guide the report of my predecessor, the Hon. George R. Tingle; but thinking I might be mistaken, and not wishing to sound a needless alarm to the Department, I ventured the suggestion of taking 60,000 seals as the maximum for the first five years of the new lease, the number to be increased or decreased as the Secretary may deem advisable. I now, without hesitation, after a more careful observation of the entire situation, think that my suggestion of 60,000 was too high, and would respectfully insert instead 50,000 as the maximum. . . . I regard it absolutely essential, for the future of the rookeries, that prompt action be taken by the Department for the suppression of illegal killing of seals in Bering Sea, and that the utmost economy be observed in taking the seals allowed by law. There should be no killing after July 20.⁶⁰

Goff's recommendation did not sit well with the potential new lease-holders, the NACC, or with the Harrison administration. Nonetheless, he rattled the cage sufficiently to bring attention to the potential plight of a significant U.S. revenue source. Congress legislated to send an expert to the Seal Islands to investigate Goff's allegations. Henry Wood Elliott, the only recognized fur-seal expert at the time, accepted the appointment from Treasury Secretary Windom.

In the meantime, the North American Commercial Company secured the next twenty-year lease to harvest seals, effective May 1890, and the ACC transferred its property on the islands to the NACC. Secretary Windom directed Charles Goff to oversee the transfer; Rudolph Neumann for the ACC and George R. Tingle for the NACC conducted inventories and appraised the value of property.⁶¹ Two days after the inventory had been completed on both islands, and settlement concluded, Nathan Goff Jr. arrived "to remain

during the season.” However, he stayed for only two weeks.⁶² Although his trip was not mentioned directly in the St. Paul Island Treasury Agent’s Log, we might assume Nathan journeyed to the Seal Islands to support his brother against possible retribution by the NACC including George Tingle, and to lend his legal and political acumen in support of the government’s interest.

While Henry Wood Elliott and Agent-in-Charge Charles Goff toiled to protect the fur seal from extinction under their combined authorities, which were limited to the land harvest alone, a small number of influential officials in the government’s executive branch fully recognized the impact of pelagic sealing on the size of the herd—and more importantly to them, the impact on the coffers of the NACC and the U.S. Treasury.

Before Elliott presented his report of the investigation, Goff submitted three significant findings. The first:

1. With this undeniable decrease in merchantable seals, and knowing the impoverished conditions of the rookeries and hauling grounds, and believing it to be inimical to the best interests of the Government to extend the time for killing beyond July 20, I adhered to the letter and spirit of your instructions to me and closed the killing season July 20, against the bitter protestations of Mr. George R. Tingle, general manager for the lessees.⁶³

Goff enclosed Tingle’s protest, which included the following:

The law says the lessees shall give the natives a maintenance out of the taking of the seal skins. How can that provision of the law be carried out when the Government steps in and stops the lessees from killing when they are taking a thousand seals a day? By the enforcement of your order . . . you deprive the natives of a maintenance; you deprive the Government of large revenue; or cause the North American Commercial Company great loss; you turn over to the marauders and other natural enemies of the seals in the water many thousands of fine, killable, merchantable seals, which we could take without any detriment whatever to the rookeries.

We have every reason to believe, from the marked increase of new arrivals of seals, that if we were allowed, by you to continue our killing under the law we could fill our quota of 60,000 seals.⁶⁴

By July 20, 1890, the NACC had killed only 21,357 seals,⁶⁵ whereas the year before the total killed by the ACC by July 20 reached 100,135,⁶⁶ and the ACC had struggled to reach that number. The average number of seals killed per day of harvest in 1890 was 522; in 1889 the average was 1,974.⁶⁷ Tingle’s arguments for extending the harvest season to July 31, as provided by law, with the prospect of the NACC reaching a quota of 60,000—never mind 100,000—lacked credibility.

Goff’s other two findings were stated thus:

2. I respectfully suggest that there be no killing of fur seals for their skins on these islands, nor in the waters of Bering Sea, for an indefinite number of years, to be named by the Secretary of the Treasury, and let nature take her course in replenishing the rookeries.⁶⁸

3. The limited number of seals killed this season by the lessees will undoubtedly leave the majority of the natives in absolute want, and their condition will appeal to the Department for aid.

The amount distributed to the natives upon the islands of St. Paul and St. George was \$6,783.30 and \$1,644.80, respectively. This will not be sufficient to provide them with the

necessaries of life until the steamers return in the spring, especially so with the natives of St. George Island.

The Department will have to make some provision for the support and maintenance of these people, as their mode of making a living has been destroyed for the present, and the future is only what the charity of the Government will make it. There is utterly nothing here upon which they can depend for a livelihood until the much wished-for return of seals takes place, an event too far in the future to give even a promise of better times to these unfortunate people.⁶⁹

Historian G. Wayne Smith correctly recognized a “skirmish” between Stephen B. Elkins, social and financial friend of the NACC, and the Goffs, one that later cost Charles Goff his position as government agent on the Pribilof Islands. Nathan Goff Jr. was a political foe of Stephen B. Elkins, who was appointed by the Harrison Administration as Secretary of War in 1891 and, as noted, had close ties with the NACC (see Elkins biography). Historian Smith wrote in his book about Nathan Goff Jr.:

One can imagine that Elkins took quick advantage of the defeats Goff suffered [failing to win the governorship of West Virginia] in 1888 and 1889 and the loss of the 1890 campaign. Elkins’ high position in the party also had enabled him to influence certain patronage matters with some adversity to Goff’s interests.⁷⁰

Agent Goff’s recommendation to bring a halt to pelagic sealing did not go unheeded by President Harrison. The President, Secretary of War Elkins, and Secretary of State Blaine did their best to “persuade” the British to stop killing seals at sea. However, while publicly agreeing that the land harvest must also step back in intensity, they secretly worked the system, in part through Secretary of the Treasury Foster, who replaced Secretary Windom in 1891, to enable their social and political friends of the NACC to continue the land harvest. Normally Elliott reported to Secretary of the Treasury Foster; however, when Elliott was about to release his 1890 report, which contained damning information not only about pelagic sealing but also about the land harvest, Secretary of State Blaine interceded with him to withhold the report, and Elliott agreed. When word of the cabal leaked out over cocktails, the land harvest was moderated.⁷¹ But pelagic sealing went full bore and the fur-seal herd continued its precipitous decline.

As postulated by one author, Goff was quietly relieved of his position because of his initial whistle-blowing, which cost the NACC its right to harvest up to 100,000 seals per annum.

One lost patronage skirmish concerned his [Nathan’s] younger brother, Charles J. Goff, who had been appointed as a Treasury agent to the Alaskan seal fisheries in 1890 [1889] by Secretary of the Treasury William Windom. In May, 1891, after only one [two] season[s] he was removed, allegedly at the behest of the North American Commercial Company, whose wrath he had incurred by recommending a cessation of the taking of seals for one year.⁷²

Charles Goff’s efforts were not lost on the news media. From the *New York Times* in May 1891:

TO EXTERMINATE THE SEALS

Secretary Foster who appears to have taken advice about the sealing question from interested parties about as readily as he adopted vagaries of the Director of the Mint, Leech, on the financial situation, has followed the advice of the North American Commercial Company to displace Special Agent Goff from the supervision of the sealing



GENERAL NATHAN GOFF, LL. D.

General Nathan Goff. (Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1889.)

industry, and has appointed Mr. J. Stanley-Brown to go to the islands as his "own man." Charles J. Goff is the brother of the Hon. Nathan Goff of West Virginia. He appears to have been honest and he was brave enough to stop the killing of the seals by the leases [lessees] before they had taken the number allowed to be killed under the lease, because he saw that there were not [sufficient] "killable" seals on the ground to justify the attempt and he considered that the discretion reposed to him by the department ought to be exercised to reduce the quota. He reported the seals rapidly diminishing, that young seals were being driven and redriven [sic] over the hauling grounds, and that under-sized seals were being killed to make up the catch, and concluded that, "It is but a question of a few years, unless immediately attended to, before the seal question of the Pribilof group of islands will be a thing of the past."

Notwithstanding the fact that the seals were looked upon as inexhaustible and were officially reported to be increasing as late as 1888, the time has suddenly come when experiment and imagination must cease and the truth be told. But the friends of Mr. Blaine, for whom he has seen fit to discourage the promised agreement with Great Britain do not love the truth when it gets in their way. They discredited the Goff report. The man who was referred to by Mr. Goff as having made the 1888 report that the seals were increasing was Mr. George Tingle, who was then Special Agent of the Treasury. His report was very acceptable to the Alaska Company, but it has proved troublesome to the State Department, for the British people interested in poaching have repeatedly thrown Tingle's report in the face of the Secretary of State to answer his suggestions about the importance of a protective agreement.

Mr. Tingle is now Superintendent of the North American Commercial Company and Mr. Blaine's friends, the lessees, are now quoting his flattering report of the condition of the rookeries in 1890 to justify Mr. Blaine in refusing to make an arrangement for a close season. Mr. Goff made a report that agrees with the report of Prof. Elliott, the substance of which is printed in THE TIMES of this morning. Being convinced, from the fact that nearly all the young bull seals had disappeared, that there would be a serious diminution of the number of young seals at the rookeries this season, and a more noticeable falling off next season, he recommended that there be no killing of seals at the islands and in the waters of Bering Sea for an indefinite number of years, and that nature be allowed to take her course in re-establishing the former condition of the rookeries.

... Mr. Brown, who has been picked out by Elkins and his friends to go to Alaska in a revenue cutter to look at the rookeries, will probably be taken in hand by Mr. George R. Tingle, who for reasons reported that the seals were increasing in spite of all the assaults upon them, and he will make a report different from that made by Mr. Goff, which has displeased the Treasury, Mr. Elkins, Mr. Blaine, and his friends. Mr. Brown does not know anything about seals. Mr. Elliott, whose report Mr. Blaine has suppressed, and to whom some one near Mr. Blaine seems to have indulged in persistent lying for several months, is devoted to the subject and has no object in misrepresenting the true situation of affairs. He says that there has been no thought of taking the Russians into the agreement, for the reason that there is no occasion to do so. The poachers were all Americans or British, and some times Americans under the British flag, and that the co-operation of Great Britain and the United States to stop sealing would stop it all in Bering Sea, except at the Russian grounds under lease.

As soon as the North American Commercial Company's vessel has left Sitka and the "Free-for-all" seal season has become inevitable, it is probable that Mr. Blaine will be heard shouting lustily in condemnation of the British refusal to agree to a close season. He will be fully aware that it will be too late to do anything then to stop the indiscriminate killing and particularly to stop the killing by the lessees of seals that ought to be protected if the species is to be perpetuated. Prof. Elliott says that while the slaughter by the poachers is great, it is not so destructive of possible future seals as the legalized killing on the Pribilof Islands. The suggestion thrown out by Mr. Blaine that the interference of the Treasury in the business of the lessees may involve the Government in suits for damages is one of the arguments put forward in all of the Blaine versions of this story, and seems to have been in the mind of Mr. Tingle when he protested last July against the stopping by Mr. Goff of the slaughter of small seals.⁷³

However, Charles Goff's courageous efforts appeared then to drop below the radar of recognition until eminent fur-seal biologist Victor B. Scheffer commented in 1984:

Thus Goff, with Elliott's blessing, pioneered in 1890 the practice of closing the sealing season when field conditions warrant it, in advance of a prescribed date.⁷⁴

GRAY, NICOLAS (1861–1910+)

Teacher, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1883–1890

Clerk, Storekeeper, Alaska Commercial Company, Unalaska, 1890–1906+

Genealogy

Nicolas Gray was born during March 1861 in Russia. Both of his parents were of Russian descent. Gray's wife, Maria (surname unknown), was born in Alaska in January 1884 to a German father and Alaskan mother.⁷⁵

Biography

Nicolas Gray emigrated from Russia to America in 1874 and settled in San Francisco, California. He first traveled to Unalaska, Alaska, from San Francisco in May of 1880, as a teacher in the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company. In 1883, the company transferred Gray to St. Paul Island, where he remained as a schoolteacher until the spring of 1890; at that time the company sent him back to Unalaska to work as a clerk and storekeeper.

In 1887, Nicholas Gray helped form and lead a St. Paul Island band, and in 1896, he formed a brass band at Unalaska. He worked as a clerk for the Alaska Commercial Company until at least 1906.



Nicolas Gray, teacher on St. Paul Island, circa 1880s. (Alaska State Library, Michael Z. Vinokourov Photograph Coll., P243-2-181.)

The U.S. Census for 1910 showed Gray living in San Francisco at the same residence as 89-year-old Eugene Cox, former vice-president of the North American Commercial Company.⁷⁶

Pribilof Islands Experience

Nicolas Gray arrived at St. Paul Island aboard the steamer *St. Paul* on May 31, 1883, as the Alaska Commercial Company's new teacher for the island children, replacing a Mr. Atkins.⁷⁷ Gray was fully bilingual in Russian and English and was considered a good teacher, according to the government agents, who reported that the children loved him.

School commenced today [September 3, 1883] with 54 children in attendance 14 boys and 40 girls. At the request of the Priest, Fridays of each week [are] to be devoted to teaching the Russian language by some one selected by the Priest. Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays are for teaching the English language five hours each day: three hours in the forenoon and two hours in the afternoon; instead of two hours each day for five days in the week as has been the custom heretofore.⁷⁸

The school closed today [May 8, 1884]. The closing exercises were witnessed by the Treasury Agent, A.C. Co's. Agent, the resident, the priest, George Butrin [Aleut Chief] and Mrs. Melovedoff. The exercises consisted of reading, recitations of poetry and a few questions in geography. The reading was very good indeed with the exception of one or two of the older scholars, but little attention was paid to the pauses, was read very rapidly. The questions in geography were all answered satisfactorily, and without hesitation. The recitations in poetry were good, without prompting but very indistinct. There is a marked improvement in the school in the lessons and in the confidence of the children in reciting.⁷⁹

As years progressed, so did the island children under Gray's instruction. An 1887 entry in the Agent's Log recognized Gray's accomplishments.

There has been a large improvement with the school this term; the condition of the children as to cleanliness, promptness in attending, the order and discipline; but very seldom a pupil has been absent or tardy without a good and sufficient cause; to all appearance it has been a pleasure to the children to be in the schoolroom with their teacher. Mr. Gray has been very much interested in his school and to him large credit is due for the prosperous condition of the school; he appears to have the confidence and love of all the children, prompt in every duty as a teacher, kind and courteous to all and he has the confidence and love of all his scholars and from love and respect they seem to obey; should Mr. Gray continue to be their teacher, not many years will pass before some of them will be able to teach their own school.⁸⁰

An entry in the 1887 log also reported the outstanding introduction of the St. Paul Island Band in the fall of that year.

During the fall of 1887 and 1888, the following named persons paid the amounts set opposite their names to Mr. N. Gray for the purchasing of several musical instruments and music for a band for the Island of St. Paul. Said instruments and music to remain upon this island and any of the natives that wish to play can do so. Also any of the white people and the instruments are the property of the band whoever they may be from time to time composed of native and any of the white people who come to use them.



St. Paul Island, string band: 1. Neon Mandregan, 2. Karp Buterin, 3. Simeon Melovidov, 4. Alex Hanson, 5. Nicolas Gray, 6. Anton Melovidov. (Alaska State Library, Grey & Hereford Photograph Coll., P185-18.)

G.R. Tingle \$20.00;
J.P. Manchester \$17.50;
N. Gray \$12.50;
J. Sloss \$10.00;
E. Hughs \$10.00;
Alex Hanson \$7.70;
Simeon Mellovidoff \$2.50;
Peter Krukoff \$7.50;
George Emanoff \$2.50

C.L. Fowler \$10.00;
W.C. Allis \$12.50;
C.C. Mead \$5.00;
D. Webster \$5.00;
Capt. Hayes \$5.00;
F. Gilman \$4.92;
Karp Bouterin \$2.50;
Neon Tetoff \$7.50;
Neon Mandrigin \$2.50.

J.C. Redpath \$10.00;
Dr. W.S. Hereford \$12.50;
Dr. H.H. McIntyre \$20.00;
Dr. Noyes \$5.00;
John Fratis \$5.00;
Anton Mellovidoff \$2.50;
Nicoli Krukoff \$7.50
James Crow \$2.50;

In addition Mr. Manchester donated the following: one musical dictionary, one book "Parlor Organ Treasury," one book "Minstrel Songs."

... The following is the list of Band Property: One double bass, one violin cello, one viola, one cornet, one bass drum, one tenor drum, two tambourines, one triangle, one set of bones, one xylophone, six music stands, method for each instruments ... an abundance of music, bass and cello strings, music paper, rosin, extra bridges, one cornet.⁸¹

The St. Paul Island band was popular with the community and played regularly, on holidays, birthdays, name-day celebrations, and more.

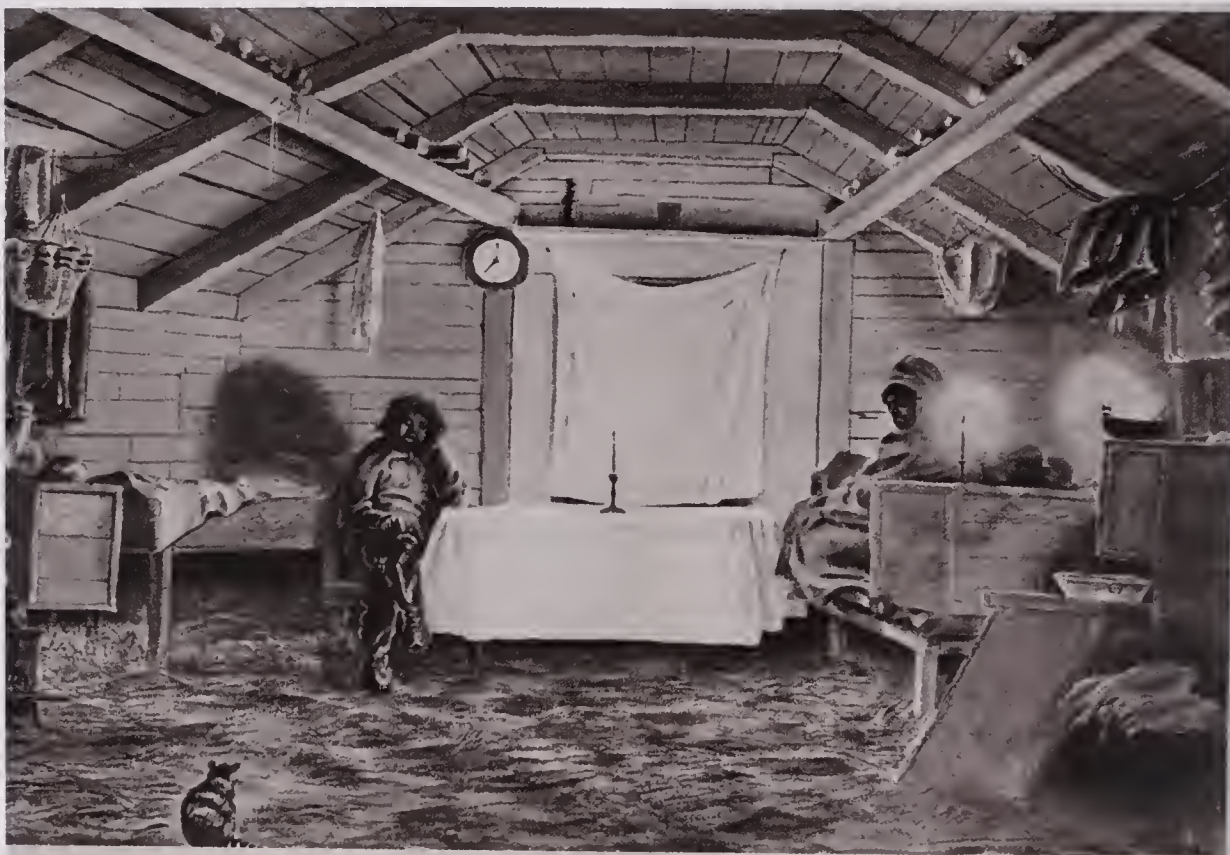


Village dance. Simeon Melovidov and wife (left), Nicholas Gray (right), 1890. (NAA, Arctic: Aleut series, lot 24, 1461500.)

- 1 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, 186, 198, 221, and 290.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid., 9.
- 4 Ibid., 253 and 296.
- 5 Ibid., 199 and 238.
- 6 Ibid., 330.
- 7 St. George Island Agent's Log, June 28, 1893, 290.
- 8 University of Notre Dame Archive, Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN, correspondence with Betty A. Lindsay, Nov. 24, 2003. William Gavitt and his brother John both attended Notre Dame; John entered Sept. 5, 1867, at age 16, and both brothers listed John Reitz as their guardian.
- 9 Joseph P. Elliott, *A History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County, Indiana* (Evansville, IN: Keller, 1897), 378–82; University of Notre Dame Archive, Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN, correspondence with Betty A. Lindsay, Nov. 24, 2003.
- 10 Elliott, *A History of Evansville*, 378–82.
- 11 U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 1.
- 12 Ibid., 179–207.
- 13 Ibid., 180.
- 14 Ibid., 283–5; "The Alaska Charges," *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1889, 3; and "The Alaskan Inquiry," *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1889, 6. It appears that author Dorothy Knee Jones relied heavily on U.S. Congress, House, H. Rep. no. 3883 to support many of her allegations regarding government malfeasance and abuse of the Aleuts in her *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule* (Washington, DC: Univ. Press of America). The H.R. no. 3883 report dealt with similar allegations, but only during Gavitt's year at St. George Island (May 1887 through Aug. 1888), while Jones held it up as evidence for nearly a century of events. In the 1940s, author and Aleut civil-rights advocate Fredericka Martin characterized Agent Tingle as an "arrogant" and "pompous and egoistical man" who commonly maligned the Natives (Fredericka Martin Collection, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Univ. of Fairbanks).
- 15 The *New York Times* article "Abuses in Alaska" writing style suggests that "Ryan" was the "witness" cited in the quote, but in actuality it may have meant "Gavitt."
- 16 "Abuses in Alaska," *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1888.
- 17 Richard Henry Geoghegan and Fredericka I. Martin, *The Aleut Language: The Elements of Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1944), 4–5.
- 18 Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 14.
- 19 Geoghegan and Martin, *The Aleut Language*, 4–5.
- 20 Richard Geoghegan served as a court reporter for U.S. District Judge James Wickersham (Orth, *Dictionary*, 14).
- 21 Possibly referring to the Kambojas, a Kshatriya tribe of Iron Age India, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kambojas> (accessed May 10, 2009).
- 22 Geoghegan and Martin, *The Aleut Language*, 5.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Geoghegan and Martin, *The Aleut Language*, 7. The last paragraph of their Introduction can be read in this book's Introduction.
- 25 Birth and death dates obtained from Gill's gravestone on St. Paul Island; the U.S. Census, 1860, Brooklyn, Kings County, NY, 96, provided approximate dates. Also see, St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Oct. 22, 1876, 465–7.
- 26 D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland From the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 241 and 333; and John A. Schutz, *Legislators of the Massachusetts General Court, 1691–1780: A Biographical Dictionary* (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1997), 408–9.
- 27 James Darrell Gill fonds ["fonds" is a term used in Canada for an archival unit], Administrative History/Biographical Sketch, Archives Canada, cain no. 206345, <http://www.archivescanada.ca/english> (accessed Mar. 12, 2007).

- 28 “Last Will and Testament of Caroline E. Gill,” *Newfoundland Will and Probate Books*, Avalon South Region, vol. 12, 1923, 306–8. Note: “Sitka was the See City of the Episcopal Missionary District of Alaska . . . Peter Trimble Rowe (1856–1942) was made Episcopal Bishop of Alaska in 1895,” according to “History of St. Peter’s by-the-Sea,” <http://www.southeastseafarer.org/stpeters.html> (accessed Mar. 14, 2007). While only the Russian Orthodox Church had and has any standing on St. Paul Island, Gill’s gravesite remains under good maintenance by the Orthodox Church as of 2008.
- 29 T. S. Palmer, “In Memoriam: Theodore Nicholas Gill,” *The Auk: A Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 32, no. 4 (Oct. 1915), 391–405; “United States Government 1893, United States Fish Commission,” <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/topic/preservation/gov/labor.htm> (accessed Mar. 14, 2007); and U.S. Government 1895–1896, http://www.worldstatesmen.org/USA_govt.html (accessed Mar. 14, 2007).
- 30 “A History of NOAA,” http://www.history.noaa.gov/legacy/noaahistory_5.html (accessed Dec. 1, 2005). The number of stations, i.e. 22, was the number of signal service stations in 1870. We did not determine whether this was the same number of stations specific to the year 1876.
- 31 “Weather Reckonings,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1876, 4; and “By act of Congress, approved June 10, 1872, the Signal Service was charged with the duty of providing such stations, signals, and reports as might be found necessary for extending its research in the interest of agriculture [sic],” http://www.archive.org/stream/historyofsignals00unitrich/historyofsignals00unitrich_djvu.txt (accessed May 23, 2009).
- 32 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, May 20, 1876, 412.
- 33 Ibid., 1876, 465–7.
- 34 Ibid., 1885, 364 (Apr. 10 and 21).
- 35 Ibid., May 29, 1885, 366.
- 36 Ibid., June 8, 1885, 367.
- 37 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 109.
- 38 Harrison County Genealogical Society, <http://www.dttwv01.org/hcgs/index.htm> (accessed Feb. 3, 2004). Clarksburg’s National Historic Site of Waldomore was built in 1839 by Waldo Potter Goff. The property was left to the city in 1930 by the will of May Goff Lowndes, sister to Charles J. Goff, “for library and museum purposes by the terms of her will,” *Charleston Daily Mail*, Sept. 15, 1930.
- 39 Obituary of Charles Goff, *Washington Post*, Jan. 10, 1905, 3; and G. Wayne Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.: A Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1959), 348.
- 40 Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.*, 1.
- 41 Ibid., 6.
- 42 Civil War Revised Index, image #1005, May 21, 1903, application no. 1300277, Goff, Charles J., Ancestry.com.
- 43 NARA film no. T9-1403, 94–95.
- 44 Ibid., T9-1403, 205C.
- 45 Ibid., T9-1403, 351.
- 46 Information from the *Acts of the West Virginia Legislature* regarding many of Charles Goff’s business ventures can be found in the West Virginia Memory Project history timeline <http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/timelinedetail> (accessed January 9, 2004).
- 47 Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.*, 220.
- 48 Ibid., 214.
- 49 Ibid. H. H. McIntyre was Hugh Henry McIntyre, former superintendent of the Alaska Commercial Company for the Pribilof Islands, 1870–90. Charles J. Goff made his acquaintance while serving as Treasury agent on St. Paul Island in 1889.
- 50 West Virginia Memory Project history timeline, <http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/timelinedetail> (accessed January 9, 2004).
- 51 Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.*, 215.
- 52 “Captain Goff’s Death,” *Clarksburg Telegram*, Jan. 9, 1905; special acknowledgement to David Houchin, Clarksburg-Harrison Public Library, for providing photographs and research materials on the Goff family.
- 53 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 111–2.

- 54 Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* (Chicago: G. & C. Merriam, 1971), 608.
- 55 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 215. Also published as U.S. Congress, House, 1898, 55th Congress, 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 92, vol. 1. Washington, DC: GPO.
- 56 Ibid., 202.
- 57 Ibid., 201.
- 58 Ibid., 215.
- 59 U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, House Resolution No. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 7–8. The reporting of the estimated numbers of fur seals for the period 1872–74 and each of the years 1890 through 1903 were presented by letter by Henry W. Elliott to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor on Jan. 8, 1904. Elliott also cited the documentation for each of the estimates. Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal*, *Callorhinus ursinus*, 1786–1964, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1984), discussed the size of the fur-seal herd over the years until 1911. They stated that the 1911 estimate of 123,600 seals (the lowest number on record) was probably too low, as a more reliable census taken during 1912 suggested the herd size was closer to 200,000 (p. 20). Still, the 123,600 to 200,000 estimate represented the low point of the fur-seal population in the Pribilof Islands during the American period of management.
- 60 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 228–9.
- 61 Ibid., 230–1.
- 62 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1890, 222 and 233.
- 63 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 233.
- 64 Ibid., 260.
- 65 Ibid., 242–3.
- 66 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 220. The reader is cautioned about taking too seriously “absolute” numbers provided in reports, books, etc. regarding the Seal Islands, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, according to U.S. Congress, Senate, *Revenue from Rental of the Seal Islands of Alaska*, 54th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Doc. no. 81 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1897), 5, the number of seals killed on the Pribilof Islands was 102,617 in 1889.
- 67 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 233.
- 68 Ibid., 235.
- 69 Ibid., 236.
- 70 Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.*, 233.
- 71 Charles S. Campbell Jr., “The Anglo-American Crisis in the Bering Sea, 1890–1891,” in *Alaska and its History*, ed. Morgan B. Sherwood (Seattle: Univ. Washington Press, 1967), 331–5.
- 72 Smith, *Nathan Goff Jr.*, 355.
- 73 “To Exterminate the Seals,” *New York Times*, May 1, 1891, 2.
- 74 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 10.
- 75 U.S. Census, 1900, Unalaska (town), Alaska, Southern District, 16.
- 76 Raymond L. Hudson, *Family After All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home*, vol. 1 (Unalaska, 1889–1925) (Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch, 2007), 17, 38, 83, and 165; St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1883, 298; 1887, 156–7; and U.S. Census, 1900, Unalaska (town), Alaska, Southern District, 16.
- 77 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1883, May 31, 298.
- 78 Ibid., Sept. 3, 1883, 311.
- 79 Ibid., May 8, 1884, 337.
- 80 Ibid., Apr. 28, 1887, 478.
- 81 Ibid., 1889, 157–8.



THE INTERIOR OF LUKAH'S BARRABAKIE.

Native's House, St. Paul's Village—July 28, 1873.

The Interior of Lukah's Barrabakie. Native's House, St. Paul's Village—July 28, 1873. *Henry Wood Elliott*, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.



CAPTURING FUR SEALS.

Natives running in between them and the water, turning them back upon the land—English Bay, St. Paul's Island—June 10, 1872.

Capturing Fur Seals. Natives Running in between them and the Water, Turning them back upon the Land—English Bay, St. Paul's Island—June 10, 1872. *Henry Wood Elliott*, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.

H

HAHN, WALTER L. (1879–1911)

Scientific Assistant, Naturalist, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, St. Paul Island, 1910

Genealogy

Walter L. Hahn was born at Bascom, Indiana, on May 20, 1879, to German immigrant parents. Walter Hahn married schoolteacher Alta F. Ives on June 14, 1910, at South Bend, St. Joseph County, Indiana. Walter Hahn died at St. Paul Island on May 31, 1911; Alta Hahn left the islands for Portage, Indiana, where she became a school principal.¹

Biographical Sketch

Walter Hahn was educated in Indiana schools. He graduated in 1903 from Indiana University with an AB degree and took a position as an aide for the U.S. National Museum. He became a scientific assistant for the Department of Agriculture in 1905, and in 1908, he received a PhD in zoology from Indiana University. Thereafter, he served as a scientific assistant in the Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Fisheries. Immediately before his assignment as naturalist on the Pribilof Islands, Hahn taught biology at the State Normal School in Springfield, South Dakota.²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. Walter L. Hahn was the first full-time naturalist stationed on the Seal Islands. The U.S. government created the naturalist position when it assumed full management and administrative responsibilities following the expiration of the final twenty-year lease to North American Commercial Company on May 1, 1910. Hahn's annual salary was \$3,000.

Dr. Hahn entered upon his duties as naturalist in the fall of 1910. His training, wide field experience, and well-known ability and enthusiasm as a zoologist and practical business man were assurance that his appointment to the position of naturalist, just established, would prove a wise selection. His report, written up to the very day of his death, shows that

he possessed a remarkably clear understanding of the problems with which he had to deal. Arriving at the islands August 23, 1910, he made daily observation and study of the seals and foxes throughout the fall, winter, and spring. He also gave attention to the birds and other animals on and about the islands, to the plants, and to meteorological phenomena, and gave much thought to the local educational problems and the intellectual and moral well-being of the natives, working out a system of education such as he believed best adapted to their needs.³

What began as a pleasant outing one day just months after his arrival on the island ended in the deaths of Walter Hahn and a companion.

On May 31, 1911, a distressing accident occurred on St. Paul Island. Dr. Harry D. Chichester, assistant agent, and Dr. Walter L. Hahn, the naturalist on the seal islands, with their wives and a native, Neon Tetof [sic], while sailing on the lagoon were unable to put about successfully in the high wind and by the capsizing of their boat were exposed to the ice-cold water for more than an hour. All were alive when rescued, and Mrs. Chichester and Mrs. Hahn, by the diligent efforts of the physician were resuscitated. The native also survived, but Dr. Chichester and Dr. Hahn, necessarily left without medical attention for a time, succumbed to the effects of the exposure.⁴

Additional details about the accident are provided in the Chichester and Neon Tetoff biographies.

HAJNY, RICHARD (1921–2004)

Resident Biologist, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, St. Paul Island, 1964–1970

Genealogy

Richard Hajny was born on May 20, 1921, in Fairfield, Nebraska, to Frank Willard Hajny and Mary B. (Mazour) Hajny. Richard met nurse Dixie Alene West in Wrangell, Alaska, where they married on May 26, 1948 at St. Rose of Lima Church.⁵ Richard and Dixie Hajny raised three children on St. Paul Island: Francis (Frank), Phyllis, and Matthew. Richard Hajny died in Seattle on February 8, 2004. Dixie Hajny died on April 18, 2006.

Biographical Sketch

Richard Hajny first traveled to Alaska in 1939 while serving with the U.S. Coast Guard in Southeast Alaska. After WWII, he attended Oregon State University and worked summers as a research biologist in the Aleutians for the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. On St. Paul Island, his wife, Dixie, served the community in her capacity as a registered nurse and even, when the need arose, as the island's doctor. Their daughter, Phyllis, returned to St. Paul Island during adulthood and married Simeon Swetzof, who is (in 2008) Mayor of the City of St. Paul. Phyllis became active in civic affairs and serves as St. Paul City Clerk.⁶

Pribilof Islands Experience

Richard “Dick” Hajny arrived in the Pribilofs in 1964 and served as the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries’ first resident biologist on the islands; his job was to record the movements of reindeer, foxes and seals. Up to that time the resident managers, although biologists, did not undertake any scientific endeavors. Hajny resided on St. Paul Island from 1964 until August 1967, when his position was relocated to Seattle. However, he continued to work summers in the Pribilofs and spent the off-season in the Seattle office. In 1966, he was instrumental in the conversion of seal-pelt blubbing from manual labor to mechanical means. The increase in efficiency led to lower production cost, but at the expense of jobs, although many of the job losses affected only those who came to the islands solely for employment during the summer seal harvest. Hajny resided in the island community during the passage of the Fur-Seal Act of 1966. He served as biologist until his retirement in 1970.⁷

On October 3, 1970, just before Hajny’s retirement, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries was renamed the National Marine Fisheries Service, and transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Commerce, within Commerce’s National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Although retired from government service, Richard and Dixie Hajny remained involved with the Pribilof Islands. Together they returned to provide wildlife presentations and served as guides to summer tour groups. Richard Hajny was recognized for his ivory craftsmanship.⁸ In 2008, the family of Richard and Dixie Hajny “cast their ashes over Southwest Point so that they may remain forever on St. Paul Island.”⁹



*Dixie and Richard Hajny, circa 1960.
(Photo: Robert L. Ball. Courtesy Phyllis Swetzof.)*

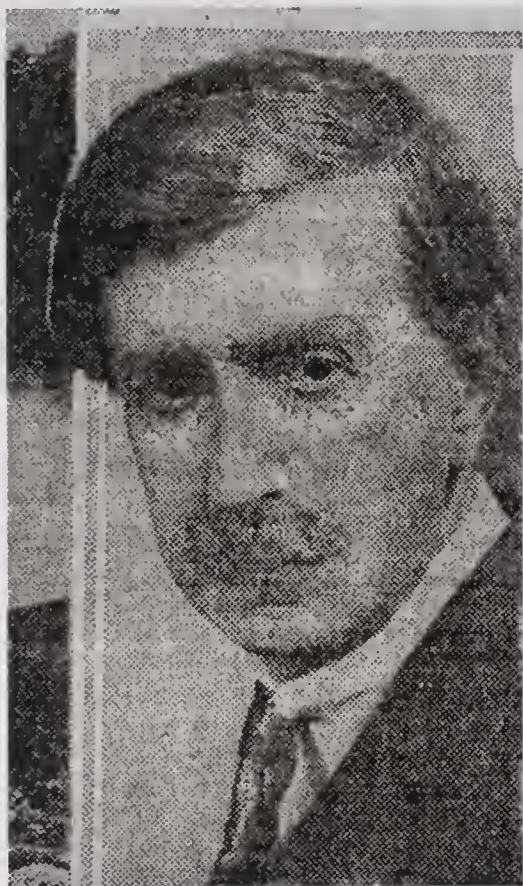


Matt and father Richard Hajny, St. George Island, September 1964. (Courtesy Phyllis Swetzof.)

HALEY, GEORGE AND CORA (1870–1954 AND 1872–1931)

Teachers, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. George Island, 1914–1915

St. Paul Island, 1915–1920



George Haley, 1926. (Nadia Lavrova, San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 26, 1926.)

Genealogy

George Haley was born November 28, 1870, to stonemason William Smith Haley and Lucinda Ellen (Gray) Haley of Brownfield, Maine. On February 26, 1906, George married Cora M. Giles in Brownfield, Maine. Cora, born February 19, 1872, was the daughter of Mary E. (Snow) Giles and Loring R. Giles, a Brownfield dry goods merchant. As newlyweds, George and Cora traveled to Japan just two weeks before the San Francisco earthquake in April 1906. Cora Haley passed away in Berkeley, California, on December 4, 1931.¹⁰ George Haley died at San Francisco in 1954.

Biographical Sketch

George Haley graduated in 1891 from Fryeburg Academy, Fryeburg, Maine. He earned a Bachelor of Science degree in 1911 from the University of Maine and in 1928 a Doctor of Philosophy in biology from the University of San Francisco (St. Ignatius College). He would later head the university's biology department. Cora Giles was a normal school graduate and became a teacher.¹¹

George Haley was brought up on a farm where he developed the lifetime love for flora and fauna that ultimately made him famous on several continents. Dr. Whitman G. Stickney, a childhood cohort, wrote, "He was a born teacher whose influence extended far beyond the classroom . . . everywhere he went he imparted information to young and old, with a contagious enthusiasm."¹² Dr. Haley also taught English and mathematics at the Japanese Naval College, Tokyo.¹³

Pribilof Islands Experience

George and Cora Haley succeeded G Dallas Hanna and his wife as teachers on St. George Island, beginning September 26, 1914. George Haley taught the senior students while Cora worked with those of kindergarten age (Junior School), as well as teaching older girls in sewing classes. Although the school had recently been enlarged and remodeled when the Haleys began teaching, it remained a one-room schoolhouse. A strong emphasis was placed upon the teaching of English, a language still not widely accepted by the Native communities in the Pribilofs thirty-eight years after cession from Russia.

The Haleys wrote a long report at the end of the school year on May 26, 1915. Only excerpts made it into the agency's annual report, and the even shorter excerpts given here are meant as representations of their devotion to teaching. Their report attempted to communicate their perception of the educational shortfalls on the island along with their apparently sincere attempts to overcome them.

One of the greatest obstacles in the progress of the pupils here is the fact that they do not speak English. With one or two exceptions, English is spoken in none of the homes, so when the child comes to school at the age of six years his vocabulary is usually limited to the words, "good-by," "yes," and "no". It is not difficult for a child to acquire a working knowledge of a foreign tongue under the proper conditions. Many of the children of the foreign-born citizens of the United States hear only their native tongue in their homes; but when they enter the public schools not only the language of the school but the language of the playground is English, and the playground is where the child gets the greater part of his practice in speaking. It is in free conversation that one learns to think in a foreign tongue. Such children usually are desirous of speaking English—it may be with no higher motive than because "the others do"—and the parents encourage progress in English, feeling that whatever line of work the children will follow after leaving school it will be an aid in their advancement. Here the conditions are very different—the medium of communication of the playground is Aleut, so as soon as the threshold of the school building is passed there is no attempt to speak English. Then apparently the parents feel no interest in their children speaking English. It may be that they see no advantage in it.

... Objects familiar to the children and animal and plant life of the island have been made subjects of the language lessons both for oral and written work. Some games have been taught the children in the hope that the English words used would become common in their undirected plays. When the weather permitted, a short walk was a part of the daily program for the little ones, during which time an endeavor was always made that the conversation should be in English, thus names of out-of-door objects and actions have been acquired without a conscious effort. During the last of the spring months, nature lessons have been given, not only that the children might have some knowledge of animals and plants of the island but also as a means of cultivating the power of observation.¹⁴

The Haleys remained on St. George Island for one school year before transferring to St. Paul Island, where George taught school for five more years and Cora for four. The agent's annual report for the 1915–16 school year on St. Paul commended the Haleys' educational progress.

Special effort was made to have the children speak and read English and to think in that language, and much ingenuity was displayed by the teachers in their efforts to secure the desired results. Attention was given to the health of the pupils and gymnastics were made a part of the regular program. Music, games, and nature-study work were interspersed with the more formal phases of school routine. The increased facility in the use of English on the part of the children, and the marked improvement in their conduct and general appearance, have been made the subject of very favorable comment.¹⁵



One-room junior (kindergarten) schoolhouse, St. Paul Island, November 1914. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: G Dallas Hanna. RG 22, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1907–1921.)

Dr. Haley was also an avid naturalist who endeavored to understand the Seal Islands' natural history. The following excerpts were taken from the field notes of Dr. George Haley as obtained from the Special Collections of the California Academy of Sciences. He gathered these notes while holding his teaching position on the Pribilof Islands. In his notes, Dr. Haley did not italicize or underline species names and several species were either misspelled or incorrectly identified.



Cliff top above Kitovi Rookery, St. Paul Island, July 1971. Roy Hurd (left) and U.S. Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans (right). (NARA Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987. RG 22-95-ADMC-1131.)

FIELD NOTES ON THE COMMON PLANTS OF THE PRIBILOF ISLANDS

On the treeless slopes of the Pribilof Islands, spring and autumn clasp hands. When the drift ice passes away, the fogs surround the hills and valleys. Dr. C.H. Merriman, of the Bering Sea Commissioners, gives a concise description of the natural features. . . "In summer the islands are almost constantly enveloped in fog. The atmosphere is saturated (the wet and dry bulbs registering the same) and the temperature is uniformly low, the thermometer ranging from 45 to 48 degrees F. or rarely to 50 degrees F."

The sand dunes abound with *Cochlearia officinalis*, *Arenaria peploides*, *Lathrus maritimus* [sic], *Mertensia maritima* [sic] and one species of *Polemonium*. On the cliffs are found *Draba hirta*, *Arabis ambigua*, *Sagina linnaei*, and *Saxifraga bracteata*. Near the villages will be found *Ranunculus hyperboreus*, *Ranunculus reptans* (in ponds) and *Chrysanthemum arcticum* (edge of bogs). In the bogs may be found *Rubus chamaemorus*, *Pedicularis sudetica*, and *Palasites* [sic] *frigida*. On the grassy slopes of the uplands are found the mats of *Silene acaulis*, *Arenaria macrocarpa* [sic] Pursh, and *Eritrichium chamissonis*.

The yellow acres of poppies and blue valleys of lupines are characteristic of the landscape. The heaths are pink with the figworts, *Pedicularis langsdo.rfii*, and blue patches of blue bells abound. The "Poochka" (*Umbelliferae*) is the largest of any plant on the islands, the foxes can hide in the masses of vegetation. The natives eat the stalks early in the spring.

The plants are in a constant dilemma; to be conspicuous to the insects in order to be fertilized; to be inconspicuous in raising their heads in the face of wind and weather. Hence, the brilliant masses of color and the low mats of vegetation.

The indigenous species have, as a rule, minute seeds. Because of their small size they might have been carried on the feet of aquatic birds or in their alimentary canals. The drift ice in winter and the high winds would possibly carry other seeds. It is significant that a new volcanic island (Bogoslof) south of the Pribilofs, had some grass and a few primroses only three years after being raised above the water.

An iris (*Iris setosa*) has recently been found near the site of the old Russian village, west of North Rookery, St. George and the geranium at Whitney Pond, St. Paul may have been introduced from Unalaska where both species are abundant. Since the above writing, the writer has been on St. Paul again (1925) and found *G. erianthum* growing abundantly on north slope of Lake Hill.

George Haley ended his service in the island schools at the close of the 1920 school year.¹⁶ Cora Haley resigned from teaching on St. Paul Island in 1919 and spent the early part of 1920 with her mother and brother in Brownfield, Maine, as noted in the 1920 U.S. Census.

When Mrs. Haley was dying in 1931, she asked that she be buried on far off St. Paul's Island of the Pribilofs among the rocks they both loved so much. Mrs. Haley's ashes were flown to St. Paul Island where they were inurned deep in a rock crevice close to the shore where wind-lashed waves will wash back and forth until an H-bomb war possibly changes the flow of tides.¹⁷

Sorrowful natives, some her former students, conducted a burial service for her in the [rites] of the Greek Catholic faith. From that day until the Aleuts living there were taken to the Alaskan coast for their own safety when war came even to their barren waste land, hardy wild flowers were kept growing near the little stone slab bearing the name, "Mrs. Cora Giles Haley." After the war ended the natives returned, new flowers were planted. George's last request was that his ashes be buried beside his wife's grave on St. Paul Island.¹⁸

Karl W. Kenyon, seal biologist with the Fish and Wildlife Service, received Dr. Haley's ashes on September 9, 1954, at St. Paul Island. The following is an excerpt from his kindly letter to Dr. Robert C. Miller, Director of the California Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Haley's ashes reached the Pribilofs shortly before I left; thus I was not on hand for the funeral. . . . I did speak briefly to one of the natives who was present at the funeral. Mr. Roy Hurd, who was at that time Agent in charge of St. Paul Island, was the government representative who witnessed the burial. Two natives who had known Dr. Haley, Gabriel Stepatin, and Elary Gromoff, were also present and Elary told me that a small metal plaque was inscribed to mark the grave, which is near Kamenista.¹⁹

In 1960, after a forty-year absence, naturalist G Dallas Hanna revisited St. Paul Island (as discussed below in his biography). Dr. Hanna was a friend of the Haleys and was requested to place a more durable, engraved plaque at their resting place by Kamanista.



Plaques at George and Cora Haley's gravesite, St. Paul Island, circa 1960s. (Courtesy Ann Baltzo.)





George and Cora Haley gravesite at the southerly base of Kaminista Ridge and quarry, St. Paul Island, May 2008. (Photo: John A. Lindsay, NOAA.)

Hanna wrote about the tribute: “On the morning of June 13, I suggested to Mr. [Howard] Baltzo that we would need a lunch because it was an all day’s walk to Kamanista. He said, ‘You can drive there in ten minutes,’ and he was right!”²⁰ The above photographs taken in 2008 show the general location of the Haley gravesite and the plaques placed by their friend G Dallas Hanna.

HANNA, G DALLAS (1887–1970)

Employee, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1913–1920

St. George Island, Assistant Warden, 1913; Teacher and Radio Operator, 1913–1914; Census-Taker, summers 1913–1920

St. Paul Island Teacher, 1914–1915; Storekeeper, 1916–1919; Assistant Agent and Agent, October 1916–June 1917; Paleontologist, Curator, California Academy of Sciences, 1919–ca. 1970

Genealogy

G Dallas Hanna was born on April 24, 1887, in Carlisle, Lonoke County, Arkansas, to Franklin Pierce Douglas Hanna, a schoolteacher and farmer, and Rosanna Martha (Bateman) Hanna. G Dallas Hanna married Texas-born Elizabeth F. Farquhar (April 16, 1884–January 7, 1954) on July 29, 1913, on St. Paul Island, according to the 1913 govern-

ment Agent's Log. G and Rosanna had one daughter, Edna, born on St. Paul Island in 1915. Elizabeth served as a teacher during her years on the islands. G Hanna's second marriage was to Margaret Scott Moore (September 4, 1906–1997), born in Orange, Franklin County, Massachusetts. Margaret was the daughter of dairyman John Moore and Grace M. (Perkins) Moore.²¹ G Dallas Hanna died November 29, 1970 at San Francisco, California.²²

Biographical Sketch

G Dallas Hanna's first field position, following graduation from the University of Kansas, took him as an employee of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries to Alaska's Bristol Bay area in the spring of 1911. His apparent mission was:

to find out everything he could about the fisheries, aquatic biology, and miscellaneous wildlife resources of the area. . . .

In the winter of 1912–13 he made a historic trip of a thousand miles by dog sled, from the head of Bristol Bay to Idadorod [sic] and return. . . . He collected 800 birds and mammals for the United States National Museum. . . . All that science needed was the skin and skulls. The meat he apportioned between himself and his sled dogs. . . .

His new assignment [1913–1920] was to the Pribilof Islands, more remote and wet and cold and fog-bound even than Bristol Bay. Here he kept count of the Alaskan fur seal-herd . . . and formed lasting friendships with the local human inhabitants, both Aleuts and the few resident whites, through his interest in them and his ingenuity in suggesting new solutions to the particular problems of an inhospitable environment.

In addition to his duties as custodian and census-taker of the fur seals on their breeding grounds, Dr. Hanna studied the general natural history of the Pribilofs and published papers on both the birds and the mammals. He also interested himself in the geology and paleontology of the islands, and took up the study of fossil diatoms—a specialty that was to play an important role in his subsequent career. . . .

Dr. Hanna's interest in microfossils . . . began in 1916 when working on a fossil diatom deposit on St. Paul Island; he designed a new type of "mechanical finger" clamped to his microscope for greater ease in handling and mounting individual diatom specimens for study. This is still the best apparatus available for such extremely delicate work and is in constant use today.²³

In a fifty-year career, Hanna became recognized as a leading paleontologist and inventor of equipment for scientific research. He served as director of the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory at Point Barrow (1955–57) and continued his research in the arctic throughout his life. He conducted geological field explorations for the National Academy of Sciences. He introduced the use of microfossils for the identification of oil-bearing



G Dallas and wife Margaret, St. Paul Island, 1960. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987. RG 22-95-ADMC-2209.)

strata (Reiber-Hanna, patent no. 1,665,058. April 13, 1928). At the California Academy of Sciences he led a team that designed and constructed the Morrison Planetarium projector, at the time considered the finest of its kind in the world. He also worked with Eastman Kodak Company (1954) in the development of a precise and inexpensive color printing process.²⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

When the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, sent G Dallas Hanna to the Pribilof Island of St. George as an assistant warden and teacher in 1913,²⁵ no one could have envisioned the impact the man would have on conserving the history of the islands. Hanna took numerous photographs of daily life experiences, the sealing processes, work crews, families at work and at play, school children, plant life, birds, landscapes, seal rookeries, young and old seals, and buildings being constructed, moved or razed. Along with photographs he gathered field collections of biological, geological, and paleontological specimens; and he compiled meticulous notes while also writing daily logs on St. George and St. Paul islands (1916–1917 and 1918, respectively).



G Dallas Hanna in the fur-seal lab on St. Paul Island, 1915. (NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)

After learning that the St. George Tanaq Corporation had acquired many of Hanna's original 5x7 inch and 8x10 inch glass plate negatives of photographs taken on the Pribilof Islands, NOAA worked collaboratively with the Native corporation in 2007–2008 to catalogue and temporarily conserve the negatives. Together, these entities enlisted the assistance of the Anchorage Museum at Rasmuson to scan the negatives. Subsequently, the negatives were transferred along with electronic files of the images to the National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Alaska Region, in Anchorage, Alaska, for permanent

conservation.²⁶ The field collections are found largely at the U.S. National Museum in Washington, D.C., and the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco, California. Nine percent (forty-one) of his 438 publications from 1909–1961 listed by the California Academy of Sciences focused on the Pribilof Islands, covering the period 1914 to 1951.²⁷ Examples include his doctoral thesis “The Alaskan Fur Seal” (1918); “Geological Notes on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, with an Account of the Fossil Diatoms” (1918); “Random Notes on Alaska Snow Buntings” (1923); and “Rare mammals of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska” (1923).

In 1923, Hanna attempted to publish a manuscript recounting his observations and experiences on the Seal Islands infused with historical background of the islands. His draft manuscript, entitled “The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands” was found among files at NOAA's National Marine Mammal Laboratory (NMML) Library in Seattle, Washington. Hanna had been unsuccessful in his attempts to publish the manuscript. This junior author

edited and published Hanna's eighty-five-year-old manuscript as a limited edition in 2008 through NOAA and the Government Printing Office.

Amazingly, G and Elizabeth also taught school on the islands. Also, "For a period of several months, beginning in October, 1913, the radio station on St. George Island was operated by Mr. G. Dallas Hanna, the Bureau's schoolteacher on the island."²⁸

The Pribilof Islands offered many avenues for Hanna to expand his natural history research and studies, and in June of 1919, he received a PhD from George Washington University. His thesis concerned the natural history of the Pribilof Islands. While Hanna subsequently accepted an appointment with the California Academy of Sciences in 1919, he continued to work on the Pribilofs during the summers of 1919 and 1920.

In 1919 he accepted an appointment as Curator of the Department of Paleontology [now Geology] in the California Academy of Sciences, at the invitation of the Academy's then director, Barton Warren Evermann, who—in his previous capacity as chief of the Alaska Division of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries—had acquired first-hand knowledge of Dr. Hanna's brilliant mind and versatile abilities.²⁹

In 1960, Hanna revisited St. Paul Island for one week in the company of his second wife Margaret and a Mr. K. K. Bechtel, President of the Belvedere Scientific Fund. Hanna visited with Agent Roy Hurd and Program Director Howard Baltzo, among others. The group asked Hanna numerous questions about his recollections of conditions and events on the island. They recorded the questions and answers on tape. The tape was later transcribed and titled "A Comparison of Conditions on St. Paul Island During 1913–1920 with the Present." Hanna also prepared a "resume," as he termed it, in a very limited edition of two copies. Copies of each document were sent to Victor B. Scheffer with the Fish and Wildlife Service at Sand Point, Seattle, Washington. Hanna wrote in his brief cover letter to Scheffer:

I am glad to be able to send you a copy of the "Comments." It is a very disconnected sort of thing and tape recording was new to me. Except for Mr. Bechtel's insistence I am sure it would not have been copies [sic].

After returning from St. Paul, I wrote out a resume of my observations in what seems to me to be in better form. I have only two copies of this but have enclosed it with the tape recording. If you should have it copied by any chance, you might send it back to me; or a substitute copy would do.

Scheffer left a typed copy of Hanna's August 5, 1960, six-page, plus two maps and one photograph, "resume" titled "Random Comparisons of St. Paul Island as Observed by Dr. G. Dallas Hanna in 1960 After an Absence of 40 Years" in the files at the NMML Library in Seattle. Scheffer presumably returned the original two copies back to Hanna, as per Scheffer's statement in a letter of reply dated December 12, 1960, which is also in the NMML Library files.

HANSON (HANSSON), ALEXANDER (1858–1896)

Seal Skin Expert, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1886–1896



*Alex Hanson and Anton Melovidov, 1892.
(SIA-80-13428.)*

Genealogy

The 1894 U.S. Census of St. Paul Island listed Alexander “Alex” Hanson as a thirty-six-year-old bachelor. The 1895 census recorded his marriage to Lukina (aka Lukaria and Lukeria; nickname Lucy)³⁰ Kushin, born on St. Paul Island on January 1, 1877. Lukina was the daughter of Aggie and Mary Kushin. Lukina’s two-year old son, Nestor Kushin, born November 7, 1892, on St. Paul Island,³¹ was the third member of the Alexander and Lukina Hanson family. Alex Hanson died on Sunday, May 17, 1896, a month after the birth of the couple’s son, John (April 9, 1896). The St. Paul Agent’s Log noted:

Native fishing, only 4 fish caught. Among those fishing was Alex. Hanson. Upon his return home he dropped dead of heart failure. Every effort was made to discern signs of life without success.³²

In 1901 widow Lukeria (Kushin) Hanson married Alexander Galaktionef (born at Atka in 1872) on St. Paul Island. The St. Paul Island Census of 1910 showed Alexander and Lukeria Galaktionef had the following four children from their marriage and two from other unions: Mary, born May 29, 1902; Matrona, October 17, 1903; Aggie, November 3, 1906; Anna Hanson, stepdaughter, born August 14, 1900;³³ John Hanson, born 1896 (left St. Paul Island for Salem Indian Training School in Chemawa, Oregon³⁴ on June 29, 1911); and Nestor Kushin, stepson, born November 7, 1892.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Alexander Hanson³⁵ deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 30, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is an excerpt from that deposition.

I am 34 years of age, a native of Sitka, Alaska, and was educated in the public schools of California, and afterwards attended school six years in Lovisa, Finland, returning to the United States in 1875, when 18 years old. I immediately took service as a second mate on the schooner *Matthew Turner*, and later on the steamer *Dora*, vessels of the Alaska Commercial Company sailing to Alaska, and was employed a great part of the time, for two years and a half, in the Unalaska district. In 1886, I went to St. Paul Island of the Pribilof group, and have since remained there constantly from that time until August, 1891. I was employed there in various occupations in connection with sealing, but chiefly in handling sealskins and as one of the killing gang, and am familiar with every phase of the business.³⁶

HANSON (HANSEN), JOHN (1896–1950)

Sealer, Reindeer Herdsman, Seal Foreman, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

John Hanson was born April 9, 1896, on St. Paul Island to Alexander Hanson and Lukina (Lukaria, Lukeria; nickname Lucy³⁷) Kushin Hanson (see Alexander Hanson biography). John married Chionia Stepetin on August 9, 1916, on St. Paul. Chionia was born December 16, 1895, on the island, the daughter of Dorofay Stepetin. According to the St. Paul Island 1930 Census, John and Chionia had three children born on St. Paul Island: Frances, a daughter, born December 30, 1917; Xenofont, a son, born February 9, 1919; and John Alexander Jr., born February 4, 1920. On June 9, 1950, John Hanson Sr. was buried on St. Paul Island, with the whole village joining in a procession to the cemetery.

Biographical Sketch

John Hanson left St. Paul Island for Salem Indian Training School in Chemawa, Oregon, on June 29, 1911. According to the island's 1920 census, he had returned to St. Paul Island from Oregon and was working as a sealer. He became the island's reindeer herdsman and, later, the sealing crew foreman on St. Paul.

Soon after John Hanson's passing, his son Xenofont found a fossilized mammoth tooth on the beach in the wake of a storm at Northeast Point, while beachcombing with zoologist Victor B. Scheffer. Scheffer wrote:

My companion was Xenophon [sic] Hanson, a native of St. Paul who speaks the Aleut tongue as well as English. He was born on the island and now works for the Government as an electrician. He suddenly stooped and picked up a strange object, which he is shown holding in the accompanying illustration [next page].

Brushing off the sand he brought it to me, turning it over curiously in his hands. One glance revealed that it was a cheek tooth of the mammoth, a relative of the elephant, gone from the face of the earth for 10,000 years. Not since the 1890's had mammoth remains been found on St. Paul Island. We took the tooth to the village and found that it measured nine and one-quarter inches in length and weighed three pounds, eleven ounces. It seemed to be partially fossilized, although it was not embedded in a stony matrix. . . . Since 1836, discoveries of mammoth remains on the Pribilof Islands have been reported five times. The most recent find before Hanson's was one made by Dr. Robert Evans Snodgrass in 1897, in a volcanic cave on St. Paul.³⁸



Left to right: Justinia Stepetin with her mother, Marva, and Chionia Stepetin Hanson. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-138, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Xenophont Hanson with mammoth tooth found on St. Paul Island, 1950. (NOAA, NMML Library, Scheffer Coll., 2777.)



John Hanson burial procession, St. Paul Island, 1950. (NOAA, NMML Library, Scheffer Coll., 2756.)



*John Hanson measuring the length of a northern fur seal carcass, St. Paul Island.
(NOAA, NMML Library)*

HARRINGTON, JOHN PEABODY (1883–1961)

Anthropological Linguist, U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology

Genealogy

John Peabody Harrington was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, on April 29, 1883, to Elliott Harrington, a prominent lawyer, and Mary L. (Peabody) Harrington. John Harrington was married briefly to Carabeth Tucker, with whom he had a daughter, Awona.³⁹

Biographical Sketch

John Harrington and family moved to Santa Barbara, California, in 1886. At Santa Barbara, Harrington's interest in Native languages began while listening to the Indians speak at the local mission. After his graduation from Stanford University in 1905, he began his life's work, "to collect extensive and accurate linguistic data from the nearly extinct languages of Southern California."⁴⁰ However, he would end up expanding that goal. In 1915 he joined the Bureau of American Ethnology, where he concentrated his research on ethnologic and linguistic studies.⁴¹ "From then until his retirement, nearly forty years later, Harrington had . . . virtually unbounded freedom to wander the North American continent carrying out his mission of linguistic and cultural documentation."⁴² Now housed at the Smithsonian Institution, his collection contains data for 125 languages gathered from California and the Far West.

Carabeth Tucker and John Harrington were research colleagues. In 1975, at nearly 80, Carabeth Laird published a biographical portrait of her former husband under the title *Encounter with an Angry God*.



John Peabody Harrington (left) and Father Makary Baranov (right), St. Paul Island, circa 1942. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-216, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



John (Ivan) Yatchmeneff. (John P. Harrington Papers, NAA, 81-13607.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

John Peabody Harrington worked at St. Paul Island from October to mid-December 1941, studying Aleut customs, taking photographs, and collecting linguistic sounds in the form of descriptive stories. He acquired “an extensive [Aleut] vocabulary and a number of written texts” with the assistance of scribe John (Ivan) Yatchmeneff, who was the son of ethnographer Waldemar Jochelson’s assistant Aleksey M. Yachmenev⁴³ (see Jochelson’s biography). In December 1941, Harrington made a series of sound recordings on eighteen-inch aluminum discs, capturing the Aleut language in both word and song. According to James R. Glenn in 1991, fifteen discs were archived at the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives (NAA), and thirteen others at the National Archives and Records Administration.⁴⁴ The interviews on the recordings at the NAA are a mix of Aleut, English, and Russian. The following thirteen titles are among those listed in the NAA inventory: (1) The Pribilof Place Names and Words for Animals and Plants in English and Aleut; (2) A Shipwreck Experience in British Columbia and Animals of the Islands; (3) Animals and Plants; (4) Professor Waldemar Jochelson’s Visit and the Bird Reserve on St. George Island; (5) Native Rights; (6) Aleut Prayer Book Reading; (7) Russian Attack at Umnak; (8) A Story of Two Drunken Aleuts Fighting; (9) The Preface to Veniaminov’s Evangelism; (10) Bible Readings; (11) Fox and Lemming Story; (12) Seal Drive Story; and (13) Personal Experiences.⁴⁵

Local Aleuts identified as interviewees included (although several names are misspelled) Ivan (John) Yatchmeneff, John Paul Marr, the Reverend Makary Baranoff, John Merkulieff, Nikifor Madrugin, Kondrat Krukoff, and Gabriel Stepatin.

HAYS, CAPTAIN JOHN M.

Master Mariner, Alaska Commercial Company

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain John Hays gave his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on March 31, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is an excerpt:

I reside in San Francisco, and am by occupation master of a vessel. Have been in the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company since 1881, and in the discharge of my duties have visited annually, with one exception, the different trading posts on the islands of the Aleutian Archipelago, and on the Alaskan coast in the Bering Sea as far north as St. Michaels, and prior to 1890 I went annually to the seal islands in the Bering Sea.⁴⁶

HEALY, CAPTAIN MICHAEL AUGUSTINE (1839–1904)

U.S. Revenue Marine Service, 1865–1903

Genealogy

Michael Augustine Healy was born on September 22, 1839,⁴⁷ on a 1,600-acre plantation⁴⁸ near Macon, Georgia. Michael was the youngest son of Irish immigrant plantation owner Michael Morris Healy (b. ca. 1785–d. 1850), and Mary (aka Maria) Eliza Clark Smith (1802–1850), a mulatto slave purchased by the senior Michael Healy from Sam Griswold, a gun manufacturer of Clinton, Georgia. Mary Smith was the slave daughter of Major James Smith and his slave, also named Maria and also of Clinton, Georgia.⁴⁹



Michael Healy aboard USRC Bear, 1895. (USCG Museum.)

Under Georgia law, the senior Healy could not marry a slave; the two entered into a common-law relationship. Georgia law at the time also prevented slave owners from freeing their slaves except by a special act of the state legislature.⁵⁰ Because Mary was technically a slave, so were their ten children, including Michael Augustine Healy.

Michael A. Healy married Mary Jane Roach (1835–1907), daughter of John and Margaret Roach, in Boston, Massachusetts, on 31 January 1865. Margaret Healy accompanied Michael on many voyages to the Bering Sea and bore him one son, Frederick A. Healy (1870–1912).⁵¹

Michael Augustine Healy died of a heart attack one year after retirement on August 30, 1904, at San Francisco, California.⁵²

Biographical Sketch

The local Georgia schools closed their doors to the Healy “slave” children. In 1837, Michael Morris Healy defiantly determined that his children would not be deprived of an education. He sought opportunity for his children in the North. Several of the Healy brothers enrolled at Holy Cross College, and in 1849, the young Michael A. Healy enrolled at Holy Cross grammar school in Worcester, Massachusetts.⁵³ William Lucey’s book *The Catholic Church In Maine* examined the Healy story and offered some background as to how the Healy children ended up at Holy Cross College:

A providential meeting between Michael Healy, the father, and Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, changed the lives of the Healy children. The bishop told him to send his sons to Holy Cross College in Worcester, only one year in operation, and his daughters to Boston where his own sister would look out for them. In the fall of 1844, the four Healys enrolled at the college, Sherwood coming from the plantation to join James, Hugh and Patrick who were in New Jersey.⁵⁴

The younger Michael Healy ran away from school several times, twice from Holy Cross and once from a Catholic school in Quebec. Eventually the call of the sea won out over education in his mind.⁵⁵

In 1855, not quite sixteen years of age and thanks to his influential brother James, Michael Healy embarked on a life at sea as mate aboard the clipper ship *Jumna* out of the port of Boston. After ten years on merchant ships where his career fared poorly, Michael received an appointment from Abraham Lincoln to the Revenue Marine Service. At that time an appointment to a respectable government position required “the support of influential benefactors.” Purportedly, his brother James, now personal secretary to the Catholic Bishop of Boston, had attained sufficient political status to arrange for the appointment. Michael had matured and had been passing for white; otherwise he probably would not have made it into the ranks of either the Navy or Revenue Marine. He now dedicated his life to the Service and rose in rank from third lieutenant on March 4, 1865, to captain on March 3, 1883.⁵⁶

Michael Healy became known as “Hell Roaring Mike” by the men who served with him. He never lost a ship under his command, but he did lose the respect of his crew when, in the last six years of his service, he began to show signs of drinking to excess. Charges were brought against him twice. On the second occasion he was demoted, but he was restored to the rank of captain a year before his retirement in September 1903. Through it all, his wife Mary Jane remained loyal.⁵⁷

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain Michael A. Healy deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 7, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is from his deposition:

I am a citizen of the United States. I am now and have been for the last twenty-five years an officer in the United States Revenue Marine Service, and have been on duty nearly all the time in the waters of the North Pacific, Bering and Arctic Seas. For the past six years I have been in command of the United States revenue steamer *Bear*, prior to which time I had command of the United States revenue steamer *Corwin* for six years; both of which vessels



Captain Michael Healy (standing second row, third from the left), Mary and John Tuck of the Jessie Lee Home (standing, first and second on the left), and young ladies (seated) from St. Paul Island going to school at the Jessie Lee home, Unalaska. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, "Cruise of the U.S.R.C. Bear, Alaska and Eastern Siberia, Summer 1895." Photo: John M. Justice. RG 26, Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, 26-CB.)

were employed almost exclusively in navigating the waters of Bering Sea, guarding the seal islands, and protecting the seals found in those waters from destruction by poaching vessels engaged in what is known as pelagic sealing. My first voyage was made to the seal islands in 1869, and I have cruised annually for the last twelve years in the Alaskan waters about the Pribilof Islands up to the present time.⁵⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

Captain Michael Healy commanded a succession of cutters: *Chandler* (1877), *Thomas Corwin* (1880–86), *Bear* (1886–95), *McCulloch* (circa 1900), *Golden Gate* and *Hartley* (circa 1901–02) and *Thetis* (1902–03).⁵⁹ During his years of service in the Bering Sea, Healy was not only captain of his ship, but he also served the people of the Pribilof Islands and Alaska as a census-taker, judge, mail carrier, and food and materials supplier. The uncontrolled exuberance of those Americans who went unleashed to feast upon Alaska's biological bounty brought famine and insult to Native societies by their introduction of alcohol, disease, firearms, and western culture. In an attempt to compensate for the reduction in subsistence resources, especially seals, whales and walrus, Captain Healy on the *Bear* cooperated with the Reverend Sheldon Jackson to arrange the delivery of the first

reindeer herd to Alaska from Indian Point, Siberia.⁶⁰ Healy, Lt. John C. Cantwell, and Dr. Charles H. Townsend, all credited with successfully introducing reindeer into Alaska,⁶¹ are much overshadowed by the contribution to the effort made by Sheldon Jackson. After some setbacks the program was eventually successful on both of the inhabited Pribilof Islands, where herds still roam free in the islands' moss- and lichen-rich areas.

HENRIQUES, CAPTAIN JOHN A. (1826–1906)

U.S. Revenue Marine Service, 1854–1906 (Captain 1866–1906)

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain John A. Henriques deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 7, 1892, before Notary Public George Y. Coffin at Washington, D.C. An excerpt follows.

of New London, Conn., being duly sworn, deposes and says: I am 65 years of age, and a captain in the U.S. Revenue Marine, and have been in the service for twenty-nine years. In the fall of 1868 I was ordered to Sitka and in the spring of 1869 received instructions to proceed at once with the revenue steamer *Lincoln* to Bering Sea in order to protect the seal life from depredations, information having been received that seal-skins had been taken from the Pribilof Islands by unauthorized persons during the previous season. . . . On the 13th of May I left Kodiak pursuant to orders, with 14 men of the Second Artillery and the commissioned officer, Lieutenant Mast. . . . On May 22nd, I landed a portion of the troops and Lieutenant Barnes, of the revenue service, with rations and stores, on St. Paul Island, one of the Pribilof group. The troops were here landed for the purpose of enforcing the United States Statute providing for the protection of seal life.

After landing I called all the natives together, and through an interpreter informed them of the purport of the orders and directions of the Treasury Department. . . . I had heard from the natives that seals were very timid, and thereupon ordered all the dogs on the island to be killed, which order was executed within ten minutes after it was given. I further asked the natives to surrender all firearms in their possession until the close of the sealing season. . . . this also they immediately did. During the time I was on the island I particularly noticed the care that the natives took not to disturb the seal rookeries, even warning some of our party from the use of tobacco in any form in the neighborhood of such rookeries. . . . On May 24th I landed Lieutenant Henderson, of the Revenue Marine, on St. George Island with the remainder of the troops. . . . Lieutenant Henderson was vested with the same authority on St. George Island that Lieutenant Barnes had on St. Paul Island. [The natives] readily complied with the orders in relation to dogs and the use of firearms.⁶²

HEREFORD, WILLIAM S. (B. 1853)

Physician, Alaska Commercial Company, St. George Island, 1880–1881, and St. Paul Island, 1881–1890

Genealogy

William S. Hereford was born in Missouri in January 1854. William Hereford married Flora J. in California. Flora J. was born during January 1864 in California. William and Flora J. Hereford had one daughter named Flora L.⁶³

Biography

William Hereford received his BS from Santa Clara College at San Jose, California, in 1874. He graduated with a MD degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1877. He was a qualified surgeon.⁶⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. William Hereford began his medical career in Alaska with the Alaska Commercial Company in 1880. He took a position with the North American Commercial Company when the ACC lost its bid to renew the Seal Islands lease with the government.

Dr. Hereford was an avid photographer; he joined forces with Pribilof Islands teacher Nicolas Gray to provide future historians with interesting images of human life on the Seal Islands. Some of Dr. Hereford's photographs are conserved in the Alaska State Library at Juneau.



Dr. Hereford outside St. Paul Island Dispensary. (Alaska State Library, Gray and Hereford Photograph Coll., P185-13.)

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Dr. Hereford deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 12, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is an excerpt.

I am 39 years of age, and am a physician. I hold the degree of B.S., Santa Clara College, S.J., year 1874, also a regular graduate of the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, year 1877; am a regular practitioner of medicine and surgery.”⁶⁵

I entered the service of the Alaska Commercial Company August, 1880, for the purpose of being one of the resident physicians on the seal islands [sic passim], and was continuously in their employ until May, 1890, at which time I went into the employ of the North American Commercial Company in the same capacity until the latter part of August, 1891, having left by resignation. I was in the service of the Alaska Commercial Company almost ten years and with the North American Commercial Company about fifteen months, and had a total connection with the seal islands a little over ten years. Seal and seal life being the only and all absorbing topic of conversation, business, food, etc., equally with the natives as ourselves, one naturally becomes almost as familiar with the fur-seals and their habits, as a farmer would with those of the cattle and horses on his farm.

In my capacity of physician and surgeon to the sealing companies . . . I was stationed the first year, i.e. 1880 and 1881, at St. George Island, and in 1881 and 1882 at Unalaska, at which time my duties required me to sail from Unalaska to Attu, Belkofskie, Atka, Unga, etc. I have been from Kodiak to Attu and have visited the way places between those points. . . . After 1882 I was at St. Paul Island, with the exception of my vacations in San Francisco, Cal., until 1890 and 1891, when I was again placed on St. George Island.”⁶⁶

Dr. Hereford talked about the edible portions of the fur seal:

The brain, heart, liver, and kidneys make very good eating, and taste about the same as those of other animals. The meat, however, which must be entirely freed from all its blubber or fat, though quite nutritious and palatable, is somewhat soft, of a dark color, and

reminds one, according to how it is cooked, of wild duck, venison, etc., only it must not be eaten rare, but always well done. On our table it generally went by the name of St. Paul or St. George mutton, respectively, and had its regular place in our bill of fare, being far more preferable to "salt horse" and canned stuffs.⁶⁷

HONCHARENKO, AGAPIUS (AHAPIUS) (1832–1916)

Ukrainian Priest, Political Journalist, Publisher of Alaska Herald



Agapius Honcharenko. (Courtesy Michael Car.)

Genealogy

Agapius Honcharenko (given name: Andrii Humnytsky) was born on August 31, 1832, in Kryvyn, Skvyra County, Kyiv Gubernia, Ukraine, known today as Slavic Russia.⁶⁸ The 1870 U.S. Census recorded Honcharenko as newly married to a twenty-nine-year-old woman named Albina from Pennsylvania. The 1900 U.S. Census indicated that Albina was born in December 1853 in Pennsylvania of Italian immigrant parents. Agapius Honcharenko died May 5, 1916 in Hayward, California.⁶⁹

Biographical Sketch

Agapius Honcharenko graduated from the Kyiv Seminary in 1853. In 1857, he was sent to Athens, Greece, to serve as a deacon of the Orthodox Church. He began to contribute articles to Alexander Herzen's *Kolokol* and to political publications in London, in which he described social injustices in his homeland, the Ukraine. The Russian government discovered his writings, and Honcharenko was arrested in 1860 and imprisoned at Constantinople. After his release, he immigrated to the United States in 1865, near the end of the Civil War.⁷⁰ "He was active in writing in the American press for Horace Greeley, General Halleck, Secretary William Henry Seward, and other American leaders of his days [sic]. He translated the Holy Scriptures for the American Bible Society; he was instrumental in the Alaska

Purchase in 1867, and he was the author of the first English-Russian grammar book in 1868, which was used by the U.S. Armed Forces in Alaska."⁷¹

Honcharenko left journalism as a career after the 1875 congressional investigation into misconduct by the Alaska Commercial Company. He became an orchardist and poultry farmer in Hayward, Alameda County, California. Albina died in Hayward in

1915, and Agapius died the next year. They are buried on their farm. Their homestead became California Registered Historical Landmark no. 1025, State Park Ukraina, on May 15, 1999.⁷²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Agapius Honcharenko never went to Alaska, but he wrote forcefully about conditions and persons connected with the Territory. His articles in his San Francisco-based *Alaska Herald* (1868–72) and a booklet by Robert Desty, *A History of the Wrongs of Alaska*, published by the *Alaska Herald*,⁷³ influenced Congress to investigate allegations of misconduct by the Alaska Commercial Company.⁷⁴ Honcharenko alleged the government acted “illegally in awarding a contract to the Alaska Commercial Company for controlled killing of fur seals on the Pribylov Islands.”⁷⁵

Honcharenko began his career in journalism in California in June of 1868, where he was “hired as a propagandist and secret agent by Oppenheimer [sic] & Company . . . , including Louis P. Goldstone, who were furious over the victory of rivals centered around Hutchinson, Kohl & Company, granted a monopoly by Congress over the hunting of Alaska fur seals.”⁷⁶

HOPKINS, DAVID MOODY (1921–2001)

Geologist, U.S. Geological Survey, 1942–1984

Genealogy

David Hopkins was born on December 26, 1921, in Nashua, New Hampshire, to Donald and Henrietta Hopkins of Greenfield, New Hampshire. He obtained a bachelor’s degree in geology in 1942 from the University of New Hampshire and his graduate degrees from Harvard University in 1948 and 1955. David Hopkins married Joan Margaret Prewitt in December 1948 in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Joan died in 1955. David Hopkins’ second marriage, to Martha Bryant, ended in divorce. David Hopkins spent his last thirty-one years married to Rachel Chouinard.⁷⁷

Biographical Sketch

Dr. Hopkins’ obituary summarized his life as a scientist:

When Hopkins died, on November 2, 2001, he was remembered as “the Arctic scientist who promoted the theory that a now-submerged land link between Siberia and Alaska allowed humans, animals and plant communities to migrate 12,000 years ago. . . . Little was known about the Bering land bridge when Hopkins began his field work on Alaska’s Seward Peninsula in the early 1940’s as a research scientist with the U.S. Geological Survey. Working with botanists, archeologists and other scientific specialists in the 1950s and ’60s, Hopkins promoted the theory that the land bridge linked Asia and North America and allowed humans, animals and plant communities to migrate some 12,000 years ago. Hopkins worked as a research scientist for the U.S. Geological Survey from 1942 until 1984, when he became a distinguished professor at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks.

He taught, conducted research, and directed the Alaska Quaternary Center until his retirement in 1994.⁷⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. David Hopkins led geologic studies of the Pribilof Islands. During the summers of 1962 and 1965, his field work included studying the evidence for the age of St. George and St. Paul islands. An in-depth study of fossil evidence, volcanic activity, and geologic profiles indicated that St. George Island was older than St. Paul Island by nearly two million years.⁷⁹

A small ice cap . . . and at least two, probably four, cirque glaciers occurred on St. George Island, Pribilof Islands, probably during the Illinoian Glaciation. Snowbanks persisted during a later cold cycle, probably during the Wisconsin Glaciation, with no glaciers existing. We found no evidence of glaciation on other Pribilof Islands.

The Pleistocene history of the Pribilof Islands interests geologists, anthropologists, and biogeographers because the islands lie near the southwestern edge of the continental shelf that extends between Alaska and Siberia, beneath the Bering and Chukchi Seas. The islands are thus favorably situated to provide a record, as to time and environment, of former land connections between Asia and America.⁸⁰

HORNADAY, WILLIAM TEMPLE (1854–1937)

Conservationist



William T. Hornaday, circa 1910. (U.S. Library of Congress.)

Genealogy

William Temple Hornaday was the son of William and Martha (Varner) Hornaday. William Temple Hornaday was born in the vicinity of Plainfield, Indiana on December 1, 1854.⁸¹

Biographical Sketch

Dr. William Temple Hornaday became an orphan at the age of fifteen. He attended Oskaloosa College (Iowa) and Iowa State University, which he left in his sophomore year. His numerous accomplishments were rewarded with honorary degrees from the University of Pittsburgh (1906), Yale University (1917), and Iowa State College (1923).⁸²

Dr. Hornaday served as the Smithsonian Institution's chief taxidermist (1882–90).⁸³ He assisted with drafting the plans for the National Zoo in Washington, D.C. Later, he became the first director (1896–1926) of the New York Zoological Park.⁸⁴ Dr. Hornaday spent a lifetime protecting America's threatened

species. He is credited with saving the American bison from extinction. His book *Thirty Years War for Wildlife: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task* is his own testament to his passion.⁸⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

Henry Wood Elliott (see Elliott's biography) had worked feverishly to convince the United States government to enter into a treaty to save the northern fur seal from extinction. The *Hay-Durand Agreement for a Fur-Seal Treaty* of 1905 grew from collaboration among Secretary of State John Hay, Henry W. Elliott, and U.S. Senators Dillingham, Pratt, and Foraker. These men had crafted a fur-seal treaty between the United States and Great Britain that called for an end to pelagic sealing, joint control over the fur-seal harvests, and a fair division of profits. Secretary Hay approved the draft on March 7, 1905. British Ambassador to the United States Sir Mortimer Durand approved the draft three weeks later on March 27.

Secretary Hay died on July 1, 1905, during a sea voyage taken for health reasons. He had instructed Henry Elliott to finalize the document, and Elliott and Second Assistant Secretary of State Alvey Adee met with Hay's replacement, Secretary Elihu Root on that account. Secretary Root scrapped the treaty for undisclosed reasons.⁸⁶

In 1906, the fur seal's strongest protagonist, Henry Elliott "reached a point where hope died; he saw that he could go no further. At last he became so ill with anxiety to save his beloved seals from extinction that his insistence turned savage, and his relations with certain scientists and bureau officers of Washington became a complete wreck."⁸⁷ Early in 1907, Elliott prevailed upon Hornaday to "do something to save those fur seals."⁸⁸

In the spring of 1909, Hornaday suddenly realized a sense of duty and boldly accepted Elliot's request for help to save the fur seal. However, Hornaday "brutally proposed to Elliot" that he refrain from all contact with government officials. Elliot accepted Hornaday's proposal.⁸⁹

Hornaday accepted Elliott's challenge with the zeal he gave to other wildlife conservation causes. He began by proposing a resolution before a meeting of the Committee on Resolutions at the Seventh International Zoological Congress in Boston in 1907. The committee president was the renowned zoologist Alexander Agassiz, son of the late Louis Agassiz. Hornaday's resolution failed to pass due to the protest of an aged Russian delegate "on the ground that it touched 'the realm of foreign diplomacy,' and therefore lay beyond the terms of his authority to act."⁹⁰

By January 1909, estimates of the Pribilof Islands' fur-seal population ranged from 30,000 to 130,000.⁹¹ The *Toronto Globe* printed an editorial on the subject of opposing a treaty that closed with: "If this fur-seal business has ever been equaled for organized deception and hidden political influence the world has never been enlightened by the disclosure."⁹²

Hornaday then made a bold political move. He had recently become chairman of the newly formed Committee on Wild Life Protection of the Camp-Fire Club of America; he also served on the club's board of governors.⁹³

Brandishing facts and figures, Hornaday won the board's unanimous approval and convinced the committee of "the need for strong action, and the necessity for interference in the fur-seal situation by independent private citizens." Hornaday wrote, "for better or worse . . . the Club made good throughout the stormy two years' campaign that followed."⁹⁴ Commitment in hand, Hornaday traveled to Washington to meet with the chairman of the new Senate Committee on the Conservation of National Resources, Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana. Hornaday handed Dixon a resolution prepared by Elliott that echoed the failed Hay-Durand Treaty effort of 1905–06:

- (1) The immediate stoppage of the leasing system.
- (2) The making of a treaty with England, Japan, and Russia to stop the killing of seals at sea, on a percentage compensation basis, and
- (3) A 5- or 10-year close season for the recuperation of the herds.⁹⁵

Dixon declared he would "spare no effort in trying to secure the passage of a satisfactory bill," but he failed to make progress.⁹⁶ Hornaday then sent a letter appealing to Secretary of State Philander C. Knox to back the treaty that was being touted on the one hand as "in negotiations," while on the other hand "no steps have been taken."

After all these years of failures in attempts to improve the condition of the unfortunate and persecuted fur seals by treaty measures, it is now high time for you and your Department to take hold of this matter, and achieve one diplomatic triumph!⁹⁷

According to Hornaday his letter to Secretary Knox was never answered—"but, believe me or not, within ten days from its posting [the letter] the wheels of the State Department were in motion, and they never stopped moving until Secretary Knox DID 'achieve one diplomatic triumph!' "⁹⁸

On December 10, 1909, the Camp-Fire Club released a nearly 2,000-word article, "The Loss of the Fur Seal Industry." According to Hornaday it was printed in full by about twenty-five newspapers.⁹⁹ Taking a pacific stance, the Camp-Fire Club declared that "there would be no exhibitions of bad blood, no quarreling, and no fighting! On the contrary, it will be a love-feast."¹⁰⁰

However, a contrary scenario played out. In Hornaday's words:

And then—ye gods and little fishes! At the beginning of the third act of the play, there started, and continued right down to the end, the bitterest and most brutal fight ever waged around the fur seal.¹⁰¹ When I first entered the United States Capitol filled with a desire to play a part in the salvage of the fur seal and its "industry", I little dreamed that I was breaking into a hornet's nest of the first magnitude. It was reeking with selfish interests, cross purposes, intrigue, and chicanery. In my crass innocence, I assumed that the case had become so bad and so desperate that everyone would welcome every sane and logical remedial effort, and play fair!¹⁰²

Within three months of the article in the press, the Senate Committee on the Conservation of National Resources, chaired by Senator Dixon, convened a hearing on "A Bill to protect the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska, and of other purposes." Outside of

Congress, only Hornaday was invited or even notified of the hearing. Hornaday quips as to the possible reason: "Save Mr. Elliott, no one outside of Congress manifested the slightest interest in the fate of the unhappy fur seals."¹⁰³ Hornaday presented himself and the cause magnificently. At the conclusion of the testimony, the eleven-member committee moved and unanimously passed a resolution "that the Chairman be instructed to communicate to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor the view of the Committee that a new lease for the killing of fur seals should not be made, and that steps should be taken to secure treaties with foreign governments for the prevention of pelagic sealing."¹⁰⁴

After nearly forty years, the committee's message put an end to the fur-seal fisheries leasing system. The North American Commercial Company's lease expired at the end of April 1910. Heretofore, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor had been intent on making a new lease. Hornaday wrote, "The Bureau of Fisheries held that the making of a new lease was mandatory; and up to the starting of our campaign not a soul in the Advisory Board of the Fur Seal Service, nor in the Department of Commerce and Labor had said anything whatever against the making of a new lease, nor in proposal of any new measures for the saving of the seal herds."¹⁰⁵

Department of Commerce and Labor Secretary Charles Nagel had convinced the President to allow his agency to redraft the bill by successfully arguing that the Dixon Resolution was "inadequate."¹⁰⁶ Nagel's version allowed the killing of 2,500 seals per year over the proposed five-year moratorium for subsistence of Pribilof Natives, and \$50,000 per year for the "care of the idle seal-killers and their families."¹⁰⁷ But more significantly, the legislation contained language, inserted by Secretary Nagel, authorizing the Secretary "all power over the seals, to kill or not to kill, as he might choose."¹⁰⁸ This statement probably reflected the mindset of the Bureau of Fisheries agents displayed by Agent Walter Lembkey back in 1906:

Unless this settlement [of the pelagic sealing question] on a satisfactory basis appears imminent, I would recommend the killing on land of every seal that can be killed under existing law.¹⁰⁹

Hornaday, representing the Camp-Fire Club, boldly approached President William Howard Taft upon learning of Secretary Nagel's intent to leave "future killings of fur seals in his [the Secretary's] sole control." Hornaday asked the President to send a message to Congress requesting that it pass the bill, but with a proviso negating Nagel's attempt to nullify the bill's goal of protecting the seal herd from further slaughter until it recovered to sustainable numbers.¹¹⁰

On March 15, 1910, President Taft sent the following message to Congress:

It appears that the seal herds on the islands named have been reduced to such an extent that their early extinction must be looked for, unless measures for their preservation be adopted. . . . The herds have been reduced to such an extent that the question of profit has become a mere incident, and the controlling question has become one of conservation. . . . The discontinuance of this policy [of killing] is recommended in order that the United States may be free to deal with the general question in its negotiations with foreign countries.¹¹¹

On April 21, 1910, Congress passed *An Act to protect the seal fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes* (S.7942; Public Act no. 146). The effective date of May 1, 1910,¹¹² was commensurate with the expiration of the North American Commercial Company lease. Some significant mandates in the legislation included:

A continued ban on pelagic sealing by U.S. nationals

A ban on killing females and pups on land

Termination of the leasing system

However, the bill did not offer the total ban on killing sought by Hornaday. He stressed to Senator Dixon that Secretary Nagel “should give some definite assurance that except for food no seals would be killed on the Seal Islands for the next five years.”¹¹³ Senator Dixon replied, “As I understand it, the policy of the administration is to enforce a closed season. That is the desired policy.”¹¹⁴ Dixon’s reply was again politically expedient. On May 1, 1910, within two weeks after the bill was signed, news was published in Seattle “that Fish Commissioner [Ward T.] Bowers intended to kill an unstated number of fur seals for commercial purposes, because ‘they ought to be killed.’”¹¹⁵ As Hornaday put it, “the gentlemen’s agreement with a Committee of the Senate was completely ignored.”¹¹⁶

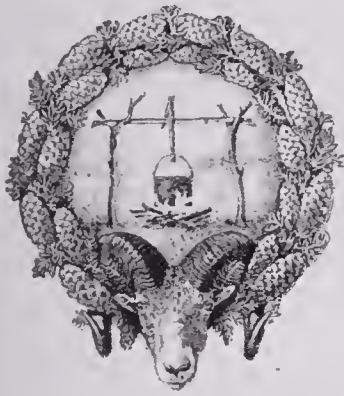
On May 10, 1910, Dr. Hornaday and the Camp-Fire Club sent a strong letter of protest to Secretary Nagel. Hornaday later wrote that Nagel’s reply “was defiant, and wholly unsatisfactory. A stronger protest followed the first one, and the correspondence became savage.”¹¹⁷ The final straw came on August 1, 1910, when it was learned that 12,920 fur seals, including 7,733 pups, females, and yearlings, had been killed for their pelts on the Pribilofs.¹¹⁸

Around this time, Secretary Nagel apparently sought relief from Hornaday’s constant assault. Presumably Nagel wrote to the president of the New York Zoological Society. Nagel asked if Hornaday spoke for the Society or the Bronx Zoo. The society’s president responded that Charles S. Townsend, Director of the New York Aquarium, also reigning under the auspices of the Zoological Society, was himself a defender of the seals. However, neither represented the Society on the issue over the fur seals.¹¹⁹ Regardless, Hornaday’s own acclaim and his role in the Camp-Fire Club of America gave him all the standing necessary for this fight. Hornaday continued his assault.

Hornaday wrote to Henry Elliott, “One of my answers to the seal killers was—Henry W. Elliott!” Recall that back in 1909, Hornaday “brutally” requested Elliott to stay quietly in the background feeding technical expertise and advice to his fellow fur-seal advocates. Hornaday wrote on:

This action is an act of war. The lid is now off. So far as I am concerned you are henceforth entirely at liberty to fight the common enemy just as you see fit; for it must now be a fight to the absolute defeat of one side or the other.¹²⁰

Elliott wholeheartedly entered the fray “inspired by memories of former battles when he fought alone; by the memories of years of official blundering, failures, and maltreatment of the seals, and of indignities that had been heaped upon him when overwhelmed by enemies. Mr. Elliott had the situation so thoroughly in hand, and he so well maintained the advantage of being absolutely right, that very little further effort by us was



THE CAMP-FIRE CLUB OF AMERICA

NEW YORK CITY

OFFICERS:

President, ERNEST T. SETON
Vice-Pres., DR. T. K. TUTTILL
Secretary, ARTHUR F. RICE
Treasurer, EDMUND SEYMOUR
Counsel, JULIUS H. SEYMOUR

ALLIED CLUBS:

LEWIS AND CLARK CLUB, Pittsburgh, Pa.
CAMP-FIRE CLUB, Jamestown, N. Y.
CAMP-FIRE CLUB, Detroit, Mich.
CAMP-FIRE CLUB, Los Angeles, Cal.
CAMP-FIRE CLUB, Cody, Wyo.

Committee on Protective Legislation and Game Preserves:

W. T. HORNADAY, *Chairman*
JULIUS H. SEYMOUR
A. S. HOUGHTON
ARTHUR H. MASTEN
ROBERT B. LAWRENCE
GEO. W. BURLEIGH
LEONIDAS DENNIS
JOSEPH P. HOWE
CHARLES D. CLEVELAND
OSCAR A. CAMPBELL
WILLIAM B. GREELEY
MARSHALL MCLEAN
E. W. SANBORN

The Camp Fire Club of America has appointed a Committee on Protective Legislation and Game Preserves, consisting of fifteen scientists and lawyers, with Dr. William T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Park, as Chairman. This Committee recently met for organization and every member pledged his active support to the two measures which will be undertaken at this time,—one being national legislation looking toward a ten-year closed season on fur seals under the control of the United States; the other an active campaign to have set aside in the mountains of Montana, including the Lake Macdonald District, a large area of the public domain as a public park, to be controlled as is the Yellowstone Park in Wyoming. The plan contemplates taking up as rapidly as possible the better protection of game birds and other phases of the subject.

The members of the Committee above mentioned are under agreement to pursue this work energetically not only in Washington, but also by correspondence with men of influence in other parts of the country, and by co-operating with officers of other societies who are in active sympathy with the desired result. Inasmuch as these gentlemen are willing to give their time, it is believed that others who are not in a position to take an active part, will be glad to subscribe a proposed fund of \$2,000 to cover necessary expenses.

The undersigned have consented to become members of a finance committee to raise this amount for the purpose stated, and are glad to undertake the work. We wish to assure you as a fellow sportsman, that we will greatly appreciate any subscription towards this fund that you may care to make. Checks may be drawn to the order of B. Dominick, Jr. Treas., and mailed to him at his address in envelope which we enclose.

We trust you will join us.

STANLEY D. MCGRAW, *Chairman*, 1 Nassau St., N. Y.
B. DOMINICK, JR., *Treasurer*, 115 Broadway, N. Y.
CHARLES W. OGDEN, *Secretary*, 31 Barclay St., N. Y.
ANDREW V. STOUT
FREDERIC GALLATIN, JR.

The Camp-Fire Club of America pledged support for a moratorium on the killing of fur seals, and solicited contributions to support the cause, circa 1910. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, David Starr Jordan, SIA, RU 7176, box 4, folder 4.)

\$20,000,000 LOST BY SEAL KILLING; NAGEL ACCUSED

Taft's Secretary Charged with
Having Winked at Slaughter
of Herds in Alaska.

JORDAN ALSO ATTACKED

Experts Sent to Take Census of
Animals Say Real Figures
Were Suppressed.

OTHERS IN ALLEGED PLOT

Lessees Said to Have Made
Extra Profit of \$5,000,000
Due to Government Neglect.

CONGRESS TO GET REPORTS

Many Sensational Accusations in
Experts' Findings—Nagel and
Others Send Denials.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17.—Allegations of a sensational character reflecting upon former high officials and agents of the American Government, as well as upon men interested in the North American Commercial Company of San Francisco, are embraced in two reports made public to-day by Representative John H. Rothermel of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce.

The reports were read to the House

"\$20,000,000 Lost," New York Times,
January 18, 1914.

necessary."¹²¹ A congressional hearing on the matter which opened on May 21, 1911, and closed on March 14, 1914, resulted in a two-volume, 1,948-page testimony about fur sealing. Secretary Nagel submitted more than 1,200 pages of documents claiming to represent every report, letter, and other miscellaneous document written by the seal agents to the department from January 1, 1904, to June 24, 1911. Nagel's compilation became *Appendix A to the Hearings on House Resolution no. 73*. *Appendix A* is an extremely valuable historical compilation for the period covered.

Subsequent to the *Hearings on House Resolution no. 73*, Congress passed legislation placing a five-year moratorium on the killing of fur seals. The goal of Henry W. Elliott and the Camp-Fire Club was achieved, although many lasting wounds resulted from the verbal fisticuffs. The hearings opened the way for negotiations, drafting, and ratification by Congress and the President of a fur-seal treaty signed by Russia, Great Britain, Japan and the United States. The treaty is popularly referred to as the *Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911*,¹²² or *North Pacific Fur-Seal Treaty*,¹²³ but more accurately it is "the convention . . . for the preservation and protection of the fur seals and sea otter which frequent the water of the north Pacific Ocean"¹²⁴ or *Fur-Seal Convention*.¹²⁵ The convention was signed on July 7, 1911, and ratified by Congressional Statute (37 Stat. 499) on August 24, 1912,¹²⁶ with all the provisions sought by Elliott and Hornaday.

Hornaday summarized the impact on his social well-being years after the "war" ended: "The cost to me in old friendships forever broken was great. Even today [1931] it is painful to contemplate. I have many ex-friends who never will forgive me for having started that fur-seal salvage campaign, nor for its having been successful."¹²⁷

THE FATE OF THE FUR-SEAL

topograph conditions and the preferences the hen makes on landing, but, the selection was made, the vigilance of her lord and master in holding her to her choice is ceaseless, and his treatment is often rough and always tyrannical. This aberrum system is a cautious feature of seal life, for, within the alien-lairs is cumulative, though varying as the seasons advance, the compact, orderly character of the breeding grounds is maintained up to about July 15 and furnishes a reliable criterion of the increase or diminution of the fur seal, as well as affording an excellent oppor-

dos. On arriving at the former city the skids are packed in tight makes holding from twenty-five to thirty bundles, shipped by special train to New York, and thence by fast steamer to London. There is about three weeks from the time of first landing in California until they are being sorted and categorized in the great fur house of Lamson & Co., in readiness for the public auction sale in the fall.

It may be mentioned in passing that the statements appearing sporadically that the fur business is a great moneyopener does not in the least count of the word, rest upon a basis of fact. All the earnings taken by the fur

[illegible]

blood, peints sailing on the Anistole, greatly increased, with the result that some 500 tons of fish were landed on the same date of affairs has been reached on the side of the Pacific, and the catch this year falls of 200 tons per vessel.

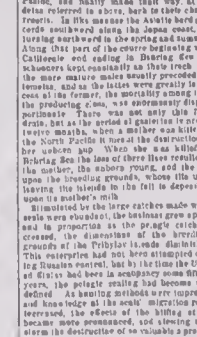
The sectors who have usually redevered the summer have in Beheteng Sea, off the Harbor, in Ootulaka Bay, Frankly state they cannot get again, because there is no fish to get. The mortality is shown from the fact that the fish are not able to catch induce the vessels to press closer to the borders of the lapidous zone, with the result that the active and vigilant patrol of the Revenue officers under the able management of C. C. Hespeler, has been increased six schooners, five of which found within the sixty-mile limit.

What vessels did the United States government leave during this period from 18

derives the greatest benefit from it, as
 on way has this corporation shown itself
 to be. We are not per se, though we
 noted. Americans on E and for further
 capitalizing, in the nation's of Amer-
 ican investigators, and in the broad and far-
 reaching manner in which our government has
 studied the inquiry; shall we carried out
 only our own responsibilities (I've instructed
 President's materials by previous and de-
 veloped. (1) the present model in the
 American mail, and (2) the
 influence of the causes which appear to
 on its internationality; (3) benefits. If any,
 have been secured to the full amount of the
 sufficient based upon the year of the
 (1980); and (4) what additional pro-
 ceedures are required to insure the pro-
 tection of the far-east, but the Con-
 has empowered them to extend that

with the snail through his position in the myagrai.

That it will readily be seen that the mission is not a group of laymen, but a group of men carefully composed of trained scientists, harassed by the actualists and under the leadership of a trained circle of scientists. They are pursuing scientific methods of investigation, and with a view to leg out a case, but with the purpose of systematically ascertaining and truthfully stating whatever there is to be obtained from the investigation. The actualists are creating on the principle that truth is in the past, and he means to have no doubts to be created, but to stimulate and specialise the mind to present facts, together with the conclusions derived from their study. Qualitative of great value is being done as to the qualitative part of previous



quisition, "You long will it be before she fully understands the habits of those eyes."

[illegible]

A black and white photograph of a man in a military uniform, wearing a garrison cap and glasses. He is standing with his hands at his sides. The photo is framed by a thick black border.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

George Clark, Treasurer,
Thomas D. McLaughlin, Secretary,
Dennis J. Ray, Treasurer.



like areas—the "breeding grounds" and the "hunting grounds" the former is usually

know, where they can carefully sniff
kushie. Five days later the skins are
overhauled and resalted or "beehived."
As the natives know failure they tie them
to seal heads; if one skin can still smell
them is a warehouse, ready for shipment
to San Francisco, where the season closes
in August.

Instructions as to irregularity to the man-
agement of affairs on the islands appear from
the Treasury Department, and the govern-
ment representative is to be the islands every
minute of the year. The skins are counted
and again counted in San Francisco and Los

Here they are sold, dried, dyed, and fitted into the fortiers of the world. It is a tummy furnishing employment for hundreds of artisans and involving millions of dollars and of all the nations interested, and all nations are, England receives the greatest currency value.

The fecundity of maintaining an industry the perpetual preservation and continuance which is entirely possible with certainty of the future. The Prubir industry is further and distinct advance along the grade of commercial civilization, from which it is seen that the industry is a common cause with her been in operation many years. The Prubir industry is supported by the Russians in 1767, and other nations are greatly encouraged by killing

threws open before the coalition met, the total pelagic catch increased to 1,000 tons in 1955 but had fallen to 74 tons and for the first time it will not reach one-third of catch of 1949. No measure in the next few years will be taken to increase the catch, because the fishery is now so small.

Under the 1954 agreement, the Soviet Union found the thirty-fifty vessels carrying 100,000 tons of fish in 1954, and secured 21,000 tons of fish in thirty-five trawls each. The number of vessels was reduced to 170 and the catch increased number of boats in each vessel, so well if they obtain 20,000 tons. Other nations fish a minor amount.

When the Atlantic begins to be closed, the fishery will be closed. The fishery will be closed, and especially during the years 1951, 1952, and 1953, when the fishery was closed.

last winter and spring he babbled so eloquently and effectively (he) a mixed company of a joint one, consisting of seven American, two Irishmen, and one Canadian, is at present in the United States, and is now taking itself with the conditions of the (re)marks on both sides of the North Pole. In addition to this Japan has represented its own side of them. It is expected will operate with each data as they have been obtained.

Our Interest in the Industry.

Despite the eager to the contrary of Charles H. Fisher Tupper in the National Association for the Advancement of the Automobile, the fact is that the United States has been upon preventing the attraction of "Our-land," regardless of the fact that the

study of the fish-fauna of the Cameroonian Islands, and has just published his results in the form of an elaborate monograph (1). A. Lucas, also of the National Museum, surpassed in the demands of comparative ichthyology, while Mr. C. H. Townsend of the United States Fish Commission and Charles H. Gilbert of the University of California, wider and more accurate knowledge of the details of pelagic sailing than any living ichthyologist having made a special study of it for many years past. For obvious reasons, I could not visit the Albatrosses, but I met the late Master of the Albatross, was recognized in the corps of unlettered, and General J. Murray was named by the Secretary of the Treasury on account of his long acquaintance

The seasack sailor of the war:
As bold as Thores to Amphion's strains,
To mount of cheer his well-groomed
New shivered to the his diagram
The sailor's life of the sea:
How thrice more to take his part
The angel of the human heart.

And not to note the flares that lined
Above the dreadful horizon
The Cheyenne had reached through Lane
The gift of humanity.

Two half men near the water on high,
And led with speed the Western sky:
The Cheyenne had reached through Lane
And led to such instructions.

Wanted to be Keat.
Judge: There you stand guilty to be
the house by daylight
Prisoner—No, per boxer, by skyline

Wander, half of whom were white. He said that the negroes to intrude upon his estate, for he will be fortunate indeed if he escape with a whole skin. An arch old male negro in the breeding grounds and center upon his language all night or nearly day he attempts to tell me of his life. The father mentions that of his neighbors, and he is full of his own life's events, to maintain his pre-eminence against all concern. This gives rise to his, conviction, especially after the female's birth in his out, and results in considerable suffering, making the newly born pure superior to the mother.

The group of cows, varying from one to four, which are also "surtable" may be around him is appropriately called a "barn," and the size is most variable, depending upon

have, which they can carefully salish
kumche. Five days later the ships are
overhauled and restaled or "bowed." Then
at the natives know failure they fly them
to seal beaches to fine them each and ap
them in a warehouse, ready for shipment
San Francisco, where the frozen class
of sealions are irregularly to the man
agement of affairs on the islands appear two
time in time. Now such exist. Everything
done in accordance with an usual instruction
from the Treasury Department, and a govern
ment representative is on the islands sev
months of the year. The skins are counted
when placed in salt, counted when shipped
and again counted in San Francisco and Los

Here they are sold, stored, dried, and transported to the markets of the world. It is a gummy, furnishing employee for hundreds of artisans and involving millions of dollars of all the nations interested, and all nations are, England receives the greatest quantity.

The practicability of maintaining an industry of this kind is a question of the perpetuity of generation and confidence which is entirely possible with certainty of mind itself in all, but the past year many further and distinct advance along the grade of commercial civilization has been made, and which has been in operation many years. The Prohibition Islands were discovered by the Russians in 1767, and others as first grossly misnamed by killing

through open water under the conditions noted, the total pelagic catch increased to 162 tons in 1925 but had fallen to 54,000 and the fish caught in 1891 will not reach one-half of each of 1894. No resources in the very depths or near-shore can be had in the case of four years, but taken in 1925.

The first thirty-eight vessels entered Barling Bay in 1924, and secured 21,000 tons in 1925 thirty-seven vessels took 40,000 tons in 1926 thirty vessels secured 37,000 tons while another year recently passed, with an increased number of boats in each vessel, was also successful in securing large catches. Other salient features of Alaskan fisheries.

When the Alaskan fleet began to be dismantled, and especially during the years 1911, 1912, and 1920, when Barling Bay

last winter and spring it bubbled so vigorously and effectively that it stirred commissionaires to joint action, according to firms American and British. The Japanese government is now in and about Berlin, too, busily commingling itself with the condition of the country on both sides of the North Pole. In addition to this Japan has representatives in the field, whom it is expected will be in touch with each other as they may be required.

Our interest in the Indochina.

During the year in the country of Charles Hilbert Tupper in the Netherlands for September, "the Dailed said" best upon preventing the affliction of "De-just," regardless of the fact that the

study of the fur-trade of the Commanche, and has just published his results in the form of an elaborate monograph. A. LUTER, also of the National Museum, surpassed in the domain of comparative zoology, while Mr. C. H. Townsend of the United States Fish Commission set the example of the Albatross probably in wider and more accurate knowledge of details of pelagic sailing than any living avian. He has made a special study of the Albatrosses, and has just published a monograph on the Albatross of the Albatrosses was largely in the corps of naturalists, and Colonel J. Murray was named by the Secretary of the Treasury on account of his long acquain-

To moans of cheer his wails again
 Now shiver in the dark distance
 The primal cry of evil darkness
 How primal rose to take his part
 The angel of the human heart

And not to rule the flames that leered
 Above the dreadful bonfire
 The Christ that had reached through time
 The gutter of humanity

Two life more sure the lights are high,
 And lost with evil the Western aid,
 To tell that God is not with us,
 And love to still infirmities.

Wanted in No Coast.
 Judge—Then you stand guilty in the
 house by daylight
 Prisoner—No, per donor, by daylight

Were the entire fleet present at least fifty schooners would appear here. At the picture's

HOVERSON, CARL M. (1901–1982)

Teacher and Radio Operator, St. Paul Island, 1936–1941

Acting Agent and Storekeeper, December 1941–October 1942

Storekeeper, Funter Bay, Alaska, June–December 1943

Bureau of Fisheries, Agent and Caretaker, St. George Island, April 1944–1949

Pribilof Islands Experience

Carl Hoverson was St. George agent and caretaker when the Pribilovians were repatriated to their St. George Island home after being sent to Funter Bay during WWII. Eloquent descriptions of the Aleuts' return appear in several works, such as Dean Kohlhoff's *When the Wind Was a River* (pp. 148–149). Agent Hoverson accompanied the island's Natives on the voyage home. The transport *William L. Thompson* first anchored at St. Paul Island during the evening of May 13, 1944, and because of rough water there it remained at St. Paul until the late evening of May 24, when it then traveled to St. George. During the interim, a group of men traveled to St. George to make ready as best as possible before the arrival of the larger community.

The morning of May 19, a small advance working party left Village Cove [St. Paul Is.] aboard the escort vessel USCG ATLANTA, for St. George Island. The ATLANTA arrived at Garden Cove at noon. No landing could be made on the village side because of the rough sea [but] all passengers were ashore and had started for the village at 3 P.M. The ATLANTA left for St. Paul.

The purpose of this small working party was to prepare the village for the arrival of the main group of people who were still aboard the transport anchored at St. Paul Island.

Many tasks were accomplished in the space of a few days. It was necessary to cut through 16 inches of ice before water could be pumped into the storage tanks. The wooden water-main was tapped in two places so that the frozen sections could be by-passed. Water was brought to the village through connected sections of garden hose so that the hot-water heating systems could be filled. Broken pipes and castings were repaired or replaced. Bidarra covers were patched and placed on their frames, and repairs were made to disabled trucks so that cargo work could begin promptly as soon as the ship reached the island. Stoves were installed in various places. Fires were built in heaters and heating systems of all the houses so that the dwellings would be warm and dry for their incoming occupants. The light plants were tested and the cold storage system put into operation.

At 10:30 P.M., May 24, the WILLIAM L. THOMPSON arrived off Village Landing [St. George] but, because of the rough sea, no cargo nor passengers could be taken ashore.

Violent seas continued and it was not until May 27 that all of the people could be brought to land [at Zapadni].¹²⁸

Agent and Caretaker Hoverson's annual report spoke with cautious optimism of the return.

When the natives returned from their sojourn in southeastern Alaska, it was the attitude, in some quarters, that the people would be restless and discontented with their former mode of life and that they would leave or have an intense longing to leave for the comparatively larger sphere of activity in other regions again.

Fortunately, this school of thought has proven to be without premise. The natives were happy to return to their home soil. None of them have expressed any desire to forsake their island for a precarious existence elsewhere. Many of them have been anxious and

concerned about their kinfolk who did not return with the rehabilitation group. They realize that, although there may not be quite the freedom of action, there is much greater security here.

The native homes are clean and well-cared for, and the people are proud of their dwellings. Some of the houses are too congested, but this condition can be fully corrected only by the construction of additional residences. The inconvenience and lack of privacy caused by overcrowding has been alleviated, in some instances, by alterations. However, this is not the answer to the whole problem.

The Women's Sewing Club was reorganized early last fall, and this organization has been active and diligent. Their meetings are held in the sewing room of the School.

Other forms of recreation or social activity have been:—skating, skiing, dancing, and basketball. Two of the men are particularly interested in photography.

An effort was made to reorganize the Community Club but to no avail. The older men, who are now in the majority, were either tepid in their enthusiasm or ill-disposed towards the matter. The outcome of the discussion was that the club would be reorganized as soon as the young men return from the army. A community club is a valuable asset to a village such as this. It is an organization where, among other things, civic problems are discussed and acted upon; it can be a powerful influence for progress and public good.

Seventeen of the St. George native men are now in the Armed Forces. The absence of so many not only severely reduces the size of the working gang but cripples social life of the island. It is probable that more of the boys will be inducted before the war terminates.

The general health of the village has been much better than it was at Funter, where living conditions were depressive.



Group in dining room including Mr. and Mrs. Stacy (1, 2); ? (3); Thelma and Richard Hellbaum (4, 5); Geneva and Mrs. Hoverson (6, 7); Vivien Oberg (8); Dr. Samuel Berenberg (9); Father Makary Baranov (10); Carl Hoverson (11); Fredericka Martin holding Tobyanne (12, 13); Roy Hurd (14); Earl Oberg (15). (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-13, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

The disposition of the people is good. This is reflected in the interest taken in the improvement of their houses and the attitude towards the work of the island. There have been difficulties and vexing problems to be faced and solved, but such are incident to every community.¹²⁹

Hoverson's annual report continued with "Comments and Recommendations," including:

St. George Island was vacated by its inhabitants for a period of almost two years. Deterioration coupled with abuse of equipment in that space of time has resulted in a huge backlog of repair work. As stated before, the exterior of every building in the village needs paint, roads are in bad shape, and machinery is in a precarious condition.

Before the people were evacuated, every truck had been overhauled and was in good shape. At the beginning of rehabilitation, not a truck on the place was in serviceable condition. The vehicles had been used roughly during the army occupancy and what repair work had been done was no longer apparent.

Twice this past winter cargo was handled at Zapadni. There is no dock at this place nor [are] there any boat ways for launching the lighters [bidarrahs]. Boxes, crates, and other items of freight have to be pulled and pushed across the rocks. Containers break open and goods are damaged. . . . The construction of a dock and boat ways at this location is sorely needed. . . .

Additional native houses have become a necessity. Three of the residences now house two families, each. Two families living in a four or five-room house with no basement nor upstairs results in over-crowding, lack of privacy, discontentment, and irritability. Marriages are contemplated by several of the native soldiers when they return after their service in the Army. At least six new native houses should be constructed.

To relieve the congestion, some of the present native dwellings have had a room built into the upstairs. Such a room is not always so satisfactory because of the low-gabled roofs. When additional houses are built the pitch of the roof should be steeper. The building should be a four-room affair with an upstairs room and cement basement.¹³⁰



Crew of first B-18 Bolos bomber to land on St. Paul Island, 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-374.)



Crowd of pilots and military platoon returned from St. George Island gathered by the marine railway, St. Paul Island, August 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-381.)



Servicemen loading mail onto a B-18 Bolos bomber, St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-335.)



Men camouflaging observation post no. 2 (possibly on Black Bluffs), St. Paul Island, July 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-362.)



Captain Bayer sleeping on a couch, St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-390.)



Evan Hill in a 20-mm gun pit at the airfield, St. Paul Island, July 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-343.)



Military personnel during bayonet practice using a reindeer as a target, St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-493.)



Military personnel horsing around, St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-377.)



Lieutenant Pusey holding a camera with Saints Peter and Paul Church in the background. St. Paul Island, 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-395.)

HOWES, OSBORN(E) JR. (1846–1907)

Sealer, St. George Island, 1868

Editor, Boston Herald

Genealogy

Osborn(e) Howes Jr. was born December 8, 1846, at Yarmouth, Massachusetts, the son of Boston shipping merchant Captain Osborn Howes (1806–1893) and Abigail Kelley (Cowell) Howes. Howes Jr. married Grace Bartow, twenty-four-year-old daughter of John and Catherine Bartow, at Buffalo, New York, February 3, 1875. The marriage was recorded both in Boston and in Buffalo, New York, with the change in the spelling from “Osborn” to “Osborne.” Osborne and Grace Howes had four children born at Boston: Osborne III, born August 6, 1877 (d. 1934), married Mildred Cox, daughter of William Emerson Cox and Josephine (Nickerson) Cox; Natalie, born November 3, 1880, died 1889; Gretchen, born March 2, 1884, married Charles Sidney on October 1, 1907, at Brookline, Massachusetts; and Kenneth, born January 11, 1886, married Edith Forbes Perkins on January 21, 1922, at Framingham, Massachusetts. Osborn(e) Howes Jr. died April 9, 1907, in Brookline, Massachusetts.¹³¹

Biography

The Howes family had settled about 1635 on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where the family's sea captains became well known. By 1818, with the Howes family settled in Boston, a young Osborn Sr. began sailing on merchant ships for Thomas B. Curtis. In 1840, "Osborn Howes of Boston, the first American captain to set foot in Turkey, formed with his brother-in-law the firm of Howes & Crowell, trading with China, Western Europe, California, and Australia."¹³² The shipping house of Howes & Crowell was known for twenty-five years as "one of the leading firms in that business in the United States."¹³³ By 1875, Osborn Howes Jr. added the letter "e" to Osborn(e). We can only assume he did so to eliminate confusion after he became involved in the family business.

In 1868, while in California on business for his father, Osborn Jr. was hired by Parrott Company of Connecticut as supercargo on a whaling vessel headed to Alaska. He described his Alaska experiences in articles titled "The Fur Seal Fishery in Alaska" and "An Adventure in the Behring Sea." He would later become editor of the *Boston Herald*, a lawyer, and a leading businessman of Boston.¹³⁴

On April 10, 1907, the *New York Times* printed an obituary for Osborn Howes Jr. that read in part:

Osborn Howes, Secretary of the Boston Board of Fire Underwriters, Japanese Consul for this city, and a well-known newspaper man, died. . . . Mr. Howes made a particular study of municipal government and was one of the special committee in 1884 which prepared the present city charter. He was a life-long Democrat and on several occasions unsuccessfully contested the Senatorial seat in Brookline.¹³⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

Osborne Howes Jr. wrote of his experiences in the Pribilof Islands:

I left San Francisco early in March on board a schooner cleared by Messrs. Parrott & Co. of that city, for a trading voyage in Bering Sea and the coast of Kamchatka. It was the first vessel to reach the island, arriving at St. George, in the latter part of April. I was landed with the goods, and the schooner continued on her voyage toward the coast of Kamchatka. I immediately secured possession of the salt house and the services of the natives for the season.

In a few days a schooner representing the firm of Hutchinson, Kohl, & Co. also landed representatives on St. George Island. Not long after the arrival of this second schooner a third, in the interest of the firm of Williams & Haven, landed men on the opposite side of the island, at Zapadni rookery. This firm had headquarters on St. Paul Island. It was impossible for these separate interests to carry on their operations independently, and they therefore placed their business under my charge. Drives were made alternately for the different companies and the natives employed in turn.

Before the season was well under way a fourth expedition was landed on the south side of the island across the point from East rookery. There were three men in the party, and they set about killing the seals on the rookery without driving them. The natives objected to this because it involved the killing of females. The men were remonstrated with, but were obdurate. One was bribed off by the promise of double wages, but the other two continued their work. They were finally taken prisoners and sent off to Sitka by the first schooner that touched at the island. With them were returned the men brought from Sitka, who were found to be unsuited for the work. When the captain of the schooner whose men were interfered with arrived in the fall for his cargo of skins he was pacified by being allowed to



JOHN PARROTT

1810 — 1884

An early stockholder in the Alaska Commercial Company; merchant and banker. In 1852 he built the granite building at the corner of California and Montgomery streets in San Francisco.

John Parrott, President of Parrott & Co., New London, Connecticut. (Samuel P. Johnston, 1940, Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940).

the same methods were probably employed. The Williams & Haven and Hutchinson, Kohl & Co.'s interests were supreme on St. Paul, and they divided the rookeries between them.

To the best of my recollection 115,000 were taken on St. George and 250,000 on St. Paul during the season.¹³⁶

From its timing and contents we believe an unsigned article, "An Adventure in Behring Sea," printed in the *New York Times* on August 4, 1872, was written by Osborne Howes Jr. Whether fact or fiction as regards its central life-and-death narrative, it is gripping and wonderfully descriptive.

AN ADVENTURE IN BEHRING SEA

In the spring of 1868, the territory formally known as Russian America was ceded to the United States, and all the trading privileges which before had been held by the Russian American Fur Company, were thrown open to the world. Little was known of the country even in our Pacific sea ports; true, the Western Union Telegraph Company had explored certain parts of it in their attempt to open communication with Asia, but they had confined themselves more to its geographical bearings than its resources; American whalers, in their cruises after oil had entered every gulf and bay on its coast; but as they had been debarred from landing except when in need of wood and water, their knowledge beyond that of locality, was extremely slight. Of course many reports were in circulation respecting the wonderful quantity and quality of the furs obtained there, but all of them of a vague and

take the results of one big drive made by the natives for his benefit.

The work of the sealing was carried out by the natives under the direction of their chief. Representatives of the different companies did not concern themselves with the work of driving or killing. They simply paid the natives so much per skin—30 to 35 cents—payment being made in trade goods. The natives evidently followed the traditions of earlier days in their work. They seemed very jealous and careful of the seals, avoiding any disturbance of the breeding grounds. Their objection to the methods of killing on East rookery was based upon the ground that if the females were killed there would be no seals in the years to come.

Most of the seals killed were taken from North rookery and Zapadni. No drives were made from Staraya Artel. Only occasional drives were made from East rookery. All the animals were killed on the ground below the village.

Each man knocked down his own allowance of seals and skinned them afterwards. Sixty was considered the usual day's work for a man. The rule of the companies was that skins too small, too large, or cut would not be accepted or paid for. The sealers were therefore very careful in the work. A day's killing averaged from 800 to 1,800. There were about thirty available men among the natives.

Of the conditions on St. Paul I heard only indirectly through the representatives of Williams & Haven, who in their work were evidently directed by instruction from the head station on St. Paul, where

uncertain character; however, the people of the coast and of San Francisco in particular, quickly prepared to take advantage of any opening that might show itself; merchants began fitting out small vessels to trade there; old miners who had "done" California and Nevada, gathered their traps together for a prospecting tour to this new field of enterprise; land speculators hurried to stake out claims near the little towns of Sitka and Kodiak; needy adventurers by the score crowded every means of transportation, most of them careless or ignorant of future prospects, but going in the hope that some good would come of it.

A desire to see the world, which had already taken me over the greater portions of it, landed me in the Winter of the above year in San Francisco. Whatever wish I may have had to remain permanently in that delightful place was quickly taken out of my head when the opportunity presented itself of going to the unknown northern region. The way in which this happened was as follows: A number of gentlemen had fitted out a schooner, the *Katie* for a sealing and trading voyage but just as she was on the point of departure the supercargo [manager of a vessel's cargo] was taken sick and they had to delay sailing until they could find someone to fill his place. Hearing of this, I offered my services and though I possessed but few of the requirements necessary for the situation I was accepted as the best substitute they could readily obtain.

Why describe the sea voyage? They are all very similar; the alternation of wind and calm; the ineffable glories of a sunrise; the quenching as it were of the molten orb in the water at evening; the golden pathway made by the moon across the restless sea; all of these can be seen in any vessel and in any clime. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that on the 2nd of May, after a fair run of three weeks, we came to anchor off the island of St. George, in the south eastern portion of Behring Sea. It had been a foggy day, but the wind had partially cleared the air, and we could see quite plainly the outline of the jagged cliffs and wild hilltops covered with snow.

It was our intention to erect a station on this island, enter into an agreement with the natives, and thereby, being the first comers, secure a monopoly of the fur seals which come there yearly in large numbers. In carrying out our design we were eminently successful, and finding that this was to constitute the principal part of our business, I concluded to let the schooner make the rest of the voyage (which was to extend to the coast of Siberia) without me, and to stay on the island in order to more effectually superintend the business; so, having landed a large quantity of goods and provisions, the schooner prepared to take her departure.

It was a mournful day to me, when, having bade the captain and their interpreter good-by, I saw them row out through the surf, and watched them until they disappeared in the eddying mist, which had already hidden the *Katie* from sight. They were not to return until the latter part of November, nearly seven months, and it would be difficult for the reader to realize the feeling of loneliness that now took possession of me. I was entirely isolated, having no one with whom I could associate but the native Aleuts, whose language I understood but very imperfectly. However, there was nothing to do but to make the best of it and I therefore determined to thoroughly survey the island, as a means of occupying my mind for two or three weeks until the seals should begin to arrive. Though but a small place, it was certainly a wild one; centuries of rough change by the elements had so diversified its naturally irregular outlines as to leave it one mass of steep hills interconnected by long dark valleys. With the exception of three or four little strips of beach, high cliffs best led out over the water at almost every point, and into the rocky caverns at their base the sea clashed and thundered with a perpetual roar. So rocky was the soil that I could not find even a shrub, though in the Summer months long rank grasses grow everywhere in great abundance. Overhead hung almost a perpetual fog-bank, making the day well nigh as gloomy as the night; sometimes the mists would scatter for a day or two and I could see far across the water to the northward the tops of the hills on the island of St. Paul, another seal-island considerably larger than St. George.

The natives were very kind and good-natured; every day they would go far across the hills and return laden with different kinds of game or with eggs of sea-fowl, which they obtained

by being lowered a hundred feet or more down the face of the cliff, and would always bring them to me in order that I might have the first choice. I soon became well acquainted with all the inhabitants upon the island; attended the little receptions they gave upon their "name's day," as it is called by the Russians; acted as godfather for their children when they were christened—for all the Aleutians are members of the Greek Church—on which occasions I yet further endeared myself to them by keeping "open house" and providing an unlimited amount of tea, sugar and crackers for their entertainment. When the seals came there was work enough to do; what with driving, killing, salting and packing, keeping store, acting as governor, doctor and adviser. I had my time fully taken up; and so months went by, the seasons passed over, and I began counting the weeks that must elapse before the *Katie* would return to take on board the large lot of furs we had collected and stored in the *Lefka* (hut made of earth) on the beach.

One night in the middle of October I was awakened from my sleep by someone coming into my little cabin and roughly shaking me by the shoulder. Starting up, I saw by a strange glare of light that seemed to fill the room, the *Nirachie*, or head native on the island. He made an ineffectual attempt to speak and pointed with his hand to the window, while his face wore an expression of inevitable fear and consternation. In an instant I was at the window; both heaven and earth seemed one blaze of light, and for a moment, I thought that the old volcano, which had slumbered for ages beneath the island, had again started to life. A second glance, however, brought to my mind the hardly more deniable conviction, that the storehouse, containing our entire supply of provisions and the adjoining outhouses filled with salted seals which the natives had prepared for their Winter's sustenance, were wrapped in a sheet of flame.

Now that two years had passed, and I am sitting in my quiet library writing this, I cannot recall my feelings at that moment without experiencing a thrill of horror. A bitter cold gale blew from the north, laden with the inevitable mist, which though it prevented the fire from being seen at any distance, served by its refractions to fill with redoubled intensity of light the little space in which it was visible.

When I reached the spot the natives had all arrived, but too terror-stricken for motion, were stupidly gazing at the great surging flames, which they now beheld for the first time in their lives. Of custom, my first cry was for water. We were wholly unprepared for anything of this kind; the pond from which we obtained our supply of fresh water was more than half a mile distant and it was, therefore, out of the question to go there; the sea, however was within 300 yards of the building, but in order to reach it, it was necessary to descend a steep narrow path, leading down the side of a cliff, difficult during the day, but at night dangerous. Still it must be done and in less than two minutes I had all the inhabitants of the village—men, women and children—with the exception of three or four of the older men, whom I kept to assist me in breaking out some of the goods, dispatched to obtain the precious liquid.

All our exertions proved wholly futile; the fire, when discovered, was under too great headway to be subdued by any of the rude appliances we could command, and with the exception of three boxes of hard bread, which I succeeded to breaking out, the entire building, with outhouses and contents was reduced to a smoldering heap before our eyes.

It was about 3 o'clock in the morning when I told the natives, who now that the first excitement had passed, were making loud lamentations that they had better go to their homes and get rested, and that I would tell them after I had had time to think it over, what had best be done. For me it was no time for resting; my mind was well nigh paralyzed by the sudden calamity that had overtaken me, and it was long before I could collect my thoughts sufficiently to give the subject reasonable consideration. What was to be done! Both seals and birds had left us for their Winter's sojourn in a milder climate—fish there were none, for the seals had driven them away—there was absolutely nothing on the island that we could use for food.

The natives had made their weekly purchase of provisions five days before, and I knew from their natural improvidence that they could not have more than two days ordinary supply on hand; in my own house I had enough to keep them for three or four days more—but what then? The *Katie* would not return for five weeks and head winds might delay her two or three weeks longer. What were we to live upon in the meantime! We must certainly go to St. Paul, which was the only settlement within attainable distance to procure food; but then the equally perplexing question arose, how should we get there? St. Paul was only forty miles away and in good weather, with an ordinary ship's boat, I should have thought nothing of the trip; but at this season of the year fair weather was exceptionable and our only means of conveyance was a *bidara* or Aleutian skin-boat. This was a large ungainly craft, being about as symmetrically formed as a child's Noah's ark. It was made of a rude framework of drift-wood and whalebone covered with the skins of the sea-lion, which had been dried in the sun and sewn together; it was about thirty feet long, by twelve foot beam, and propelled by oars, yet carried a small square sail to be used when the wind was directly aft. On discharging our vessel we had found it very useful but though very seaworthy when newly oiled, after it had been in the water a few hours the skin covering became damp and rotten, so that a very slight pressure would break it; yet this was the only means of transportation we had, and go we must.

In the morning I assembled all the natives, and having told them the plan I had decided upon, made them bring all the food they had in their houses which with what I had, I placed under the charge of the Nirachie in order that regular rations might be served out and nothing wasted. It required sixteen men to man the *bidara*, and, that no hard feeling might be created, I let the able-bodied men of the village, amounting altogether to forty, draw lots in order to see which of them should go on the expedition. Having decided this, and seen that the best was put in proper condition for the trip, I sat down and wrote a letter containing a statement of our misfortune to the Captain of the *Katie* so that in case we should never return, and upon his arrival he should find no one alive upon the island, he might know the cause of it; and I also told him that he would find the furs in the *Lefka* all right.

Our wish now was for a moderately pleasant day, in order to start; and luckily for us we did not have to wait long, for the next morning brought us an unusually calm sea, with a light breeze from the South. Parting kisses and blessings were given, and we were soon off, steering directly for our destination, and going as fast as wind and oar could carry us. It was a delightful day, the wind staying by us and aiding us so that at four o'clock in the afternoon we landed on the island whose dark cliffs we had seen for hours rising higher and higher out of the blur sea. There were several American companies on the island, and as they had an abundant supply of provisions, I found no difficulty in obtaining all I wished; so we worked late into the night in getting them from the storehouse down to the landing, that we might be in readiness to start by daylight, our skin-boat having been dried and oiled in the meantime.

It was some time after midnight when, just as I was on the point of bidding my entertainers good-night, and seeking an hour or two of rest, one of my men, named Evan Switzoff, a favorite of mine, came to me and said he would like to have me come to the church, as he was about to be married. It seemed that he had been engaged to an Aleutian girl on St. Paul, Natalia by name, for three years, and that the present was the first time during this period that he had had an opportunity of seeing her, and though there was a dangerous trip home in anticipation, neither of them was willing to allow so excellent an occasion for consummating their long-postponed happiness to pass by unnoticed. I endeavored to point out the danger to which he was exposing her by so doing, but though I might have convinced him, I found that argument was entirely wasted upon her, and so gave it up.

The little church was brilliantly lighted by numerous wax candles of all sizes from an immense one six feet long and a foot in diameter down to the thin tapers which some of the natives carried in their hands. The bride was wonderfully arrayed, considering the place and the short notice she had received, being resplendent in a very light nicely-fitting

calico dress, with crinoline, a little white bonnet and a net of imitation coral jewelry; but the acme of style was reached through a pair of green kid gloves, in which the fair one had imprisoned her hands for the first time. Beside this "glass of fashion", poor Evan in his pea-jacket made but a sorry appearance; however, love seemed to overcome all those minor difficulties, and after a long service, rendered wearisome by perpetual bowings, but redeemed by beautiful chanting, they were pronounced man and wife, and the whole company went to the bride's father's to partake of such refreshment as he might provide, after which I, at least, sought my much-needed rest.

The next day was also a fine one; the sun rose on a perfectly calm sea, and, having bade our kind friends *adjou* [sic], we slowly rowed our now heavily laden boat out of the little harbor. Hour after hour passed by, and though we did not progress as rapidly as when the boat was empty, we still went along at a very good rate of speed, and St. Paul was becoming more and more faint in the distance. Owing to the immense amount of labor, both mental and physical, I had performed during the past few days, and the very small quantity of rest, I had been able to obtain, I felt very tired, and about noon seeing that all was going on well, I stretched myself out on a pile of boxes so that I might get a little sleep. The sun was shining with unprotected supremacy, and I put my handkerchief over my face to protect it from the unwanted heat. The men were pulling easily; Natalia was seated by her husband, and, just as I dropped off I heard her singing an old Russian song the burden of which was, "*Cooreet tropka tobacco*."

I must have slept several hours, for when some one awoke me a great change had taken place. The sun was completely lost to sight by dark thick folds of fog which intervened, and though there was as yet but little wind our boat rose and fell on each wave of a long heavy swell that came rolling toward us from the northward, which I instantly recognized as the precursor of one of our fierce gales.

The steersman estimated that we must be about eight miles from St. George; and though he had been steering by compass for an hour or two since the fog settled down on us, he seemed to be rather uncertain in precisely what direction our Island lay. Taking the large oar by which the boat's course was directed, I sent the former helmsman forward to help row; and having made an estimate by the wind, the compass and my predecessor's approximations as to what our course should be, I headed the boat in that direction, and trusted to good fortune for a favorable result.

Time passed away, night came on, but we saw no signs of the island. In vain we strained our eyes over the white caps, which were now beginning to crest the waves; no sight of land was vouchsafed to us, only a great dread darkness on every hand. This soon became so intense that I could not see the oarsman nearest to me; still they pulled on until one of them cried in a wild hopeless way, "We have passed by the Island!", thus giving verbal utterance to a fear I had felt but had not dared to express. The rowers stopped and our boat losing headway, swung heavily round into the trough of the sea. After a few moments deliberation my mind was made up. Our only chance of escape was, if possible, to lay where we were until the morning, and then endeavor to find the island; so I headed the boat into the wind, and still having three or four men row easily to keep her from drifting, let the others take any manner of rest they had the heart for.

But what a night it was! The wind increased every hour, and to add to our misery, about midnight our boat began to leak; first in one, and then in two, three, four and five places in quick succession, while at each lurch the slender framework would bend and twist as if it would break and let our boat fall apart. There was no help for it—some of our goods must be thrown overboard; so clothing, sugar and tea were quickly passed over the side, and went surging along to the leeward. This lightened the boat; but every half hour showed a new leak to be stopped, while all the men were kept steadily at work rowing, or bailing out the water that came in torrents over the bow and sides.

At last the day began to dawn, but none too soon, for it was evident to me that we could not keep above water another hour. With the growing light the fog also lifted for a time, and to our great delight we saw the Island of St. George under our lee, only about a mile off.

The shouts of joy from the natives were, however, quickly changed to cries of despair, when they saw the long line of breakers which, beginning a quarter of a mile or so from the shore, swept in huge white waves with irresistible force upon the beach.

If we were to land, we must do so here. To go around to the leeward side of the island while such a gale was blowing would have been absolutely impossible, even had our boat been in good condition; as it was, we should sink before we had made a tenth of the distance. To row in over the surf would result in complete destruction of our boat, cargo, and most, if not all, of our lives; those reaching the shore having only a lingering death by starvation to look forward to; remaining where we were was equally certain death. For the first time in all my troubles I lost heart entirely. "And this, thought I, is the end of all my planning, to perish miserably when within sight of the destination!"

It was at this moment of universal despair that Evan Switchoff prompted to mental exertion more by the presence of a loved one than by any fear of personal danger suggested carrying a surf-line to the shore and by its aid thought that the boat might be safely taken through the breakers. Surf lines are often used whenever it is necessary for boats to land on an unsheltered beach. It is merely a strong rope securely fastened to a buoy outside of the breakers, and thence carried through them to the land, where it is also fastened; a boat wishing to reach the shore goes to the buoy, and the rope having been taken on board, two men stand at the bows, and two at the stern, and pull her through the surf stern forward, in much the way small ferry-boats used to be taken across our Western rivers; but should the men by any mischance loose their hold of the rope, the boat will instantly swing round and capsize. It is a dangerous method, but far preferable to landing without it, which in the present case was impossible.

The idea was cheerfully received—but who was to take the line ashore? One suggested that it be fastened round a box, and that the waves would carry it to the beach, where we could see that the inhabitants of the village had now assembled, and that they would understand what it meant, and would fasten the line. In an instant the natives had sized a box, and had secured a line round it preparatory to throwing it over. But I crushed their short-lived hope by telling, what was an only too obvious fact, that there was but little chance of the box ever reaching the small strip of beach; in all probability it would be dashed to pieces on the long line of rocks which stretched for miles on either side, in which case their friends on shore would never think of looking for a line; and should the trial meet with such an end, we could not keep afloat long enough to make another, I ended by asking for a volunteer to undertake the dangerous work.

A short, though seemingly long silence followed my words, each one looking at his neighbor in the hope that he would speak; though, for my part, the danger in remaining seemed fairly as great as that of going and I would willingly have volunteered had I known how to swim. At last the silence was broken by a cry from Natalia, as Evan started up and began throwing off his clothes while the rest of the men, as if released from some enchantment, fell to work bailing out the water which during their delay had increased so much that it threatened to sink us instantly.

We were now just outside of the breakers, so we let go the anchor, and Evan, kissing the weeping Natalia, and grasping my hand as I fastened a line round his body, was off. Over the waves he went, now lost and now appearing; holding his head high up while the line which I had ready was paying out, dragged loosely behind. The people on the beach seemed to have seen him, for they went a little way into the surf, ready to seize him when he should come near. All went well, and he was within one hundred yards of the beach when a huge wave, which had well nigh swamped us, rushed in upon him towering up a deceitful mass of curling foam. He was so far away that I could not see what took place, but know, by the rapidity with which the line ran through my hands that some accident had befallen him.

Soon we saw the natives rush into the water, and a moment after return and go higher up the beach. Then the stress upon the line, which for a time had eased, was renewed, and feeling certain that they must have the other end, I made mine taut to a stronger rope, of which, thank fortune, we had an abundance, and launched it over the side. In about ten minutes there was a great waving of coats and hats on the beach—a signal, we took it, that the rope had been received and made fast; so, hauling it in as tightly as we could, we secured it with a buoy to the hawser of the anchor, and cut ourselves loose. It needed all our strength and skill and even with that we were a dozen times on the very verge of destruction. But a good Providence willed it otherwise; for in a few minutes our keep touched lightly upon the sand, a hundred hands seized our gunwale on both sides and we were run high and dry upon the beach.

That was indeed a joyful greeting. How many times I was embraced and kissed by men, women and children I cannot tell, and should be ashamed to if I could; but in all this I missed Evan's face and my first inquiry was for him. Having at length received a coherent direction, I ran to the little hut on the beach, where I was told he lay. But I was not the first; poor Natalia, I found her kneeling over the cold, wet body of her husband, trying by rubbing his face with her hands, and by kissing to bring him back to life. I feared there was no hope, still a moment after I was hurrying up the hill to my house to procure some stimulants. It was useless; he had been neglected too long; and in humble likeness to One far greater, had saved our lives at the cost of his own.

My memory will lose much that it holds dear before I forget the sweet harmony of those old Slavonian [sic] chants one of rejoicing and one of sorrow, which the men sang as they stood around the little hut now, alas, containing a double sacrifice.

The rest may be briefly told. By strict economy the reduced provisions we had succeeded in bringing from St. Paul proved more than sufficient. The *Katie* arrived in due season, landing abundant supplies, and taking on board in return the furs we had collected. With the event my banishment ended, and on the 2nd of December, just seven months after my arrival, from the deck of our schooner, we hurried southward, I saw the mist gather round that lone little island for the last time.¹³⁷

HUGGINS, LT. ELI LUNDY (1842–1929)

U.S. Army Lieutenant in charge of Seal Islands, 1870

Genealogy

Eli Lundy Huggins was born August 1, 1842, in Schuyler County, Illinois, son of the Reverend Alexander Gilliland Huggins and Lydia (Pettijohn) Huggins. While stationed at Kodiak, Alaska, Eli Huggins had a liaison with Alexandra (Aleksandra) Kashevarov (b. May 15, 1846), daughter of Ivan (Ioann) Kashevarov and Elisaveta (Elizaveta) Grigor'evna Klimovskoi.¹³⁸ A son, Zinovii (Zenoa, Zenoah) Alexander "Zeno" Kashevarov Huggins (aka Rufus Huggins),¹³⁹ was born to Alexandra on October 8, 1870 (d. May 31, 1955), just as Eli was to leave St. Paul Island. The son, who first lived with a relative of his father in California, became an artist and having married a French woman lived most of his adult life in France. Eli Huggins died October 22, 1929, at San Diego, California.¹⁴⁰

Biographical Sketch

Eli Huggins had a prestigious forty-year military career which he began July 5, 1861, at the age of eighteen, as an enlisted man in the 2nd Minnesota Infantry. He fought in nu-

merous Civil War battles, including Mill Springs, Chapel Hill, and Chickamauga. He was awarded the Medal of Honor on April 1, 1880, for distinguished gallantry in action against the Oglala Sioux Indians at the battle of O'Fallon's Creek, Montana. He kept a journal, wrote poetry, and was fluent in the Sioux and Russian languages. Huggins' military career ended with his appointment as brigadier general on February 22, 1903.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Eli Lundy Huggins, a first lieutenant with Battery G of the 2nd U.S. Artillery,¹⁴¹ landed at St. Paul Island on June 13, 1870, with one sergeant, two corporals, and nine soldiers from Fort Kodiak, Alaska. The Army sent Huggins and his men to the islands to ensure protection of the government's fur-seal interests, along with the safety and welfare of the islands' Natives. Lt. Huggins was in command on the Pribilofs for three months, until September 10, 1870.¹⁴² During his stay he wrote at least two letters and a note to his sisters Fannie and Hattie, who were living in California. The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, has conserved the two letters and note. They are presented here courtesy of the Bancroft Library.



Eli Lundy Huggins. (Library of Congress-LC-USZ62-132220.)

Saint Paul Island Alaska
July 25, 1870

My dear Fannie:

I sent by the steamer "Alexander" which sailed for San Francisco last week, a letter to Jane, and 100 dollars. Since then nothing worthy of note has occurred to me except a Journey to Walrus Island sixteen miles from here. It was a cold dreary trip in an open boat, but I was well paid for it. Besides myself were Count Veritenikoff and five natives who rowed the boat. When we left here at three o'clock in the morning we hoped to sail most of the way, but the wind being contrary the natives had to row most of the way. We arrived at Walrus Island at nine in the morning. The Island is half a mile long and an eighth of a mile in width. At this time of year it is covered with swarms of gulls and other aquatic fowl who go there to breed. When we landed on the island, they rose in great clouds, and made a noise like that of a high wind in a forest. We could hardly step without breaking the eggs which almost covered the ground. The natives went to work and filled the boat with eggs as full as it would hold. I am not fond of gull eggs, but can eat them at a pinch. They are dark colored & have a rank flavor.

There were hundreds of walrus on the rocks when we arrived there, but after shooting a few of them the rest took to the water and did not come back till afternoon, when I shot one and took the tusks. The tusks are two feet long. The walrus is an immense animal, almost as large as an elephant. At noon the natives made a fire of walrus blubber, and made tea. They also cooked eggs and seal meat. We left Walrus Island early in the afternoon, and reached home at seven o'clock. The natives were obliged to row all the way back against wind and tide current, and were almost exhausted when we got back. My most congenial companion here, Dr. Gildersleve, went to San Francisco on the "Alexandra"

which is an irreparable loss to me. The people left are but little company to me. I expect a German doctor here by the first vessel. His name is Cramer. I have seen him but have not much acquaintance with him. There is a good deal of sickness among the natives. . . . Dr. Gildersleve attributes this to their underground dwellings which are always damp and mouldy. They live in these underground abodes, not as I used to suppose on account of extreme cold, but because they can not get wood on any of the Aleutian Islands to build houses. These islands, St. Paul and St. George, were not inhabited when the Russians first discovered them. The Russians brought natives from various islands to live on them. There is one family here from Kamschatka. They are very much darker than the Aleutians, but I think are finer looking. They have been here thirty years and speak the Aleutian language.

St. Paul Island Alaska
Sept. 10, 1870

My dear Hattie:

Time passes rapidly away even in Behrings sea and by the time this reaches you it will be nearly five years since I left home. You have changed much more than I have no doubt. You must be a young lady grown now. It seems a little strange to me to think of you so. I would not have you here to remain for anything but I often wish that my sisters could be here for a few hours to accompany me in one of my walks. It would astonish you to see the seals I think. The young seals which were born in June and July are learning to swim now. It is a singular fact that a young seal can not swim, and would drown as soon as an infant if left alone in the water. They are now (the youngest of them) about six weeks old, and as tall as a large cat, but three times as heavy. The old males are as large as a horse and have a mane like that of an old buffalo. They are a formidable looking animal, and if any one who had never seen or heard of them before should suddenly come upon them it would frighten him as much as a pack of lions. They are not dangerous though for they never fight when they have a chance to run, and they move so slowly on shore that a small child can easily keep out of their way. I take some long walks all alone when the weather is fine. Little blue foxes come out of their holes and bark at me as I go by. They live on seal meat.

Berries are ripe on the island now and I see native women and girls out picking them every day. There are two kinds of berries. I do not like either of them much except preserved. One kind is a good deal like a red raspberry only the seeds are much larger and coarser. The other kind is like huckleberries. The women complain that the foxes eat more than their share of the berries. Some of the natives are quite industrious and anxious to improve their condition and be "alle same Americansky," but there is not much chance of that as long as they are obliged to live in underground houses and burn seal blubber for fuel. It makes a very rank black smoke which ruins everything in the house. There are not trees on the island so they will have to continue as they are for a time yet. I think hardy trees would grow here, and have written to the bureau of Agriculture in Washington to send either young sprouts or seeds of maple, cottonwood. I think if there is any one here to take an interest in the matter after I leave they can have large groves twenty years hence.

The natives here will have to live on seal meat if a vessel does not come soon. The sugar and tobacco is all gone already, which to them is a greater misfortune than if the flour was all gone. They have to make their beer of berries alone now. It is quite intoxicating, but they like it better when they have sugar to put in it.

Oct. 9, 1870

A steamer from San Francisco arrived this morning and I am ordered to San Francisco. Will probably arrive there about eight days before you get this letter. Direct to San Francisco.

Your loving brother
Eli ¹⁴³

HUGHES, EDWARD “NED”

Cook, North American Commercial Company, St. Paul Island

Pribilof Islands Experience

The following entry was included in the St. Paul Island Agent’s Log on Friday, April 6, 1900, respecting the death of Ned Hughes:

Death resulted from a gradual collapse since January 19, 1899, when he was partially asphyxiated by coal-gas while sleeping in the house of E. J. Morton, the teamster, the company house being in process of renovation at the time. Age uncertain, between 55–60; buried inside the enclosure in which are the remains of Dr. Otto Voss.¹⁴⁴

HUNGERFORD, HOWARD HART (1882–1968)

Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. Paul Island, 1924–1925

Genealogy

Howard Hart Hungerford was born July 1, 1882, in California, the son of Frank Mason Hungerford and Martha Miranda (Spain) Hungerford. Howard married Edith Annette during November of 1918 at Petersburg, Alaska. Howard Hungerford died in Seattle on October 8, 1968.

Biographical Sketch

Howard Hungerford worked as a fish curer in Petersburg, Alaska. The 1920 U.S. Census noted he was manager of a fish plant in Seattle. After his work on St. Paul Island, he continued working as a warden for the Bureau of Fisheries.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Howard Hungerford served as the Agent on St. Paul Island from 1924 to 1925.

HUTCHINSON, HAYWARD MALCOLM (1832–1883)

Baltimore Merchant and Founder of Hutchinson, Kohl & Company

Secretary, Treasurer, and Stockholder, Alaska Commercial Company

Genealogy

Hayward Malcolm Hutchinson was born January 19, 1832, in Milford, New Hampshire. He was the son of David Hutchinson and Elizabeth (Hayward) Hutchinson, whose original surname was his given name. Hayward married Elizabeth Catherine Abbott, daughter of Edwin Abbott and Catherine (Johnson) Abbott, on September 7, 1859, at Baltimore, Maryland, as reported in the *Baltimore Sun* of September 9, 1859. Hayward and Catherine Hutchinson had two daughters: Linda (married to Charles Ball, and later to John S. Webb)

and Katie (married to John F. Olmstead), both born in Baltimore.¹⁴⁵ Hayward Hutchinson died at age fifty-one on May 10, 1883, in Washington, D.C., after he had “amassed a fortune in the fur seal business.”¹⁴⁶



HAYWARD M. HUTCHINSON

Hayward M. Hutchinson. (Samuel P. Johnston, 1940, Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940.)

Biographical Sketch

Hayward Hutchinson was educated in Milford's one-room Schoolhouse #3 on Union Street, a school established by his grandfather Nehemiah Hayward. He completed his formal education at Mt. Vernon, New Hampshire, a few miles from Milford.¹⁴⁷

Hutchinson lived in Washington, D.C., for a short time. In 1880, he and his family settled on 293 acres purchased in 1875 by his wife, Elizabeth, in the Berry's District of Montgomery County, Maryland. The family established a home there that they named “Sitka Farm.” “He built a large estate on land that now comprises the Hillendale development in eastern Montgomery County to the east of New Hampshire Avenue, just north of the Beltway (I-495).”¹⁴⁸ Today, only the overseer's house remains. According to the March 1976 issue of *The Hillandaler*, a Montgomery County historical newsletter, Hutchinson also built the Sitka Baptist Church for his hired black men and women laborers.¹⁴⁹

The Hutchinson and Hayward families were active in many spheres. Their accomplishments included the world-famous Hutchinson Family Singers, the Bartlett & Hayward Company of Baltimore, and the Hutchinson & Kohl Company of California, which evolved to become the Alaska Commercial Company.

John W. Hutchinson, as head of the Family Singers, was looking for an advertising agent when he approached his nephew, Hayward, on the subject:

March 14, 1853, this tour ended. We went home and at once began negotiations with Hayward Hutchinson, son of my oldest brother David, to go out on the road as our advance agent. He did not go, but soon after went to Baltimore and commenced a business career that made him both famous and wealthy.¹⁵⁰

In 1853, when Hayward was twenty-one, he and brothers Jesse and Elias left New Hampshire to join their uncles, George and Jonas Hayward, in the Bartlett & Hayward Company, an innovative business producing stoves that they had started in 1844 in Baltimore. The business grew to become one of Baltimore's largest iron manufacturers, shifting its focus to ornamental iron work, steam heating and “the construction of complete plants for making illuminating gas. This firm furnished the heating apparatus for the

Johns Hopkins Hospital, the City Hall of Baltimore; also those in the Treasury, State, War, and Navy building; Post Office and new Library at Washington. . . . They employ from 800 to 1,200 men . . . built a variety of tools for the manufacture of guns.”¹⁵¹ One may conclude that it was as an outgrowth of these enterprises that Hayward M. Hutchinson entered into the manufacture and selling of cooking utensils to the Union Army during the Civil War. As a consequence, Hayward became acquainted with General Lovell Harrison Rousseau, the military commander heading Customs and Trade during the Civil War. After the war, in 1867, General Rousseau suggested to Hayward that he accompany the general to Sitka in Russian America (via San Francisco) where, as the presidentially appointed United States Commissioner, Rousseau would accept the territorial transfer from the Russian Governor Prince Maksutov.¹⁵² As noted in Hayward Hutchinson’s 1883 obituary:

Mr. Hutchinson being the oldest of the firm, his business and inclination led him to do much traveling, and about the close of the war, at which time he was in rather poor health, he made a trip to Alaska. Here he became acquainted with the Russian governor of that province, and seeing an opportunity, formed a company and obtained for it the fur seal business, by which he amassed a fortune.¹⁵³

Pribilof Islands Experience

Hayward M. Hutchinson saw more than one “opportunity” on his western journey. He made good contacts in San Francisco while traveling with General Rousseau. At New Archangel (Sitka) he developed more contacts. Hutchinson’s business acumen enabled him to outmaneuver potential rivals, such as Oppenheim & Co. of London, England.¹⁵⁴ His successful acquisition of the Russian-American Company’s (RAC) major assets enabled him to establish a significant competitive foothold in the territory. With the RAC assets in hand, he formed Hutchinson, Kohl & Company, which he parlayed into the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC). Then in 1871, he entered into a lease with Russia, thereby obtaining sole rights to the Russian northern fur-seal herd at the Commander Islands.¹⁵⁵ Hutchinson’s bold business moves succeeded in securing ACC monopolies over the northern fur-seal trade in the United States and Russia.



Sitka Farm, residence of Hayward M. Hutchinson, Montgomery County, MD. (J. Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland, p. 644. Courtesy Montgomery County Historical Society.)

The ACC’s successful bid for the lease to the Pribilof Islands fur-seal harvest rankled many businessmen with like intentions. Some of these men, such as Louis Goldstone, who represented numerous other interests,¹⁵⁶ went all-out to discredit the ACC in futile attempts to obtain their own direct access to the fur-seal wealth. They formed the Anti-Monopoly Association and contributed to the creation of the *Alaska Herald* newspaper in San Francisco (1868–72) to print occasional, spurious articles about the ACC (see Honcharenko biography). These efforts succeeded in spur-

ring Congress, in 1876, to open an inquiry into the performance of the ACC under its lease from the U.S. government.¹⁵⁷

Hutchinson first testified before a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee in Washington, D.C., on April 24, 1876, and then again on May 3. Subcommittee members queried Hutchinson on his involvement in the Alaska sealing industry and the circumstances leading to the government's twenty-year lease of the Seal Islands to the ACC.

In his April 24, 1876, testimony, Hutchinson responded to numerous questions from Congressman Hill. His responses are abridged here:

I reside in Washington. I have resided here since December, 1868 . . . I was living here during the time of the lease of the Alaska Islands to the Alaska Commercial Company. I am a stockholder in the company, and was originally an officer, first elected secretary then treasurer. The Alaska Commercial Company owned nothing except the lease when the lease was obtained, but afterward all the business of my company, Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., was sold or transferred to the Alaska Commercial Company. Mr. Miller was the first president of the company and is its president now, but many changes have occurred with the directors. The company employs agents for the discharge of its business in Alaska. The attorney for the company at present is Mr. Jefferies. When I came here to Washington, in 1868, I had a very vague idea of the way to proceed to get some legislation for Alaska, and I looked around and employed a gentleman who consented to be an attorney for the company. That was Mr. J.A. Creswell. I went to Elkton [Maryland] to see him on the subject in December, 1868. I explained my business and proposition, and asked his advice as to the drafting of the bill. I asked him to come to Washington and be the attorney of the company. He kept that position until his appointment as Postmaster General. The company had been organized under the State laws of California in the fall of 1868.¹⁵⁸



WILLIAM KOHL

William Kohl. (Samuel P. Johnston, 1940, Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940)

Hutchinson continued his testimony in response to questions posed by Congressman Fernando Wood, Chairman of the Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee. Hutchinson identified the men involved with securing the lease and those employed as officers of the ACC. He stated emphatically that no wrongdoing or undue influence entered into the acquisition of the lease. Again, his testimony is abridged here.

I did myself, and in my own name, purchase the property of the old Russian-American Company. I went to Alaska in 1867. I started north from Victoria, with a small vessel, in December, 1867, and went to Sitka with the full intention of buying the interest of the Russian-American Company, their buildings, boats, and paraphernalia which were not transferred to the United States. I bought all their goods and chattels at Sitka at a fixed price per yard, per pound, per dozen, etc., according to the catalogue which they had of the goods on hand. I bought everything they had. I bought everything in my own name except one vessel [schooner H.M. Hutchinson], which I bought in the name of Hutchinson & Hirsch. It was then the conception

of having the lease given to me arose. I do not think I thought of it until I went north [in 1868] and saw the condition of things on the islands; this great seal-life, and its importance to the people of this country and of Alaska. I never dreamed of such a thing as having any privilege or that there was any necessity for it. But after living there one season, and seeing the danger of the destruction of the seal-fisheries, I then wanted the privilege perpetuated, so as to get my money out of the business.¹⁵⁹

According to Gustave Niebaum, Hayward Hutchinson first visited the Pribilofs aboard the newly acquired schooner *H.M. Hutchinson*. It “landed at St. Paul Island’s Northeast Point in 1868 following the transfer of property to the United States. Hayward Hutchinson and the crew landed in great style and carried an American flag to the highest hill claiming the island as an American island.” That high hill at Northeast Point bears the name Hutchinson Hill.¹⁶⁰

After his arch-competitor, Louis Goldstone, testified, Hutchinson went before the committee again, on May 3, 1876, and responded (A) to questions (Q) posed by Congressman Hill:

Hill (Q): Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., as I understand, took from Saint Paul and Saint George’s Islands some eighty-odd thousand seal-skins previous to this lease in 1869. They paid the Government a royalty of \$1.00 per skin, did they not?

Hutchinson (A): Yes, Sir.

Hill (Q): Who owned those 80,000 skins?

Hutchinson (A): I would like to state that we did not take these skins from the island until after the law was passed. We killed the seals in 1869, but the skins were not taken away until 1870, after the lease had been awarded to us. I believe Mr. Boutwell [Treasury Secretary] recommended to some members of the committee that those skins then on the island, which had already been taken in 1869, be taxed \$1.00, and that was put into the law; we were taxed a dollar apiece for them. Those skins belonged to Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., and Williams, Haven & Co. of New London, Conn.

Hill (Q): Who are Williams, Haven & Co.?

Hutchinson (A): Williams, Haven & Co are Mr. Henry P. Haven, of Connecticut, who died last Sunday, and Richard Chapel. They are whalers. They took seals and whales, and had been at that business in the Pacific for a great many years. They had a vessel in the water of the Okhotsk Sea, I think, seal-fishing in 1866. While their vessel was at Honolulu in 1866, the captain became acquainted with a Russian captain who put in there in distress with the remainder, or a portion, of the Alaska seal-skins taken by the old Russian company and there this captain learned of this interest. He left his vessel at Honolulu, went to Connecticut, and conferred with his employers. Then Mr. Chapel, one of the concerns, went out to Honolulu and fitted out this vessel and another one and sent them to the Alaska Islands as early as April, 1868.

When we arrived on the island we found three men had been landed there by a small vessel, and the other large vessel was lying off the island ready to land whenever the wind and the ice would allow. They sealed on their own account during 1868. I was there on the island at the time. When I went there I found a great deal of wrangling and quarreling between the two interests of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., and Captain Morgan, of the Connecticut people. One of our vessels, a steamer, had landed before me with Mr. Bosquet, who also was interested, with instructions to go to sealing; but he and Captain Morgan had a great deal of trouble and annoyance. I tried to arrange to seal together, but Captain Morgan was not at all inclined to make any arrangement. We had working for us all of the inhabitants of Saint Paul Island, numbering about 90 men. Captain Morgan had the people that he brought with him from Honolulu to seal. Williams, Haven & Co. did their business

on the Pacific coast, and the management of it was by a younger Mr. Williams in Honolulu. The quarreling became almost serious. They commenced sealing much earlier that season than the Russians had sealed before. When I came there, about the 9th May, 1868, I found this wrangling going on, and my people very much inclined to drive away the others; that is, to have a quarrel with them. They had about 24 men to our 90. I went to see Mr. Morgan at his quarters. We talked it over a long time and tried to have some arrangement that we might seal according to the old rules of the Russian company, of which I had learned a great deal in my journey to San Francisco with the Russian commissioner. My four month stay in Sitka also gave me information as to the manner of doing business. When I came to the island I found that the natives were very tenacious about the manner of killing, and did not want the seals killed excepting by the old rules of the company, which had preserved these animals for so many years. Morgan's men killed old seals, cows, or anything they came across. The idea was to get all they could. We failed to make any arrangement, but agreed to work at separate points. There are six or seven different rookeries from which seals are driven to be killed. We divided the rookeries. The Morgan party drove from two or three, while we drove from the others, so that there was no conflict in regard to the territory to drive from. The business closed up in 1868 with their taking what they could with their twenty-four people, and we taking what we could with our ninety people. I then came to Washington, seeing that this business would be destroyed unless there was something done, and came with a very indefinite idea what to ask, and in fact not prepared to ask for anything except some legislation looking to the preservation of these animals. My visit here finally resulted in legislation.

Early in 1869, while I was here in that regard, these people came down from Connecticut and made an offer of a dollar a skin to the Committee on Commerce. Williams, Haven & Co. were two-fifths owners, and Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. three-fifths owners of the 87,000 skins taken in 1869.¹⁶¹

Hill (Q): What interest had Ennis, Parrott & Wasserman in that case?

Hutchinson (A): None.

Hill (Q): And you say that Taylor & Bendell had no interest?"

Hutchinson (A): None.

Hill (Q): They brought suit however for an interest?

Hutchinson (A): Yes, sir; they brought suit in 1871 for the cash for that portion of the skins taken from Saint George Island, to wit, 24,000. That was under an old arrangement with Burgam & Co. In that 1868 matter that I spoke of, Taylor & Bendell landed a schooner at Saint George Island, and another party (with whom, I think, Mr. Parrott and a gentleman named House, from Boston, had an interest) landed another schooner, so that when our people returned the second time to Saint George Island, they found these two schooners there with their people ashore putting up a small building, adobe mostly, and preparing to seal. Our people went into an arrangement to work Saint George Island together, they having a portion and our people having a portion. [See Osborne Howes biography for additional insight into Parrott & Co. involvement.] In March 1869 I think, Congress passed a resolution making those islands a Government reservation, and allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to designate who might remain on the island, or go there. We got permission, I think from Secretary McCulloch, to go on this island and kill as many seals were necessary for the support of the people. Then we killed those 69,000; 24,000 from Saint George and the remainder from Saint Paul.¹⁶² After, Taylor & Bendell claimed an interest in these 24,000, and brought suit against us for their interest in them. We notified them before we went north in 1869, that that arrangement ceased between the two concerns.¹⁶³

The Ways and Means Committee resolved:

That in the opinion of this House there is no just ground of complaint against the Alaska Commercial Company or the officers of the Government who were intrusted under the law

with the power to make, and see to the performance of, the lease, aforesaid, and that it is entitled to the enjoyment of the franchise.¹⁶⁴

Hayward Hutchinson became a wealthy man through his association with the Alaska Commercial Company, with which he remained affiliated until his death in 1883.

- 1 U.S. Census, 1900–1920; Indiana Marriage Collection, 1800–1941, book 23, 302, Ancestry.com; and U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, House Resolution No. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess., 1911 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 1120–21.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Barton Warren Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1911*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 766 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912), 90.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Certificate of Marriage, copy obtained from the State of Alaska, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Juneau, AK, Dec. 28, 2006.
- 6 Craig Buescher, Mary Buescher, Jock Hubbell, Jean Hubbell, George Peter, and Dorothy Skalka, *Deweese Centennial 1886–1986* (Lawrence, NE: Ostdick), 23A; David B. Winandy (NOAA/NOS/ORR), *Richard J. and Dixie Hajny Interviews*, Jan. 20, 2001, Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA; and Morris Communications, “Alaska: Leaving a Legacy,” <http://www.findarticles.com> (accessed July 2004).
- 7 Roy H. Hurd, “Pribilof Management Report for August 1967,” Fur-Seal Archives 8.03.01, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.
- 8 David Winandy, *Richard J. and Dixie Hajny Interviews*, 12; Morris Communications, “Alaska: Leaving a Legacy,” <http://www.findarticles.com> (accessed July 2004).
- 9 Phyllis Swetzof, daughter of Richard and Dixie Hajny (Nov. 2008).
- 10 State of California, Certification of Vital Record, County of Alameda, Oakland, CA.
- 11 U.S. Censuses, 1880 and 1900; Cora Haley death certificate; California Academy of Sciences, “George Haley, 1870–1954,” *Academy News Letter* 173 (May 1954), 2; and Ancestry.com.
- 12 California Academy of Sciences, “George Haley,” 2–3.
- 13 Ibid., 2.
- 14 Ward T. Bower and Henry D. Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1915*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 834 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1917), 78–9.
- 15 Ward T. Bower and Henry D. Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1916*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 838 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1917b), 84–5.
- 16 Ward T. Bower, *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1920*, U.S. Bur. Fish Doc. no. 909 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1921), 77.
- 17 Hal Johnson, “So We’re Told – Alaska Bound,” *Berkeley Gazette* (Berkeley, CA), July 11, 1941; and Hal Johnson, “So We’re Told – Flora and Fauna Man,” *Berkeley Gazette*, Apr. 1954.
- 18 California Academy of Sciences, “George Haley,” 3.
- 19 Karl W. Kenyon to Dr. Robert C. Miller, Director, California Academy of Sciences, dated Mar. 14, 1956, Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.
- 20 G Dallas Hanna, “Random Comparisons of St. Paul Island as observed by Dr. G. [sic] Dallas Hanna in 1960 after an absence of 40 years” (Belvedere Scientific Fund, 1960), 2.
- 21 G without a following period is Hanna’s first name. Robert C. Miller, “G Dallas Hanna,” *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences*, 32, no. 6 (1962): 5; U.S. Censuses, 1920 and 1930; Linda York Crockett, Ancestry.com (I131761); and MA Vital Records, vol. 559, 46. In various articles of correspondence, Hanna himself occasionally placed a period after his single-letter given name.
- 22 State of California, Dept. of Health Services, California Death Index, 1940–1997, Sacramento, CA.
- 23 Miller, “G Dallas Hanna,” 6 and 9.
- 24 Miller, “Obituary of G Dallas Hanna,” California Academy of Sciences Collection, San Francisco.
- 25 Barton Warren Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1913*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 797, app. 2 to the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries for 1913 (Washington, DC:

- GPO, 1914), 12; and St. Paul Island Agent's Log, July 29, 1913.
- 26 Selected Hanna photographs can be found in G Dallas Hanna, *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*, ed. John A. Lindsay, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 16 (2008), and the elements of his collection can be viewed in John A. Lindsay, Gina Rappaport, and Betty A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: A Guide to Photographs and Illustrations*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 20 (2009).
 - 27 Miller, "G Dallas Hanna," 15–40.
 - 28 Ward T. Bower and Henry D. Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1914*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 819 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1915), 69.
 - 29 Miller, "G Dallas Hanna," 6 and 9.
 - 30 The nickname "Lucy" is given in parentheses in the June 30, 1916, St. Paul Island agent's census.
 - 31 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 273 and 380.
 - 32 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 17, 1896, 442.
 - 33 Anna Hanson was born four years after the death of John Hanson; the St. Paul Island agent's census does not list the biological father.
 - 34 The Salem Indian School and the Chemawa Indian School are the same institution. The school carried at least two naming conventions over the course of its history. Today, Chemawa lies within the community of Salem, Oregon. During its early inception, it was situated in an unincorporated community, Chemawa, north of Salem.
 - 35 The deposition states the name "Hansson" instead of "Hanson."
 - 36 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 116.
 - 37 "Lucy" is given as a nickname in parentheses in the June 30, 1916, St. Paul Island agent's census.
 - 38 Victor Scheffer, "A Mammoth Tooth from Alaska," *Nature Magazine* 451 (1952): 6. Illustration is a Scheffer photo from Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA, neg. no. 2777.
 - 39 "J. P. Harrington Biography," <http://nas.ucdavis.edu>; and U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925, NARA microfilm publication M1490, passport no. 58907 issued Feb. 16, 1905.
 - 40 Victor Golla, "John P. Harrington and His Legacy," *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 4 (1991): 337.
 - 41 Carabeth Laird, *Encounter with an Angry God* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1975), xix.
 - 42 Golla, "John P. Harrington and His Legacy," 338.
 - 43 Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994), viii.
 - 44 James R. Glenn, "The Sound Recordings of John P. Harrington," *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 4 (1991): 363.
 - 45 These recordings are archived at the Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, MD, under the "Papers of John Peabody Harrington," NAA SR ALE 0003.
 - 46 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 26.
 - 47 James "Jack" O'Dell, "Captain 'Hell Roaring' Michael A. Healy, U.S.R.C.S.," http://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Healy_ODell_Article.asp (accessed Apr. 10, 2003).
 - 48 Gerald O. Williams, "Michael J. [A] Healy and the Alaska Maritime Frontier, 1880–1902." MA thesis, Univ. Oregon, 1987 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Service, 2005), 33. Note: Williams incorrectly referred to Capt. Healy as Michael James Healy rather than as Michael Augustus Healy.
 - 49 Noel Alger Day, "Fred Randolph Moore Family," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com, Day noted that Michael was a descendant of William Craft and Ellen Smith (1826–1891), sister of Mary, Michael Healy's mother. Ellen Smith and William Craft were acclaimed Georgia slaves who escaped north via the underground railroad, she disguised as a gentleman-traveler (she was light-skinned) and he (dark-skinned) as her servant. Compare William Leo Lucey, *The Catholic Church in Maine* (Francestown, NH: Marshall Jones, 1957), 213. For additional information on Ellen and William Craft go to <http://www.africanaonline.com/slavery>.
 - 50 Williams, "Michael J. [A] Healy," 34–5.
 - 51 Truman R. Strobridge and Dennis L. Noble, *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 1867–1915* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999), 45.

- 52 Williams, "Michael J. [A] Healy," 490.
- 53 Ibid., 37.
- 54 Lucey, *The Catholic Church In Maine*, 211.
- 55 Williams, "Michael J. [A] Healy," 37–8 and 40.
- 56 Ibid., 40–3.
- 57 Strobridge and Noble, *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service*, chapters 3 and 11; and O'Dell, "Captain 'Hell Roaring' Michael A. Healy," U.S. Coast Guard Historical Museum. According to this reference, Healy acquired his nickname "'Hell Roaring Mike' as a result of adventures in the saloons of San Francisco, and his superiors acknowledged the problem by allowing him to take his wife along on his voyages." <http://www.uscg.mil> (accessed June 3, 2009).
- 58 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 27.
- 59 "CGC Healy History," <http://www.uscg.mil/pacarea/cgcHealy/history.asp> (accessed June 3, 2009); "Revenue Captain Michael A. Healy, USRCS: Biographical Highlights," http://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Healy_Bio.asp (accessed June 3, 2009); and "Captain Michael A. Healy, USRCS," <http://www.uscg.mil/history/people/HealyMichaelIndex.asp> (accessed June 3, 2009).
- 60 In 1999, Waterfront Sounds Productions released an interesting, although not completely accurate, account of Michael Healy's life, including the impact of American hunters on the marine mammal resources of Alaska and the further impact on the Native communities. The fifty-seven-minute documentary is titled *The Odyssey of Captain Healy*. Executive Producer Danny McGuire; Producer, Writer, and Director Maria Brooks. (DVD; San Jose, CA: Waterfront Sounds, 1999).
- 61 John Francis Murphy, "Cutter Captain: The Life and Times of John C. Cantwell," PhD diss., Univ. of Connecticut, 1968: 50–52.
- 62 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 31.
- 63 U.S. Census, 1900, San Francisco, CA.
- 64 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 32.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., 32–6.
- 67 Ibid., 35–6.
- 68 Volodymyr Kubijovye, ed., "The Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, 1832–1916," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1988), reprinted in *The Ukranian Weekly* 67, no. 25 (June 20, 1999), <http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/1999/259904.shtml> (accessed Jan. 27, 2006); and "An Opening of State Park 'Ukraina' in Hayward, California," <http://www.brama.com/news/press/990424honcharenko.html> (accessed Jan. 27, 2006).
- 69 U.S. Federal Censuses, 1870–1920, Ancestry.com.
- 70 An Opening of State Park 'Ukraina' in Hayward, California, <http://www.brama.com/news/press/990424honcharenko.html> (accessed Jan. 27, 2006).
- 71 Kubijovye, ed., "The Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, 1832–1916," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2; and "An Opening of State Park 'Ukraina' in Hayward, California," <http://www.brama.com/news/press/990424honcharenko.html> (accessed Jan. 27, 2006).
- 72 U.S. Federal Censuses, 1870–1920, Ancestry.com; "State Park Ukraina in Hayward, California," Brama Ukrainewstand, <http://brama.com> (May 1999); and Kubijovye, ed., "The Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, 1832–1916," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2.
- 73 "A History of the Wrongs of Alaska. An Appeal to the People and Press of America," was originally printed by the Anti-Monopoly Association of the Pacific Coast, Feb. 1875. The article was reprinted in U.S. Cong., House, 44th Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. no. 83 (Jan. 20, 1876): 152–171.
- 74 On Feb. 25, 1876, the House Committee on Ways and Means initiated investigatory proceedings into the operations of the Alaska Commercial Company under its lease from the United States to harvest fur seals. See U.S. Cong., House, Committee of Ways and Means, *The Alaska Commercial Company*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. no. 623, June 3, 1876, 143 pp.
- 75 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 172 and 194 (on page 172 the date of the Congressional investigation is 1876 rather than 1875 as stated on page 194); and "An Opening of State Park 'Ukraina.'"
- 76 Pierce, *Russian America*, 193–4.
- 77 Wolfgang Saxon, "Obituary David Hopkins," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 2001, A25.
- 78 Dennis McLellan, "Obituary, David Hopkins, 79," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 25, 2001, B14.
- 79 Allan Cox, David M. Hopkins, and G. Brent Dalrymple, "Geomagnetic Polarity Epochs: Pribilof

- Islands, Alaska," *Geological Society of America Bulletin* 77, no. 9 (1966): 883–909.
- 80 David M. Hopkins, "Reports, Pleistocene Glaciation," *Science* (Apr. 1966): 343.
- 81 "Biographies of Notable Americans, 1904," <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll> (accessed Apr. 20, 2004).
- 82 Biography Resources Center, <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/BioRC> (accessed Dec. 14, 2003).
- 83 David L. Ebby, "Biography of William T. Hornaday," William T. Hornaday Awards History Center, a U.S. Scouting Services Project website, <http://usscouts.org/history/hornaday.html> (accessed Dec. 14, 2003).
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 William T. Hornaday, *Thirty Years War for Wildlife: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task*, Congressional Edition (Stamford, CT: Gillespie Bros., 1931).
- 86 Ibid., 173.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Ibid., 174.
- 91 Ibid. (The authors assume Dr. Hornaday was speaking only of the Pribilof Islands seal population); and Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780, 1984, 20, which stated, "In 1911, when the seal population was at its lowest level in history. An estimate of the total herd, 123,600, was probably low, for an estimate made the following year upon more reliable data was 75% higher."
- 92 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 174.
- 93 Ibid., 175.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid., 177; Hornaday's text is not clear as to the sequence of events, but the authors interpret it to mean that these resolutions were handed to Sen. Dixon upon Hornaday's first meeting with the senator.
- 96 Ibid., 175.
- 97 Ibid., 178.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., 175
- 100 Ibid. These authors with the assistance from Collections Librarian Kenneth R. Desperett, D.C. Public Library, Washingtoniana Division (email to Betty Lindsay Jan. 30, 2009) located an article, "Club Begins Fight, Movement for Saving the Fur Seal Industry," printed on Dec. 10, 1910 in *The Washington Star*, 20. These authors did not learn whether other newspapers carried an article under the title "The Loss of the Fur Seal Industry," as stated by Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 175.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Ibid., 176.
- 103 Ibid., 175.
- 104 Ibid., 176.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Ibid., 180.
- 107 Ibid., 178.
- 108 Ibid., 180.
- 109 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 19, citing W. I. Lembkey, *Annual report seal fisheries of Alaska* [for 1907], U.S. Congress, Senate, 1908. Presumably Scheffer is referring to Lembkey's Report "Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to Senate Resolution, of March 2, 1908, Certain Reports Relating to the Alaskan Seal Fisheries," U.S. Congress, Senate, 60th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. no. 376, in U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, vol. 15 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), 12–65.
- 110 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 176.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 19.
- 113 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 178.

- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid., 180.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ibid. Hornaday apparently erroneously stated that news of the killing of 12,920 fur seals came in July 1920; these authors assume the date was actually July 1910, which is consistent with Hornaday's story line.
- 119 Briton Cooper Busch, *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Company* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1985), 156, citing President, NY Zoological Society, to Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Industries, June 1, 1910. NARA, RG 22, sec. 21, file 100, folder 2.
- 120 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 180.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 19.
- 123 Lisa Marie Morris, *Keeper of the Seal: The Art of Henry Wood Elliott and the Salvation of the Alaska Fur Seals*, PhD diss., Univ. Alaska, Fairbanks, 2001, 1.
- 124 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 20.
- 125 Oliver L. Austin Jr. and Ford Wilke, *Japanese Fur Sealing*, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Special Scientific Report, Wildlife no. 6, 1950, 21.
- 126 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 178, stated the treaty was signed in 1912; whereas Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 20, stated it was signed by the U.S., Japan, Russia and Great Britain on July 7, 1911, and ratified by Congress on Aug. 24, 1912; and Hanna's *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*, 40, stated that the treaty that included the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Russia was proclaimed on Dec. 15, 1911. President William Howard Taft stated in an address to Congress "an act was adopted to give effect to the fur-seal treaty on July 7, 1911," A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. 16 (NY: Bur. of National Literature, 1897), 7823.
- 127 Hornaday, *Thirty Years War*, 181.
- 128 Information about the St. George advance landing was found in a 1945 document, presumably written by Acting Agent and Caretaker for St. George Island, Carl Hoverson. The thirteen-page document summarizes the arrivals and departures of numerous vessels and individuals at St. George in 1944 and through Mar. 2, 1945.
- 129 St. George Island Agent's Annual Report, Apr. 6, 1945 (no page number).
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Joshua Crowell Howes, *Genealogy of the Howes Family in America* (Yarmouth, MA: F. Hallett, 1892), 249–439; Massachusetts Vital Records, 1841–1910, vol. 23 (18) and vol. 25 (332); New England Historic Genealogical Society, <http://www.newenglandancestors.org/>; U.S. Census, 1900, Brookline, MA, 299; U.S. Department of State, Passport Applications, 1795–1905; NARA pub. M1372, RG 59, 1899, no. 9305; 1899, no. 9306; William Ensign Lincoln, *Some Descendants of Stephen Lincoln* (NY: Knickerbocker, 1930), 76; Massachusetts Historical Society, Manuscripts and Photographs, Mildred Cox Howes Diaries, Ms. N-1447; and Photographs (photo. coll. 500.77), <http://www.masshist.org/library/>.
- 132 Richard Parkhurst, *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port, 1630–1940* (Boston: B. Humphries, 1941), 95; and Alan Forbes, *Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston; Being a Collection of Sketches of Notable Men and Mercantile Houses Prominent During the Early Half of the Nineteenth Century in the Commerce and Shipping of Boston* (Boston: State Street Trust, 1918), 28–29.
- 133 "Obituary Notes," *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1893, 5.
- 134 Osborne Howes Jr., "The Fur-Seal Fishery in Alaska," in *Old and New* (Boston: H.O. Houghton, 1870) vol. 1 (Apr.), 487–93.
- 135 "Death List of a Day, Osborn Howes," *New York Times*, Apr. 10, 1907, 7.
- 136 David Starr Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898) pt. 1, 26–7.
- 137 "An Adventure in Behring Sea," *New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1872, 2.
- 138 Genealogical information regarding Alexandra Kashevarov taken from Pierce, *Russian America*, 219.
- 139 Email from Rick Alexander to Betty Lindsay, Oct. 21, 2003. Mr. Alexander stated, "My Grandfather, Zeno Alexander, was born Rufus Huggins. He was named after one of Eli's brothers, who was killed in the Lakota wars in Minnesota. . . . According to family legend, my Grandfather spent his

- early years thinking he was an orphaned Native Alaskan child that had been adopted by the kindly Captain Huggins, to be raised by him and his sister Jane Holtsclaw. At some point during his teen years, he discovered that he was Eli's illegitimate son—the result of an illicit union! Soon after, Rufus changed his name to Zeno Alexander, moved to Paris, married a woman from Marseille." Zeno was considered an "excellent artist noted for his ability to make 'masterful' copies of famous masterpieces." "Eli Huggins, ancestors and cousins," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com, submitted by Karen Higgins (accessed Oct. 22, 2003; note: Karen Higgins, not Huggins as in "Rufus Huggins").
- 140 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Eli Lundy Huggins," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13, no. 3, 1935; Pierce, *Russian America*, 219–20; and "Eli Huggins, ancestors and cousins," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (accessed Oct. 22, 2003).
 - 141 Pierce, *Russian America*, 220.
 - 142 "Army Posts Returns, St. Paul Island, Alaska," NARA, Other Military, microcopy M617, roll 1538.
 - 143 Eli Lundy Huggins papers, 1862–1929, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA, manuscript no. 81/51c, box 1. Copies of letters also appear in Oklahoma Historical Society Collection.
 - 144 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1900, 433–4.
 - 145 George A. Ramsdell, *The History of Milford* (Concord, NH: Rumford, 1901), 785; U.S. Census, 1880; "Hutchinson Obituary," *Montgomery County Sentinel*, May 18, 1883, 3; and Montgomery County deeds, 1896.
 - 146 Mary Gordon Malloy and Marian W. Jacobs, *Genealogical Abstracts: Montgomery County Sentinel, 1855–1899* (Rockville, MD: Montgomery County Historical Society, 1986); Hutchinson Obituary, *Montgomery County Sentinel*, May 18, 1883, 3; "Descendants of Richard Hutchinson, b. 1602, Arnold, Nottinghamshire, England," Ancestry.com, submitted by David Carlsen, dcarlsen@csranet.com (accessed Mar. 24, 2003); Pat Andersen, Montgomery Co. Historical Society via email to Betty A. Lindsay, Feb. 14, 2006; and Mark W. Willis, Montgomery Co. Historical Society to Betty A. Lindsay, Feb. 21, 2006.
 - 147 Ramsdell, *The History of Milford*, 785; U.S. Census, 1880; and Hutchinson Obituary, *Montgomery County Sentinel*, May 18, 1883, 3.
 - 148 Excerpts and comments provided by Mark W. Willis, Montgomery Co. Historical Society, via email to Betty Lindsay, Feb. 14, 2006.
 - 149 Maryland Historical Society, *The Hillandaler* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976), Mar. 5.
 - 150 John W. Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons, Tribe of Jesse* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), 317; and Ramsdell, *The History of Milford*, 785.
 - 151 City of Baltimore, *Guide to Baltimore* (Baltimore, MD: J. Murphy, 1892), 71–3.
 - 152 Frank H. Sloss and Richard Pierce, "The Hutchinson, Kohl Story," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (1971): 1.
 - 153 "Hutchinson Obituary," *Montgomery County Sentinel*, May 18, 1883, 3.
 - 154 Oppenheim & Co. efforts to retain dominance in the Alaska fur-seal trade are interestingly told by their emissary Emil Teichmann in *A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868: Being a Diary of the Late Emil Teichmann* (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, 1963).
 - 155 U.S. Cong., House, Committee on Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. no. 623 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1876), 16.
 - 156 *Ibid.*, 121.
 - 157 U.S. Cong., House, Comm. on Ways and Means, *The Alaska Commercial Company*. Revenues to the United States Treasury purportedly reached \$5,925,736.49 over the period July 1, 1870, to Aug. 1887 (U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 371.
 - 158 U.S. Congress, House, Comm. on Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 111–2.
 - 159 *Ibid.*, 118.
 - 160 Hutchinson Hill was named that day and is still known by that designation, although it was also referred to as Sea Lion Hill. Niebaum had arrived on St. Paul Island in Dec. of 1867 and established an American Post. Reference: Gustave Niebaum Statement, The Bancroft Library, Oct. 16, 1883, bneg 114: 7, p. k. 32, p. 65.
 - 161 U.S. Cong., House, Comm. on Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 132–3.
 - 162 Alaska Commercial Co. executive Hayward M. Hutchinson stated in his testimony before a congress-

sional committee in 1876 that 87,000 sealskins were taken in 1869. Later, during the same congressional investigation, he changed the number without clarifying comment to 69,000 sealskins taken. U.S. Cong., House, Comm. on Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 133–4.

Also, Special Indian Commissioner Vincent Colyer and Colonel Frank Wicker conducted an investigation on the taking of sealskins and the treatment of the Aleuts during 1869. For additional insight into the discrepancy over the number of seal skins permitted and taken that year, see Vincent Colyer, 1869, *Report of the Hon. Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner, on the Indian Tribes and their Surroundings in Alaska Territory, from Personal Observation and Inspection in 1869*. Bancroft Library file 19633B, Univ. of California, Berkeley. (Also in U.S. Congress, House, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior concerning Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska*, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., Ex. Doc. no. 144, 1870.)

163 U.S. Cong., House, Comm. on Ways and Means, *Alaska Commercial Company*, 133–4.

164 *Ibid.*, 13..



CAPTURING THE SEA-LIONS.

Springing the alarm—Sea-lion Neck, St. Paul's Island—November 18, 1872.

Capturing the Sea-lions. Springing the Alarm—Sea-lion Neck, St. Paul's Island—November 18, 1872.
Henry Wood Elliott, *Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska*, 1873



Aleut boy in front of barabara at St. Paul Island, 1914. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-95-ADMC-256)

I

IĠADAGAĶ

Aleutian Islands Hunter and Explorer

Genealogy

IġadagaĶ was the son of Unimak Island Toion *Akkagnikax*, born sometime before 1786.

Discovery of the Seal (Pribilof) Islands

Traditional Unangan (Aleut) folklore recounts the discovery of the *Tánax-Ámix*¹ or Seal Islands by *IġadagaĶ*,² the son of an Unangan toion (chief) on Unimak Island.³ The first written record of this intriguing story is in Ivan Veniaminov's 1840 publication *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla*, which has been translated in whole or part by several linguists. The version these authors relied upon was translated by Dr. Lydia T. Black and Richard H. Geoghegan and published by Limestone Press in 1984.⁴ Artist and fur-seal naturalist and advocate Henry Wood Elliott may have been the first to publish Veniaminov's tale in English,⁵ and Waldemar Jochelson the second person. Elliott's translation differs markedly from Jochelson's, and only in some details from Dr. Lydia Black's given below, but the general concepts are clear from all.

IġgadaagiĶ, son of a certain Unimak toion by the name of *Akkagnikax*,



Aleut in an iqyaĶ. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slides, lot 54-246.)

while traveling around in his baidarka [iqyaġ], had been carried away from shore by a storm coming up from the southeast. It being impossible for him to approach his home shore or any neighboring place, he had been forced to commit himself to the mercy of the wind and had, so it seems, after three or four days, been carried to the island of [St. Paul], the northernmost of the Pribilofs. Here he remained until spring, hunting various animals. In the spring, during clear weather, he saw the peaks of Unimak and decided to put to sea and, after a voyage of three or four days, safely reached his native Unimak, bringing with him many sea otter tails and *mordki* [the larger part of the sea otter skin, possibly with snouts]. They [Aleut storytellers] point out on St. Paul Island a spot where his yurta is supposed to have been. I find nothing improbable or impossible in this narrative because, by the testimony of inhabitants of St. Paul, the peaks of Unimak are visible in clear weather in the spring time, and Mr. Sarychev has heard the word *Amix*, in an ancient song, which [the Aleuts] either were unable or unwilling to explain, and which is the ancient name of the Pribylov Islands.⁶

- 1 The Unangan words Tánax-Āmix, for the islands discovered by lġadāgaġ, are spelled variously in the literature, see Waldemar Jochelson, *History, Ethnology and Anthropology of the Aleut* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute, 1933), 76; and Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994), 66. Translations for these words include “The Land-Uncle” or “The Island-Uncle” by Jochelson, *History, Ethnology and Anthropology*, 76, and William S. Laughlin, *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge* (NY: Holt, Reinhart, Winston, 1980), 12; they have also been translated as “Mother’s Brother.”
- 2 The spelling and phonetic distinctions of “lġadāgaġ” vary among transliterators; this spelling is taken from Knut Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names = Kadaangim Asangin/Asangis: Materials from the Billings Expedition, 1790–1792* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1998), 200. The spelling “lġadāgaġ” comes from Jochelson’s *History, Ethnology and Anthropology*, 77. Ivan Veniaminov’s *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* [*Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla*], ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1984), 134, apparently relied on Henry Wood Elliott, *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* (Washington: GPO, 1875), 241, who also performed a transliteration of Veniaminov’s text using the phonetic spelling, Eegad-dahgeek. The authors are aware that other spellings are also employed.
- 3 Anthropologist William S. Laughlin stated that an Aleut named “Ivory Smasher” was “one of the Aleut heroes who landed” at St. Paul Island before the arrival of the Russians. These authors did not learn of any other “heroes,” so it is unclear whether Laughlin was referring to lġadāgaġ as Ivory Smasher or someone else (*Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*, 12 and 113). Laughlin also stated that Ivory Smasher came from the island of Tigalda, rather than Unimak as stated by Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 134, suggesting that he is not the same individual as lġadāgaġ (*Aleuts: Survivors*, 113).
- 4 Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 134–5.
- 5 Henry Wood Elliott, *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs*, 241.
- 6 The translation given here of Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands* District, 134–5, was interpreted by Dr. Lydia Black based in part on an earlier translation by Richard Geoghegan (unpublished); a comparison of the two serves to enlighten the lay reader, not to assume that any translation necessarily represents the exact written meaning of the original author. Knut Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 200, suggested “lġadāgaġ” could mean “monster kind of scarecrow,” or “starfish” in the eastern Aleut dialect. Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 704, provided the Aleut word “lqyaġ” for the baidarka or kayak.

J

JACKSON, SHELDON (1834–1909)

Presbyterian Missionary, Educator

First Superintendent of Education in Alaska, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1885

Introduced Siberian Reindeer to Alaska, 1891

Genealogy

Sheldon Jackson was born on May 18, 1834, at Minaville, New York, to Samuel Clinton Jackson and Delia (Sheldon) Jackson. Sheldon Jackson died in Alaska on May 2, 1909.¹

Biographical Sketch

Sheldon Jackson graduated in 1855 from Union College at Schenectady, New York, and in 1858 from Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. He served as a missionary at Indian missions in twelve states before going to Alaska. In 1885, he became U.S. General Agent of Education for Alaska. Besides his work to introduce the reindeer as an additional food source for Alaska Natives, Jackson established missions at Fort Wrangell, Sitka, and Point Barrow. Historic Sheldon Jackson College in Sitka (now closed) began as one of Jackson's industrial schools. Also in Sitka, the Sheldon Jackson Museum houses nearly 5,000 pieces of Jackson's Alaska travel memorabilia. He was an author and enthusiastic public speaker who delivered more than 3,000 missionary addresses between 1869



Sheldon Jackson in furs. (Presbyterian Historical Society, RG 414.)

and 1900. The Sheldon Jackson Papers are housed at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.²

Jackson prefaced his 1895 explanation for bringing reindeer to Alaska with observations about the plight of other mammals that had been decimated by commerce in the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean:

As the great herds of buffalo that once roamed the Western prairies have been exterminated for their pelts, so the whales have been sacrificed for the fat that incased their bodies and the bone that hung in their mouths [baleen]. With the destruction of the whale one large source of food supply for the natives has been cut off.

Another large supply was derived from the walrus, which once swarmed in great numbers in those northern seas. But commerce wanted more ivory, and the whalers turned their attention to the walrus, destroying thousands annually for the sake of their tusks. . . . The walrus, as a source of food supply, is already very scarce.

The sea lions, once so common in Bering Sea, are now becoming so few in number that it is with difficulty that the natives procure a sufficient number of skins to cover their boats. . . .

In the past the natives, with tireless industry, caught and cured, for use in their long winters, great quantities of fish, but American canneries have already come to some of their streams, and will soon be found on all of them, both carrying the food out of the country, and by their wasteful methods, destroying the future supply. . . . [A]nd the business still in its infancy—means starvation to the native races in the near future.³

With those and other dire observations, Sheldon Jackson, United States General Agent of Education in Alaska, justified the introduction of reindeer, a domesticated caribou, to Alaska for Native subsistence.

In 1891, Jackson journeyed to Siberia aboard the Revenue Cutter *Bear* to determine whether reindeer could be purchased from Natives in Siberia and then be transported alive. Private donations (\$2,146) helped cover the cost of the venture after Congress had declined to allocate the requested funds (\$15,000). The Siberian Natives, “knowing nothing of the use of money,” accepted trade goods as barter for sixteen reindeer. With the help of Captain Michael Healy of the *Bear*, he transported the animals to Alaska. Despite severe Arctic weather, the reindeer survived aboard ship for some three weeks. The crew of the *Bear* finally landed them in good condition at Amaknak Island, in the harbor of Unalaska.⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

With Dr. Samuel Call, Sheldon Jackson arrived at St. Paul Island on June 1, 1892, aboard the *Bear*, with Captain Michael Healy again in command. The men spent the day evaluating environmental conditions on the island and the potential need by the Natives for domestic reindeer as a supplementary source of subsistence.⁵ However, it was not until 1911, with a push by Alaskan Fur-Seal Service Assistant Agent Ezra W. Clark, that reindeer were introduced to St. Paul and St. George islands (see Ezra Westcote Clark II biography).

JOCHELSON, WALDEMAR (VLADIMIR IL'ICH IOKHEL'SON)

(1855–1937)

Anthropologist

Genealogy

Waldemar Jochelson (Vladimir Il'ich Iokhel'son) was born in Vilna (aka Vilnius), Lithuania.⁶

Biographical Sketch

Waldemar Jochelson became an anarchist within the revolutionary and terrorist organization *People's Will* (*Narodnaya Volya*) while a university student in Vilnius, Lithuania. Eventually, the state arrested him for his activities and sentenced him to three years of solitary confinement and ten years of exile in northeastern Siberia. In Siberia, he and fellow revolutionaries became interested in the ethnology and orthography of Siberian Natives. His publications resulting from this area of intense interest led to a leadership role on a Russian Geographical Society-sponsored expedition. That expedition's success led in turn to others, including the Aleut-Kamchatka Expedition, also sponsored by the Russian Geographical Society. The Aleut-Kamchatka Expedition took Jochelson to the Aleutians and Pribilof Islands. According to Unangam Tunuu linguists Knut Bergsland and Moses Dirks (Jochelson, *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 7), Jochelson engaged “talented assistants, managed to find the few surviving storytellers of the time, and so rescued from oblivion a large body of Aleut traditions.”

Waldemar Jochelson sits atop
stepladder with a young woman
(niece Lidia Domherr?) lean-
ing against him. Wife Dina
Lazareona Jochelson is seated
on a couch with a dog. An un-
identified young man is seated
on the floor. (Alaska State
Library, Michael Z. Vinokourov
Photograph Coll., P243-4-176.)





Waldemar Jochelson (far right) and wife Dina Lazareona Jochelson on board a revenue cutter. (Alaska State Library, Michael Z. Vinokourov Photograph Coll., P243-4-174.)

Jochelson himself published only a very small part of his material, in 1923, and the corpus published in the present edition [*Aleut Tales and Narratives*] is no longer complete, but still it is a copious and irreplaceable source of Aleut lore.

Today . . . very little is left of the original Aleut storytelling tradition (apart from fairy tales and other stories borrowed from the Russians). The Jochelson collection constitutes nearly all that remains of this heritage and thus is of great importance, not only to specialists and to the general public interested in such matters, but also, not the least, to the Aleuts themselves as part of their cultural identity.⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

Agent Walter Lembkey entered comments into the Agent's Log about Jochelson's visit to St. Paul Island in 1910:

Dr. Jochelson has been making ethnological studies of the natives of the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak and the littoral of Bering Sea and came here for the purpose of continuing his investigations here. He works under the auspices of the Royal Geographic Society of Russia.⁸

And from Lembkey's Log on July 19, 1910:

Shortly after the [U.S. Revenue Cutter] MANNING left her anchorage, a strange large steamer was sighted. . . . As the fog shut in, we could make out the MANNING steaming toward her at full speed. Later the fog lifted and disclosed the MANNING lying by the steamer. The latter was soon seen to be flying the Russian flag. . . . The MANNING then left her, and the [U.S. Revenue Cutter] PERRY which had come from North East Point . . . anchored off the flagstaff well inside the stranger.

About 5 p.m. a boat from the latter came ashore. From Lieutenant Schildknecht, in charge of the boat, it was learned that the strange vessel was the transport KOLIMA of the Russian Imperial Navy, from Petropavlovsk . . . and that its object in calling here was to take aboard Professor Jochelson, and to transport him, his wife and his collection to Kamschatka [sic].

The same log reported that the Jochelsons boarded the *Kolima* for Unalaska and then Petropavlovsk.

Jochelson recorded a version of the Aleut tale of discovery of Tanaġ Amiġ from Isidor Solovyov at Unalaska in 1909. Here it is in translation by Knut Bergsland and Moses Dirks.⁹ (See *Iġadāgaġ* biography for Ivan Veniaminov's version as translated by Dr. Lydia Black.)

Tanaġ-Amiġ^a

¹*Chaġnachġilaġ* went out of his house, got up on top of his house and began to make observations. ²Recalling what had happened on *Tanaġ-Amiġ*, he became violent. ³While he was meditating, *Siluġ-Aliġlaġ* came out to him. ⁴"My beloved cousin, you could still tell us about what happened on *Tanaġ-Amiġ*, but you are apparently still not going to do it?"

⁵"One like you should not say it like that, fool."

⁶Letting his two bumblebees out of his nose at him, letting his two blowflies out of his eyes at him,^b letting his eyes down along the ridge of his nose,^c performing as a demon before him, he made him step back from him so that he fell into his house.

⁷Then he got into his killer whale [form] and went to sea. ⁸While he was traveling under the water, he killed an animal, a sea lion bull which had none older than itself, and took it ashore. ⁹Putting it in the crook of his arms, he ascended Makushin Volcano with it. ¹⁰He put it down between two hills^d of this plain.^e ¹¹Then he came down and spent the night in his house.

¹²The next morning, when daylight came, he again got up on top of his house. ¹³While he was there, his cousin *Siluġ-Aliġlaġ* again came out to him. ¹⁴He said to his cousin, ¹⁵"Well, stop being like that and take us to *Tanaġ-Amiġ*."

¹⁶"That's how you kept saying it yesterday, fool!" he said and began to let his two bumblebees appear out of his nose at him. ¹⁷He began to let his two blowflies appear out of his eyes at him. ¹⁸He took off his parka. ¹⁹He let his eyes down along the ridge of his nose at him. ²⁰Tucking up his sleeves before him, he began to perform as a demon for him. ²¹Making him step back from him, he had him enter into his house.

²²After that he put on his largest killer whale [skin] as a guise and stepped into the sea. ²³He killed the largest whale. ²⁴Heading ashore with it, after he got up on land with it, putting it in the crook of his arms, he ascended with it again. ²⁵Taking it over the plain,^f he put it down between the two hills of the plain. ²⁶Thinking that he was strong, he rejoiced. ²⁷And so he reached his house and spent the night again.

²⁸The next morning when daylight came, he got up on top of his house and began to make observations again. ²⁹His cousin went out to him and said to him, ³⁰"That's what you could do, that's what you could say, so get ready," he said and turned to him, but he turned just to where he had been.^g ³¹Being so many, he made for himself^h only the forepart of a tentⁱ and spent the night.

³²The next morning he got into his killer whale [form] and stepped into the sea along with his war party. ³³He said to his war party, ³⁴"Not [along] the bottom of the sea, not [along] the surface of the sea, travel only by way of the subsurface of the sea!" ^{34b}And all of them got into their killer whale [forms] and set out.

³⁵When they had traveled like that for a while, they began to surface to breathe. ³⁶They saw that Unalaska Island had become very low [as seen from there] where they surfaced. ³⁷While they were thus breathing, the chief of the war party again said to them, ³⁸"Not [along] the bottom of the sea, not [along] the surface of the sea, travel only by way of the subsurface of the sea!"

³⁹Getting into their killer whale [forms] they traveled on. ⁴⁰After a while they again began to surface to breathe. ⁴¹They saw that *Tanaġ-Amiġ* was lying there like a seat pad^l floating on the sea.

⁴²And so one by one they began getting into their baidarkas. ⁴³And *Chaġnachġilaġ* put on a gut parka which the gut of a humpback whale that had none older than itself was not enough to make, and which was pieced out with its throat-folds. ⁴⁴He let his two bumblebees out of his eyes one after another. ⁴⁵He let his two blowflies out of his nose one after another. ⁴⁶He let his eyes down along the ridge of his nose. ⁴⁷Loading in six fur seals, he paddled along with his war party. ⁴⁸Having paddled close to land, he stopped with his war party. ⁴⁹"Over there one could not get, also over there one could not get. ⁵⁰From where you are do not move a bit farther. ⁵¹If I am permitted to get ashore safely, I will make a signal over my head to you like this."

⁵¹He paddled away from his war party. ⁵²Having paddled for a while, he landed on the beach below the village. ⁵³His nephew *Akaaġniqaġ* came down to the beach to him.

⁵⁴"After he discovered and reached this island *Tanaġ-Amiġ*, baidarkas began to paddle to stir its waters not long ago."

⁵⁵"Yes, your father *ġadagaġ* used to tell me that when one tried to discover and did discover this island *Tanaġ-Amiġ*, he became envious for it^k and came here."

⁵⁶When he got out of his baidarka and stepped on a rock, he cracked it. ⁵⁷"Put my baidarka farther up on the beach for me to a place where it will decay, you fool!"

⁵⁸And he ordered his nephew to pick up his baidarka [and carry it] on his right-hand side.

⁵⁹And he picked up the baidarka and started to walk with it. ⁶⁰He went up the beach with it until he (the uncle) saw that he tore on it (the boat), one after another, the six fur seals he had as a bracelet.^l ⁶¹"Is that all right?" he said to his uncle.

⁶²"I told you to put it farther up, didn't I, you fool!"

⁶³He saw that his fingers were stretched.^m ⁶⁴Without tearing off a single blade of grass, he fell face-down onto the baidarka.

⁶⁵*Chaġnachġilaġ* stepped over to his baidarka and took out the waterbag made of the urinary bladder of a humpback whale, emptied the water out of it, wrung it out, and gave it to his nephew *Akaaġniqaġ* saying, ⁶⁶"Bring back to me in it only the life water of your father *ġadagaġ*, do not bring back to me in it water for killing, you fool!"

⁶⁷When the water was brought down to him, he poured it out and said, ⁶⁸"Do not bring me again water for killing, fool, but bring me in it only your father's life water."

⁶⁹When the life water was brought to him, he began to wash himself with it. ⁷⁰After washing himself, he put his sleeve upright.ⁿ ⁷¹The baidarkas began to land, and after jumping out, they all took their baidarkas up on the beach.

⁷²*ġadagaġ*'s son *Akaaġniqaġ* went up and said to his father, ⁷³"Strong demons have landed, and my strength you made so that it wouldn't give out has given out, so do not do what you usually do, do not carry on a frightful thing, a demon-war. ⁷⁴But, woman dwarf,^o arrange rather a feast for me."

⁷⁵"They are people from the mainland,^p they have fine things, although they are not that numerous,^q being killed, being appropriated, their belongings may be appropriated."

⁷⁶“Do not even call on me!”

⁷⁷When the baidarkas had all landed, the wife of a bull fur seal came down. ⁷⁸He saw her jump on the baidarkas, bite off all the spears on them,^r and come at him. ⁷⁹When she was about to jump onto his baidarka, he made her fall in the crook of his arms and said to her, ⁸⁰“Tell your father that I tell you to tell him that I want to feel the wound of the teeth of a beast like myself, of a demon like myself.”^s ⁸¹She went up. ⁸²*Chaġnachġilaġ* saw *lġadagaġ* bring down his treat, freshly boiled meat.

Jochelson’s explanatory note:

From the history of the Russian travels in the Pacific Ocean we know that the Pribilov Islands were uninhabited at the time of their discovery. They were discovered by Gerasim Pribilov, whose name was given to the islands, in 1786. From the contents of this heroic narration one may draw the conclusion that the Pribilovs were discovered and visited, or even inhabited, by Aleut before the Russians, if not in very old times. Of course, we do not know how far this tradition may be regarded as historical material. By the name *Tánaġ-Amiġ* (Land Uncle)^t in some texts are called the islands St. Paul and St. George, while in others St. Paul only is called by this name. I give here only a part of the narration, told in Unalaska by the blind Aleut Solovyov, as far as it was translated by me into Russian with the assistance of my Aleut interpreters, and I am sorry to say that the remainder two thirds of the text I am not able now to translate. The language of the text is very far from the present spoken dialects of the Aleut language, with which I am familiar.^u

Jochelson’s footnotes:

- a. Jochelson’s note: “This is the old name for the Pribilof Islands and means ‘Land-Uncle.’ Thus also was called St. Paul Island.” The name, however, is a stem in *-ġ-*, see sentence 2, whereas *ami-ġ* ‘maternal uncle’ is a vowel stem. Cf. (h) *amiġ*–‘vicinity, country’.
- b. Jochelson’s note: “He put on a mask, from which bees and flies went out.”
- c. Jochelson’s note: “The eyes appeared in a vertical position with their cut.”
- d. Mountain peaks with a depression between them (Akutan 1983).
- e. *Alaxsxiġ* otherwise means ‘mainland,’ Alaska Peninsula.
- f. Here the meaning ‘mainland’ seems more appropriate.
- g. Lit. ‘just to his place’; he was gone.
- h. So ms.; text rather “became.”
- i. So ms.; Jochelson’s free translation reads “There were outside in a tent many warriors whom he joined and with whom he remained for the night.”
- j. Grass mat or skin to sit on in a baidarka.
- k. Was desirous to have it for himself (G. Marsh). Ms. “being pleased with it.”
- l. Or: place for carrying bracelets, *tamigaġiiluġ* (Jochelson’s vocabulary with reference to this text).
- m. Ms. “became contracted”; Jochelson’s note: “From the weight of the skin boat of the uncle.”
- n. As a signal to his men.
- o. Jochelson’s note: “Woman dwarf or little woman is a caressing nickname. By such names the old Aleut called beloved children, even boys.”
- p. From Alaska Peninsula.
- q. Ms. “although they were more numerous than at present.”
- r. So Jochelson’s vocabulary with reference to this text. Ms. “the nooses for their throwing lances (on the skin boats).”
- s. Jochelson’s free translation: “Tell thy father *lġadaġ* that I am such a beast and a devil like himself and that I am ready to make him feel how my teeth can wound.”
- t. Cf. note to the title.

u. The content of several passages is certainly peculiar, but apart from some irregular endings, such as the ones corrected in sentences 16–19, 24, 53, the grammatical aspects of the text appear to be normal.

Tanaŋ-Amiŋ

¹Chaŋnachŋilaŋ ulaam ilaan isix, ulaam kangan akaaŋalix, sngaluqalinaŋ. ²Malix Tanaŋ-Amiŋim kugan maŋan ilaam aŋatalix, txin qaguŋsiqalinaŋ. ³Malix aan'gilakaadalikuŋ, Siluŋ-Aliŋlam^a ngaan slaaŋaqaa. ⁴"Ayang achaachang, Tanaŋ-Amiŋim kugan malgaŋan ngiin iŋtaliikaŋtxin-aan, malakan ingamaliimin aŋnaŋ aŋtaltxin?"

⁵"Amaan txin liidam ingamatakin iŋtalguudaakaqangin-ulux ingaya."

⁶Aanasnaadataaŋkin aŋuŋsiim ilaan ngaan qakaaŋamixtachŋikan, uumŋiikadtaaŋkin daam ilkiin ngaan qakaaŋamixtachŋikan, dakin iguum angakin unaanutalix, angadan qugaŋ aadakan, ilkiigim ingsachŋikan, ulagan ilan itxikuu awa.

⁷Aqadaagiim, agluum ilan aŋalix, chaŋatikux awa. ⁸Malix alaŋum siniga ayŋaasaliŋtakum, algaŋ uginam ludaŋiyyulux asŋasix, akuuŋaasakuŋ awa. ⁹Chaam qixkin ilikin aŋsŋan, Ayaŋ in ngaan angaasaqalikuu awa. ¹⁰Udaan alaxsxim qamtiqdagan quchxikin ignikuu awa.

¹¹Aqadaagiim, akaagan kimsix, ulaam ilan txin ukunikuŋ awa.

¹²Ingan qilaŋ angaliŋ aqakuŋ-aan, ulaam kangan akaaŋaŋutakuŋ awa.

¹³Ingamataliŋtakux, amaan asagagan Siluŋ-Aliŋlam ngaan slaaŋaŋutakuŋ awa.

¹⁴Amaan asagaam-aan tunuuŋutakuŋ awa. ¹⁵"Qanang, ingamataqadalix, Tanaŋ-ngiin Amiŋsiisaaŋtxin."

¹⁶"Ingamatakin iŋtalguudadalaŋanatanxin inga," iisaqadaagiim, aanasnaadataaŋkin aŋuŋsiim ilikiin [ngaan] liŋtataqalikuu^b awa. ¹⁷Uumŋiikadataaŋkin daam ilkiin ngaan liŋtataqalikuu^c awa. ¹⁸Sakin iqitikuŋ^d awa. ¹⁹Dakin iguum angakin ngaan unaanutikuŋ^e awa. ²⁰Angadan txin qikumaŋsikan, ngaan qugaŋ aadaqalikuu awa. ²¹Ilkiigim ingsachŋikan, ulagan ilan qanguchŋikuu awa.

²²Aqadaagiim, agluum ludaŋiigusaa igiim ugduŋsŋiisalix, alaŋux tadakuŋ awa. ²³Alam ludaŋiigusaa asŋatikux awa. ²⁴Akuunusakan,^f tanaŋ ngaan akuuŋaasakan^g aqadaagiim, chaam qixkin ilkin aŋsŋan, angaasaqaliŋutakuŋ awa. ²⁵Alaxsxim qudgan maasakan, alaxsxim qamtiqdagan quchxikin ignikuu awa. ²⁶Kayuŋiŋtanaan anuxtalix, txin kaangunikuŋ awa. ²⁷Malix ulaan ulix txin ukuniŋutakuŋ awa.

²⁸Ingan qilaŋ angaliŋ aqakuŋ-aan, ulaam kangan akaaŋalix, sngaluqaliŋutakuŋ awa.

²⁹Asagagan adan slaaŋakan, ngaan tunukuu awa. ³⁰"Maasaakaqaan amaya, iŋtaakaqaan amaya, malix txin aŋsaaŋtxin," iisakan, ngaan alakuun, isxaligan ilan alakuu awa.

³¹Amaang asanaŋ akum, ulasum qikusudali^h txin isix, txin ukunikuŋ awa.

³²Ingan qilaŋ alitxuun agluum ilan aŋaasalix, alaŋux ngaan tadaasakuŋ awa. ³³Alitxuum-aan tunukux awa. ³⁴"Alaŋum ulgayulux, alaŋum qachŋayulux, alaŋum chngudaa agacha ayŋaasaaŋtxichi." ³⁴^bMalix usungin aglumdin ilin aŋalix, txidin ayŋatikun awa.

³⁵Ayŋalix amamataliŋtakun, qasalix aŋŋiqalikun awa. ³⁶Nawan-Alaxsŋan uda anikatudaŋ ulux isix qasaŋtakudin ukuŋtaqalikun awa. ³⁷Agumatalix aŋŋilikun, alitxum tukugan ngiin tunuuŋutakungin awa. ³⁸"Alaŋum ulgayulux, alaŋum qachŋayulux, alaŋum chngudalii imchi ayŋadusaaŋtxichi."

³⁹Aglumchi ilin aŋalix, txidin ayŋatikun awa. ⁴⁰Amamataaqaltakun, aŋŋiŋin qasalaqaliŋ utakun awa. ⁴¹Tanaŋ-Amiŋ uda inŋiiluŋim alaŋum kugan anikatalgaqaa liidatalix ukuŋtaqalikun awa.

⁴²Malix iqamang ilan aŋalaqalikun awa. ⁴³Malix Chaŋnachŋilaŋ alamagim ludaŋiganulux an'gan isxalakan qunalitxin isxaasagan chigdaŋanaa chukuŋ awa. ⁴⁴Aanasnaadataaŋkin daam ilkiin qakaaŋalachŋikuŋ awa. ⁴⁵Aŋuŋsiim ilkiin uumŋiikadataaŋkin qakaaŋalachŋikuŋ awa. ⁴⁶Dakin iguum angakin unaanutikuŋ awa. ⁴⁷Atuung laaqudaŋ usilix, alitxuun asix [txin] iqaŋitikuŋ awa. ⁴⁸Iqaŋilix, tanaŋ amaataxagulux isagiim, alitxuun igiim anikadusakuŋ

awa. ⁴⁹“Ikuya ilan aġalgaakaqaġulux, ikuya kayux ilan aġalgaakaqaġulux. ⁵⁰Awaagan txichi ayugniidalilagaaŋtxichi. ⁵¹Ukudigaliŋ^a akuuġachŋisxagung, waan kamging kangan uġ laġuŋ imchi aguungan waya.”

⁵¹Alitxuum ilaan txin iqaġitikuŋ awa. ⁵²Iqaġilix amamaaqaltakum, tanadgusim chuqan tigikuŋ awa. ⁵³Umnigan Akaaġniqamⁱ ngaan sakaagakuu awa. ⁵⁴“Udan Tanaŋ-Amiŋ aġ asxan uungan,^k alaġuu chiklagniġadaaŋta[ŋ], iqan ama iqaġiqaliŋtalaaganan.”

⁵⁵“Aang, awan adaan Iġadagaŋ udan Tanaŋ-Amiŋ aġayalgalix aġasxakuŋ,^l igiim giġiniisaliŋ aqanaan^m nung iisadanaŋ.”ⁿ

⁵⁶Iqaam ilaan igalix, nuġim kugan tadakum, nuŋ chaxtikuŋ awa. ⁵⁷“Udan iqang akungun ilan asŋaaġan ilan nung aġilguudaaŋtxin.”

⁵⁸Malix aman umniin udan iqaan chaagamguuġiim adan suuŋta[ŋ] matikuŋ awa. ⁵⁹Malix aman iqaŋ sulix igiim aygaxtusakuŋ awa. ⁶⁰Akuunusaliġġlikuun,^o atuung laaqudaŋ tamigdaġiiluŋtanaan ngaan isilaasakuu^p ukuŋtaqalikuu awa. ⁶¹“Alix ama?” amiim-aan iisakuŋ awa.

⁶²“Akuudaasan aġilguudaaqaan, imin iŋtalguudakating.”

⁶³Adqungin aqakun ukuŋtaqalikuu awa. ⁶⁴Ataqan qiigaŋ isilakan, iqam kugan usux achigasakuŋ awa.

⁶⁵Chaġnachŋilaŋ iqaam-aan txin ayugnilix, alamagim tugaadigan taangadgusiġanaa igulix, taangaa yulix, qimulix, umniim Akaaġniqam-aan aŋsax, ngaan tunukuŋ awa. ⁶⁶“Adamin Iġ adagam taangagan aŋġaġii agacha ilan nung aqaasaaqaan, taangam asŋayaalanaa ilan nung aqaasalguudalagaaqaan.”

⁶⁷Taangaŋ ngaan sakaagaaalaagiim, aman taangaŋ yuqadaagiim, tunukuŋ awa.

⁶⁸“Taangam asŋayaalanaa ilan atasix nung aqaasalguudalagaaqaan, taġa adamin taangagan aŋġaġii agacha ilan nung aqaasaaqaan.”

⁶⁹Taangam aŋġaġii igiim uulaangan, igiim ġulaasaqalikuŋ^a awa. ⁷⁰Txin ġulaqadaagiim, aman amġaan^r chuchaxtikuŋ awa. ⁷¹Iqan tixtuqalikun, igichaadalix^s aqadaamchi, iqadin akuuġaadgukun awa.

⁷²Iġadagam laa Akaaġniqaŋ akaaġalix, adaam-aan tunukuŋ. ⁷³“Qugan kayutu[ngi] n tixtalix, kayuning inadalagaaŋtan aguqatxin inasxalix, malix aman aguŋtadaan agulagaaŋtxin, iġanaŋ qugaġuusix agulagaaŋtxin. ⁷⁴Taġa, ayagam inulaġa, ting qaġ anaadaŋ agacha aguliqalaaŋtxin.”

⁷⁵“Alaxsxiin awa, maayusigan awa, awaang^t asaaġalilakaġin, asŋasxalix, maayusxalix, maayungin maayuġaakan awa.”

⁷⁶“Ting iidalilagaaqalaaŋtxin ingaya.”

⁷⁷Iqan tixtuġikun-iin, aataagim ayagaa kimkalikuŋ awa. ⁷⁸Iqan kungin igichŋilix, chamgina[a]ġasingin kigluŋsix, igiim aqakuŋ ukuŋtaqalikuu awa. ⁷⁹Iqaam kugan igisaġ an aġiingan,^u chaam qixkin ilikin achixchŋikan, ngaan tunukuu awa. ⁸⁰“Adamin-aan ting iisaaŋtxin, algaqasing, qugaqasing agalugan unaa tutaatulix, ngaan [iisaaŋ]txin ilting, ngaan nung iisada.” ⁸¹Angakuŋ awa. ⁸²Iġadagaŋ aman duŋtaachaġiisiin, ulum qangasaag uu kimusachŋikuŋ, amaan Chaġnachŋilam ukukuu awa.

a. Ms. Aliġluŋ; cf. (13).

b. Ms. -kukix.

c. Ms. -kukix, -kix added by hand

d. Ms. -kukix.

e. Ms. -kukix.

f. Ms. -lix.

- g. Ms. -*lix*.
- h. Uncertain word.
- i. Ms. *Ukidgalix*.
- j. Ms. *Akaġniqam*. The name could mean "Made to get up there."
- k. Ms. *aġasxanuñán*.
- l. Ms. -*kuu*.
- m. Ms. *aqánaġ*
- n. Ms. -*qaġ*.
- o. Ms. -*kum*.
- p. Ms. -*kuġ*.
- q. Ms. *ġ*-(western dialect); likewise in sentence 70.
- r. Ms. *amġáan* (western dialect).
- s. Ms. *ixi*-(western dialect); likewise in sentence 78, 79.
- t. Ms. *ahwan* 'those' (impossible translation).
- u. Ms. *aġáñan*.

Numerous interpretations of the discovery by *lġadágaġ* of *Tanaġ-Amiġ* have been reported, and each is clearly based upon a common theme, but each is clearly an interpretation by the storyteller as well. Oral histories and story traditions fulfilled important social and cultural roles in pre-literate societies. They disseminated vital information, taught accepted behavior and practices, and entertained. Modern western people face challenges to understanding and appreciating oral traditions—first, because stories come to us through the filter of ethnographers or ethnohistorians; and second, because oral histories and lore from pre-literate peoples do not fit with modern western patterns of knowledge and thinking, which value linear sequence and chronology.¹⁰

JOHNSTON, EDWARD CLYDE (1887–1951)

Clerk and Naturalist, U.S. Fish Commission steamer Albatross

Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. George Island, 1919–1920 and 1922–1925

Agent, St. Paul Island, 1925–1927

Superintendent, U.S. Department of the Interior, Pribilof Islands, 1939–1948

Genealogy

Edward Clyde Johnston was born to Renwick Clyde and Mae (Kinne) Johnston on September 9, 1887, in Cottonwood Falls, Kansas. In 1918,¹¹ Edward Johnston married Ella Jeanette Henry, born May 29, 1897, at Sellersberg, Indiana, to James A. and Ella M. Henry.¹² Edward and Ella Johnston had one child, a son, Earl, born in Alaska on July 27, 1920, at St. George Island.¹³ Edward C. Johnston died from a heart attack at Seattle, Washington, on April 9, 1951.¹⁴ His son Earl Johnston had died in Seattle 10 years earlier, on December 26, 1941.¹⁵ Ella Johnston died at Seattle, also of a heart attack, in March 1966.¹⁶

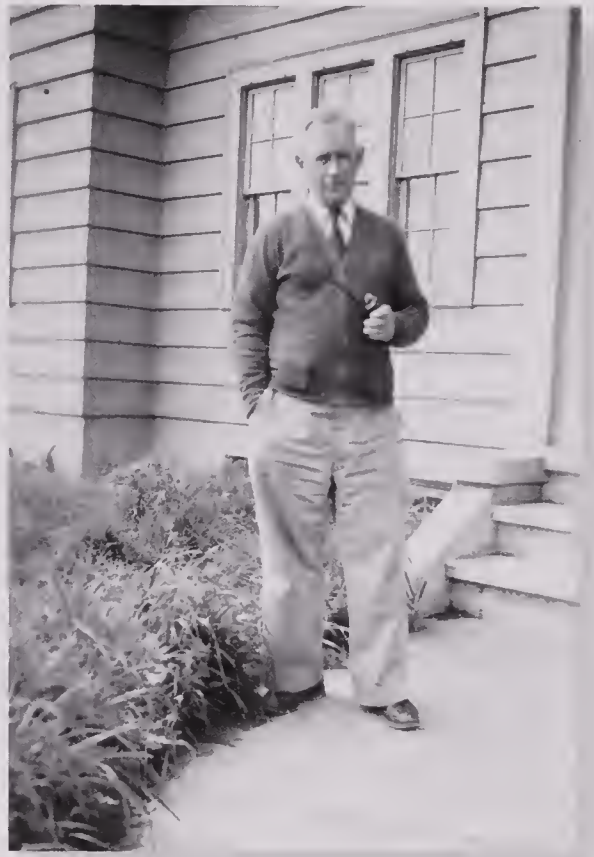
Biographical Sketch

Edward Johnston was a clerk and naturalist for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries aboard the steamer *Albatross* before becoming an agent on the Seal Islands. When not working in Alaska, he resided at his poultry farm in Petaluma, Sonoma County, California, with his wife and son.¹⁷ After Johnston died, a friend recalled, “Edward Johnston was happiest when he could leave behind the cares of the office and spend a few day and nights [collecting specimens] in some of the beautiful collecting locales of the West.”¹⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

Edward Johnston became a government agent at the Seal Islands in 1919, and brought his wife, Ella, to the island at that time. He filled his spare time as a botanist, butterfly and moth taxonomist, and avid photographer. For further relaxation, Johnston “increased the known species of Heterocera [moths] from eight to twenty species” on the Pribilof Islands.¹⁹

According to a letter written by former Pribilof Islands Fur-Seal Program Director C. Howard Baltzo, the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco was the conservator of Johnston’s photographic collection. The archive reportedly included approximately thirty-six glass plate portraits of Pribilof Native families, one hundred ninety-two 5x7-inch glass plate negatives, and about five hundred nitrate film negatives of Pribilof plants. Johnston intended to insert the plant photographs in his three-volume manuscript of the islands’ botany. Apparently the text became dated and was deemed unworthy of publication,²⁰ while the family portraits went missing.²¹ Very much to the surprise and delight of the authors, in February 2008 the missing negatives were found in a former Naval Air Field hangar at Sand Point in Seattle, Washington, by NOAA photo archivist Gina Rappaport.²² The hangar is part of the NOAA Western Regional Center campus along the western shoreline of



Superintendent Edward Clyde Johnston, St. Paul Island, circa 1942. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-16, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Earl Johnston, son of Edward Johnston, at St. George Island, circa 1923. (Edward Clyde Johnston, neg. 2549, NOAA.)



Edward Clyde Johnston with box camera. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-FWS-2677.)²³

Lake Washington. Gina Rappaport and the present authors were well along with the draft of *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Guide to the Photographs and Illustrations* when Rappaport re-examined historical collections attributed to Dr. Victor Scheffer and noticed a wooden box among Scheffer's collection with a return-address shipping label from G Dallas Hanna. She lifted the wooden cover to find the negatives, which included thirty-two portraits rather than thirty-six, 238 5x7-inch glass-plate botanical negatives, and 455 film negatives. Taken at St. George Island during December 1922, the exquisite portraits represent many of the families still residing on the islands in 2008. These portraits are presented in *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*,²⁴ as well as in the aforementioned *Guide to Photographs and Illustrations*.

Superintendent Johnston was in charge when the Pribilof Natives were evacuated during WWII after a Japanese attack at Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian chain. One assumes that Johnston wrote out of naiveté and not duplicity in a letter to Mr. G. Donald Gibbins, vice president of the Fouke Fur Company:

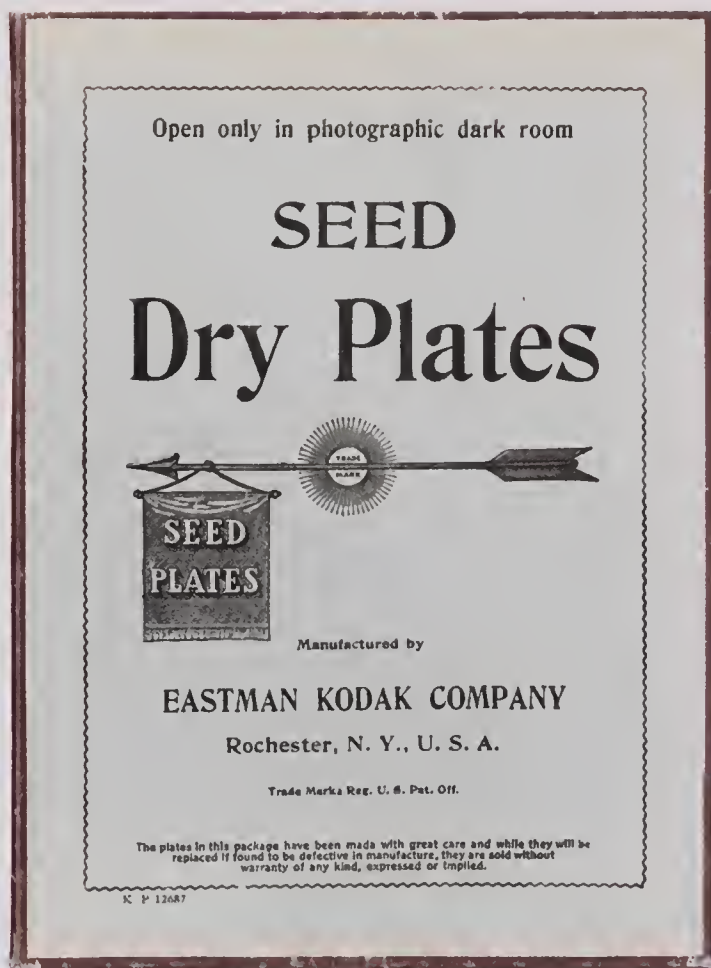
All our people—white and natives—are established at Funter Bay on the west side of the northern tip of Admiralty Island. It is about 50 miles from Juneau—20 minutes by airplane. The St. Paul section is quartered at an abandoned cannery on one side of the bay and the St. George section at an abandoned mine on the opposite side. It is about one mile straight across or two miles around the beach at the head of the bay. The locations are not bad and with some lumber for repairs and partitions in large bunkhouses (and many other things) some degree of comfort may be obtained. We were exceedingly lucky that the evacuation was not ordered in early winter as it takes considerable time to get 500 men, women and children comfortably settled for the winter. We are greatly indebted to the Forestry Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as well as cannery and mine owners, for the fullest cooperation. Everyone has been willing to donate their services and equipment whenever possible.²⁵

Johnston apparently did not recognize that one of the most infamous tragedies in Aleut history under United States rule was unfolding under his watch. The story remains vivid today for those who survived the ordeal in crowded, unheated, and unhealthy quarters. This story became the subject of several books, including *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts*²⁶ and *When the Wind Was a River*²⁷ It has also been vividly portrayed in several film documentaries, including *Aleut Story*,²⁸ *The Aleutians: Cradle of the Storms*,²⁹ and *People of the Seal*.³⁰



Top: Wooden box containing hundreds of glass plate and nitrate film negatives taken by government Agent Edward C. Johnston during the 1920s on the Pribilof Islands. Former Pribilof Islands naturalist G Dallas Hanna sent the box in the 1960s or earlier to Dr. Victor Scheffer. Hanna was Curator of Geology at the California Academy of Sciences and Scheffer was a marine mammal expert with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Fisheries (a NOAA predecessor) at Sand Point in Seattle, Washington. The box was accidentally discovered in a NOAA warehouse in Seattle, Washington in 2008. Bottom: Photographic negatives housed in paper envelopes and cardboard containers in the wooden box.

Dry Seed glass-plate negatives used by Edward Johnston at St. George Island to take photographs of people and natural history subjects on the Pribilof Islands, during December 1922.





Portraits taken by Edward C. Johnston at St. George Island, December 1922. Top left: Rev. Peter Kashevarof. Top right: Ermogen Lekanof. Bottom left: Mouza Merculief. Bottom right: Helena Philemonof.



Examples of the more than 500 botanical specimens photographed by Edward C. Johnston on St. George and St. Paul islands during the 1920s. Top: Arnica unalaschoensis (NOAA, NMML Library, EJC 2530.) Bottom: Eriophorum sp. in fruit. (NOAA, NMML Library, EJC 2533.)



The U.S. Army Transport Delarof, which evacuated the Pribilof Islands communities of St. Paul and St. George on June 15 and 16, 1942, respectively. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-468.)



Dining room facilities used by St. Paul Island residents at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-281, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Gold Mine Internment Camp occupied by St. George Island residents, Funter Bay, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-347, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



St. Paul Island children: Gregory Emanoff, Smile Gromoff, Karp Emanoff, and Nikander Merculieff swimming at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-304, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Antone Kochutin on boardwalk at the Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-337, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



St. Paul Island resident Platonida Melovidov and children at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-294, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

JONES, ERNEST LESTER (1876–1929)

Deputy Commissioner, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1913–1915

Head of the Alaska Investigation of 1914

Director of Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1915

Founder of the American Legion

Genealogy

Ernest Lester Jones was born on April 14, 1876, at East Orange, New Jersey, to Charles Hopkins Jones and Ida (Lester) Hopkins. Ernest was more commonly referred to as Lester. Shortly before graduating from college, on September 28, 1897, E. Lester Jones married Virginia Brent Fox of Louisville, Kentucky. E. Lester Jones died on April 9, 1929, leaving a wife and two daughters.³¹

Biographical Sketch

Ernest Lester Jones was educated in New Jersey schools. He received a BA degree in 1898 from Princeton University and became a veterinary surgeon.³² He began his govern-

ment service in 1913 as Deputy Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, a post he held for two years. He was appointed Superintendent (Director) of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in 1915, and remained in that position until his death in 1929.³³ On a leave of absence from this position, he served in the U.S. Signal Corps during World War I and rose in rank to Colonel, Division of Military Aeronautics, 1st Army Air Service. For his meritorious service, Jones was made an Officer of the Order of S.S. Maurizio and Lazzaro and *Fatigue de Guerre* by the King of Italy. His concern after the war for returning soldiers and their welfare, particularly for their ability to assimilate into the workforce, led him to organize the first American Legion Post—no. 1, in Washington, D.C.³⁴ NOAA's former Chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey was described in a biographical sketch (excerpted):

In addition to his duties as Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Colonel Jones served as Commissioner of the Internal Boundary between the United States and Canada and Alaska and Canada, from February 1921 until his death. He was a member of the Aerial Patrol Commission of the United States.³⁵



Ernest Lester Jones (left). (NOAA Photo Library, <http://www.photolib.noaa.gov/700s/theb2892.jpg>, accessed Mar. 23, 2009.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

In 1914, E. Lester Jones was in the midst of a general investigation into the status of Alaskan fisheries when on short notice he was dispatched to the Pribilof Islands to look into allegations of improprieties by some of the government's employees there. He summarized his original intentions in Alaska:

By direction of the Secretary of Commerce [Redfield], I was instructed to proceed to Alaska (1) in order to make a thorough survey and investigation of the various fishery industries, (2) to visit the fur-seal fisheries on the Pribilof Islands and make studies in connection therewith for the purpose of formulating a more definite and businesslike policy for the administration of those islands, and (3) to inquire into the status of the minor fur-bearing animals, including both the matter of the protection of the wild stock and the development of the industry of rearing such animals in captivity.³⁶

Then he received orders to cut short his current investigations at Seward and “proceed at once to those islands [Pribilofs] to investigate irregularities in regard to the conduct of certain Government officials.”³⁷ He arrived at St. Paul Island on July 10, 1914, and subsequently telegraphed Secretary Redfield:

I wired Commissioner [of Fisheries] yesterday recommending that immediate preparations be made for new agents on islands, as evidence so far positively warrants these charges. Would earnestly urge Navy Department to act in case of Wireless Operator McClenny, now on St. George's Island, as charges against him are very serious.³⁸

In his two weeks on the island, Jones did look into administrative matters including current conditions for the Natives and details of a study of fox herds on both islands. (He left the review of the sealing industry to other experts.) He introduced his published report with a restatement of the islands' importance:

There is probably no part of Alaska concerning which more interest is manifested than the Pribilof Islands, in Bering Sea. The fact that they are the breeding ground of the largest rookeries of fur seals in the world make them not only of great interest but a valuable asset to the United States Government.³⁹

But he also dealt with the charges of gross misconduct by several—not all —government officials on both inhabited islands (see Alvin Whitney biography for additional information).

Among the charges that have been lodged against the principal Government agents on the Pribilof Islands are debauching the wives of natives, terrorizing their husbands into silence, drunkenness and furnishing intoxicants to the natives, creating a condition in the community that has resulted in death and lawlessness, and permitting the unlawful killing of fur seal pups.⁴⁰

An investigation was made of charges against the agent and caretaker, and the storekeeper on St. Paul Island, and against the agent and caretaker on St. George Island. Nothing was left undone to bring about a fair and full hearing, and testimony of all the white employees on both islands, as well as of a large number of natives, was taken and the investigation was sweeping and impartial. It showed beyond a question of doubt that a deplorable condition has existed on these islands for years, and resulted in the dismissal from the service of both men on St. Paul Island. All Government officials who have allowed the morals of the islands to be disturbed have violated their oath of office and are guilty of gross misconduct if not of criminal negligence.⁴¹

Jones' report was wide-ranging: the overall living conditions of the Natives; housing; Native beer, or *quass*; schools; Native wages, supplies, and rations; occupations; new offices and salaries for responsible government officials; physicians; hospital stewards; need for a temporary dentist; improvements required at the Government House and Company House; janitor service; distribution of seal meat; the possibility of cattle raising; roads for St. George Island; supply ship costs and the installation of aerial cable and lighters for unloading ships; and improvement of landing regulations. The report also included his separate personal addresses to the Natives of St. George Island, July 17, 1914, and St. Paul Island, July 20, 1914. Jones concluded his report:

The whole Pribilof Islands problem may be summarized thus: If moral, intellectual, and general conditions are to be improved; if the business of the islands is to be carried on along businesslike lines (and surely the proposition of these islands, including the fur-seal and fox herds, is largely commercial), then the situation must be viewed from an entirely different standpoint than hitherto; for the returns the Government is to receive from its investment warrant the expenditure of a sum of money large enough to give the officials of the Government and the natives civilized surroundings, and provide adequate means and necessary facilities to accomplish a proper administration of the affairs of these islands.⁴²

Jones' investigation led to the dismissal of several employees and court-martial of the Navy employee. Additional improvements to the islands were forthcoming.

JORDAN, DAVID STARR (1851–1931)

Ichthyologist, Naturalist, Educator

President, Indiana University, 1885–1891, and Stanford University (then Leland Stanford Junior University), 1891–1913

Commissioner in Charge of Fur-Seal Investigations of 1896–1898

Head of Bureau of Fishery Advisory Board, 1909

Genealogy

David Starr Jordan was born on January 19, 1851, at Gainesville, Wyoming County, New York, to Hiram Jordan (b. February 12, 1809) and Huldah Lake (Hawley) Jordan (b. July 9, 1812 in Whitehall, New York). While a student at Cornell, David Jordan met his first wife, Susan Bowen (1845–1885), whom he married in 1875. David and Susan Jordan had three children: Edith, Harold, and Thora, before Susan died in 1885. With his second wife, Jessie Knight (m. 1887), David Jordan had three more children: Knight Starr, Barbara, and Eric Knight. David Starr Jordan died at Santa Clara, California, on September 19, 1931.⁴³

Biographical Sketch

David Starr Jordan was educated at his hometown school in Gainesville, New York. He was a devoted student of science, especially astronomy and botany, and was offered a scholarship to Cornell University in 1869. After graduation from Cornell in 1872, he taught botany; his wife Susan was also a trained botanist.

Jordan furthered his formal education with an MD from Indiana Medical College (1875) and a PhD. from Butler University (1878). He had been strongly influenced by Louis Agassiz after attending a summer school session taught by the renowned ichthyologist in 1873. Jordan in turn became the leading American ichthyologist. He published 645 works on fishes and 1,372 publications on a wide variety of other topics. In his cataloging of fishes from many parts of the world, he collected information on 7,800 species. Jordan's publications were compiled in a bibliography by Alice N. Hays, published by Stanford University Press in 1952.

Jordan was not only a student and teacher of science but also a leader in the educational and political arenas. He was president of Indiana University (1885–1891), president of Leland Stanford Junior University (1891–1913), and Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University (1913–1916).



DAVID STARR JORDAN, AUGUST, 1868

David Starr Jordan, August 1868. (David Starr Jordan, The Days of a Man.)

While occupied with academic duties, Jordan found time to take part in many other scientific and educational activities, and even political discussions. From 1879 until 1890, he was closely associated with the United States Fish Commission; in 1880, he was in charge of fishery investigations on the Pacific coast; and in 1896–1897, he was the American representative on the commission for studying the fur seals in the Bering Sea. He was always active in organizations for the abolition of war. His varied reminiscences were published in 1922 in two volumes entitled *The Days of a Man*.⁴⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

David Starr Jordan's direct connection with the Pribilof Islands began in 1896, when Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Charles Sumner Hamlin requested his assistance in a special investigation of the Seal Islands, known as the Fur-Seal Commission of 1896–1897, or as the Jordan Commission. Dr. Jordan agreed to head the commission; he chose several scientists from the U.S. National Museum and the U.S. Fish Commission's steamer *Albatross* to assist him, along with several dedicated students of science at Stanford University, his personal secretary, and an agent of the U.S. Treasury at the Pribilof Islands. The investigation was "an outgrowth of a belief on the part of the United States that the regulations formulated by the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration 'for the protection and preservation of the fur seal' had failed to accomplish their avowed object."⁴⁵

Congress passed an act that outlined the organization of the Commission:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, authorized to expend, from any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum sufficient to provide for the employment of persons to conduct a scientific investigation, during the fiscal years eighteen hundred and ninety-six and eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, of the present condition of the fur-seal herds on the Pribilof, Commander, and Kuril islands in the North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, said amount not to exceed for both said years the sum of five thousand dollars.

The Secretary is also authorized to employ a stenographer in connection with this investigation at a rate of compensation not exceeding one thousand five hundred dollars per annum, and to pay his compensation and expenses out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The President is authorized to detail, for the purposes of assisting in this investigation, any officer or officers or employees of the United States Government, their actual expenses and the expenses of the person or persons employed under the preceding paragraph to be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The President may detail a vessel of the United States for the purpose of carrying out this investigation.⁴⁶

Members of the American Commission (1896–97):⁴⁷

Dr. David Starr Jordan, Commissioner, President, Leland Stanford Junior University
 Lt. Commander Jefferson F. Moser, Commander, U.S. Fish Commission steamer *Albatross*
 Dr. Leonard Stejneger, Curator of reptiles, United States National Museum
 Frederic A. Lucas, Curator of comparative anatomy, U.S. National Museum
 Charles H. Townsend, Naturalist on the *Albatross*
 George Archibald Clark, Secretary of the Commission
 Secretary to President Jordan at Leland Stanford Junior University

Colonel Joseph Murray, Special Assistant to the Commission, Assistant U.S. Treasury Agent, St. Paul Island
 Bristow Adams, Artist Assistant to the Commission, Student, Stanford University
 Norman Briscoe Miller, Photographer 1896, Assistant from steamer *Albatross*
 Harry Dennison Chichester, Photographer 1897, North American Commercial Company Agent
 Student assistants: A.W. Greeley, Trevor Kincaid, Edwards (no other name given), and Robert E. Snodgrass.

British Members of the Commission (1896–97):⁴⁸

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, Professor of Zoology, University of Dundee
 James Melville Macoun,⁴⁹ Botanist, Canadian Museum and Geological Survey of Canada
 Gerald E. H. Barrett-Hamilton, Naturalist, Dublin, Ireland
 Andrew Halkett (not an official member of the commission), Special Investigator of the pelagic sealing fleet.

Members of the commission were to report their findings to the Secretary of the Treasury. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Hamlin instructed Jordan:

The principal object of this investigation is to determine by precise and detailed observations first, the present condition of the American fur-seal herd; second, the nature and imminence of the causes, if any, which appear to threaten its extermination; third, what, if any, benefits have been secured to the herd through the operation of the act of Congress and act of Parliament based upon the award by the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration; fourth, what, if any, additional protective measures on land or at sea, or changes in the present system of regulations as to the closed season, prohibited zone, prohibition of firearms, etc., are required to insure the preservation of the fur-seal herd. Your inquiries should furthermore be extended, in so far as the time and circumstances permit to embrace the consideration of all important questions relating to the natural history of the seal both at sea and on the islands, with special reference to their bearing upon the sealing industry.⁵⁰

Added to the general instructions was a list of thirteen specific questions for which Congress sought answers, covering such topics as the effect of pelagic sealing, destruction of nursing pups, mortality of seals on the islands, travel routes of the seal herd, seal breeding habits and food supplies, and whether the Alaskan fur seals were intermingling with the Asiatic herds—all this with a \$5,000 budget.

From the St. Paul Island Agent's Log on September 8, 1896, at the close of the commission's first season:

Every one feels that the investigation carried out under Dr. Jordan's efficient lead will be sure to result in some measures to be put in force toward doing away with pelagic sealing at least. He has certainly left no stone unturned. He has been ably served by every member of the Commission and they have all worked harmoniously together.

The branded seal pups are reported to be doing first rate. Messer's Macoun and Barrett-Hamilton have begun making a collection of fungi.⁵¹

At the end of the second season the commission summarized its findings, which were reported in the *New York Times*:

The primary cause of shrinkage of females on the breeding ground is the pelagic catch of last Fall and this Spring. To this is added the loss due to starvation of orphaned pups in 1894, which should this year have lived to give birth to their first pups. This starvation in 1894 affecting, as it did, in a like measure the male herd, is the cause of the diminution of the killable seals on the hunting grounds.

The decline of the herd is everywhere more distinctly marked than it was last year owing to the effects of the resumption of pelagic killing in Bering Sea after the *modus vivendi* of 1893. For 1898 the shrinkage will be still greater. The evil effects of pelagic sealing in any particular year are still more clearly felt three and four years after. Even if pelagic sealing should be stopped at once, the decline of the herds must go on until after 1900.

The pelagic fleet in Bering Sea numbers about 29 vessels, as against 68 last year. The report of the catches shows that they were unprofitable. No seizures have been made. The only new fact discovered this year has been that a parasitic worm infesting the sandy, rocky areas is the cause of a large part of the early mortality among pups which was ascribed in a general way last year to trampling.

The early mortality as a whole shows a decrease relative to the decreased number of animals. The branding of young female seals which will be begun after Sept. 1, will be carried on by Col. Murray, chief agent on the islands, and Mr. F. F. Farmer, electrician. The skins of the branded cows returned this year to the islands show clearly the permanency of the mark, and its efficiency to render the skin un-salable without injury to the animal or to the herd. Branding has the same effect upon the fur seal herd that branding calves or shearing sheep on those animals. The idea that the seals might be driven away by branding is sheer nonsense.

The salt lagoon on St. Paul Island has been fenced and the males too young to be killed this year will be herded there until the close of the pelagic sealing.⁵²

At the close of the Fur-Seal Commission investigations in 1897, the United States, Canada, Britain, Russia, and Japan met in Washington, D.C., to discuss the findings. After much debate, an agreement was reached to reduce pelagic sealing. Excerpts from Jordan's presentation were published in the press:

Within the past two years it has several times been proposed that we should settle the fur seal question once and for all by the slaughter of the entire herd on its breeding grounds. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this course of action would not accomplish the desired end. As the animals are never all present at one time on the islands, a remnant would be left, which in time would revive the herd, and with it the whole question. In the meantime every objection which has been urged against pelagic sealing would be justly chargeable against such a slaughter. The proposition is an abominable one, without a single redeeming feature.

The fur seal is the noblest of all the mammals of the sea. From the naturalist's point of view it is one of the most interesting forms of life on the earth. From the commercial view it is one of the most valuable. Unlike the buffalo, the elk, the stag, and like animals, it occupies territory that cannot be used for any other purpose. Where the former animals once roamed great cities have sprung up, but the haunts of the fur seal would be deserted for all time if their inhabitants were destroyed.⁵³

The Fur-Seal Commission published three volumes of their report (Parts 1, 2, and 4) in 1898, and a fourth volume (Part 3) in 1899 (David Starr Jordan, editor, *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, U.S. Dept of the Treasury, Doc. 2017, Washington, DC: GPO). Part 1 concerned the history of the problem and the main phases of the controversy. Part 2 contained the detailed journal of daily observations and abstracts from the St. Paul Agents' Log of twenty years, as it pertained to seal habits. Part 3 addressed detailed scientific and special reports, with the findings of national science experts. Part 4 included the reports of Leonhard Stejneger respecting his investigation on Commander and Kuril Islands (the Russian fur-seal islands). The total cost to the U.S. Treasury for the 1896–1899 Commission was \$45,000.

On January 1, 1909, twelve years after the Fur-Seal Commission of 1897, and as the North American Commercial Company's twenty-year lease to harvest fur seals on the Pribilof Islands was approaching its end, management of the Alaskan Fur-Seal Service was placed under the auspices of the Bureau of Fisheries.⁵⁴ Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Oscar S. Straus, asked the following experts to be part of an Advisory Board of the Fur-Seal Service:

Fur-Seal Board

David Starr Jordan, Chairman
Leonard Stejneger
Frederic A. Lucas
Edwin A. Sims
Charles H. Townsend

Commission of Fisheries

Barton W. Evermann, Chair
Walter I. Lembkey
Millard C. Marsh
George M. Bowers, Commissioner of Fisheries
Hugh M. Smith, Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries
Harry D. Chichester, Assistant Fur Seal Agent
George A. Clark, Special Scientific Expert

Dr. Jordan's leadership of scientific investigations in the Seal Islands was a key factor in influencing the attitude of the governments of the United States and other nations toward conservation management.

The government assumed all administrative and management responsibility for the fur-seal industry in the Pribilofs, effective May 1, 1910, and with it forever ended the leasing program. In the fall of that year, the first full-time naturalist, Dr. Walter Hahn, began work on the islands. This and other major changes in administration and management of the fur-seal industry were soon followed by the *Fur-Seal Treaty of 1911*, hailed as the first international wildlife conservation treaty. With an act of Congress it put an end to commercial sealing for five years and prohibited the importing of sealskins by the signatory nations—thus effectively putting an end to pelagic sealing.⁵⁵

In an interview with author Barrett Willoughby, former Pribilof Islands Agent Watson Colt Allis said, "I remember a day when Dr. David Starr Jordan unexpectedly met an 'idle' bull in the grass at the top of a cliff. The beast lunged at him. Both rolled together to the bottom. The doctor managed to escape with only a sprained ankle. It was while he was confined to the house afterward that he wrote his famous seal classic *Matka*."⁵⁶ *Matka and Kotik* became an extremely popular children's story, published in several editions.



JOINT BRITISH-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR FUR-SEAL INVESTIGATION,
UNALASKA, 1896

From left to right: Jordan, Clark, Murray, Moser, Lucas, Townsend, Thompson, Macoun, Stejneger

Joint British-American Commission for Fur-Seal Investigation, Unalaska, 1896. (David Starr Jordan, The Days of A Man, 1922.)



JOINT BRITISH-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC COMMISSION, 1897-98

From left to right: Venning, Foster, Thompson, Laurier, Hamlin, Jordan, Davies, Macoun, Adam, Clark

Joint Diplomatic Commission 1898, Washington, D.C. Standing, fourth from left, is David Starr Jordan. (David Starr Jordan, The Days of A Man, 1922.)

JUDGE, JAMES (1867–1919)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Pribilof Islands, 1894–1898

Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Pribilof Islands, 1898–1903

Agent, Pribilof Islands, 1903–1913

Genealogy

James Judge was born July 22, 1867, at Columbus, Franklin County, Ohio, to Irish immigrants John and Bridget (Higgins) Judge.⁵⁷ James had one brother, Frank J., and six sisters: Mary, Margaret, Catherine, Bettie, Lida, and Annie, all of whom were born and lived in Columbus. James Judge married Helen Sultzer (born August 1870 in Ohio) on May 12, 1894, in Cook County, Illinois.⁵⁸ James Judge died at Columbus, Ohio, on September 13, 1919, and was interred at Mt. Calvary Cemetery in Columbus.⁵⁹

Biographical Sketch

James Judge was educated in public schools and graduated from a business college. He worked as a clerk and retail grocer before entering government service. The 1904 personnel vita on James Judge noted that he was qualified as a lawyer.⁶⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

James Judge and his new bride arrived at St. Paul Island on June 6, 1894. He was sworn in by Agent Joseph B. Crowley as a special agent of the Treasury on July 1, 1894, and assigned duty as agent-in-charge of the seal-killing program. He was made special agent-in-charge from August 29, 1894, until the return of Agent Crowley on June 10, 1895. James and Helen Judge remained on St. Paul Island until September 14, 1895, when they departed on the revenue cutter *Corwin* for San Francisco. The Judges returned to the Pribilof Islands on June 15, 1896. James served as assistant agent on St. George Island until July 1, 1898. Then he was assigned to St. Paul Island from August 21, 1898, until August 11, 1899, first as assistant agent appointed from Ohio's 12th Congressional District of Franklin, then as agent following the death of Agent Joseph Murray in August 1898. (Judge assumed the duties as agent before his position as assistant agent was officially terminated on October 31, 1898.) As to his duties: "the agent has charge of matters pertaining to the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska, including relations with lessees of the seal islands and the natives, guarding the seal herds, custody of buildings and Government property."⁶¹ Judge served on St. Paul Island, with short intervals of leave, until 1912.

James and Helen Judge both actively sought to assist the St. Paul Island Native community, particularly during a deadly epidemic of measles in 1900.⁶² James helped with capital improvements on St. Paul Island: a Native carpentry shop, blacksmith shop, gun house, movie theater behind the Native carpentry shop, and a telephone line from Zapadni Rookery to beyond Middle (Polovina) Hill. The Judges were also instrumental in the growth and development of the island's Native culture—and some imported culture as well:



Boys' baseball team, St. Paul Island, 1921. (Alaska State Library, Richard and Mary Culbertson Photograph Coll., P390-38.)

Dr. Rose and I attempted to teach the natives baseball this afternoon and while we had considerable fun it was not much of a game. Some of the men had seen the game at Unalaska, but to the great majority it was their first experience. All seemed to enjoy it, and carried on a game on their own account after supper.⁶³

A collection of the Judges' papers is conserved at the Oregon Historical Society (Mss-230). The collection also contains numerous interesting letters from Agent Joseph Murray, but a dozen or so photographs donated to the Society by the Judges' daughter were separated from the collection and may be missing.⁶⁴ Pocketbook diaries by James and Helen Judge are in the Society's holdings as well. Entries in one of James' diaries offered some historical anecdotes of the Russian period:

July 28, 1899 – Chat with older natives of St. George Island.

Those present Eoff Philemonoff, Alexia Oustigoff, Eustin Swetsoff, Simeon Philemonoff, and Pelm Prokopeof & first chief with Nicoli Merculieff for interpretor [sic].

... a very old man supposed to be over 100 years when he died. He was Nicolis Grandafant [sp. ?]. He died the year following American occupation. When he first came from Unalaska he was a young man. On their arrival they were obliged to use a ladder and ascend the cliff. Sea lions and fur seals being so thick around the landing that they could not get through them. A great many sea otter were in the cave east of the village. The cave at the time was much bigger than at present. The men used to walk all around inside the cave and needed a lantern to see. They went just to look around. Sea otter used to have their young there. Sea otter have no regular breeding season. Sea otter were never known to be up on the ground [land]. At that time there were lots of walrus at S E Point—the narrow bay between Sea Lion Point and Tolstoi point was called amagatha togomulga—

walrus bay. Walrus are polygamous and came there to breed. Eoff remembers seeing them there. They were exterminated by being killed on the rookery. The Russians did the killing to get the ivory and skins. The natives are of the opinion that other walrus would have come had the Russian taken the carcasses from the rookery.

At the time sea lions extended from Sea Lion Point considerably beyond Garden Cove. They estimated way inland. A story is told of some men in a barabara when some sea lions crawled over the roof and it gave way precipitating the animals down upon the men. In the struggle that ensued one of the men had his leg bitten off by a sea lion. He died from the effects of the wound. Another, at another time, man lost his life by a sea lion [illegible] on him while they making the . . . [drive?]. Both those men were at work on the sea lion skins. There were two barabaras. At that time there were two villages on the island—one at Zapadni. The other at Staraya Artel. The men worked Garden Cove every spring and summer to take sea lion skins.

Sea lions hauled out at two places on Zapadni. These were shot on the rookeries by the Russian officers. They did it to get the [illegible] sinew, etc. rather than the skins. The largest rookery began 2 ½ miles west of the watch house and extended around such [illegible] point about ½ mile. The other rookery began at rock just south of present breeding ground of seals and extended about ½ mile. The carcasses were left on the rookery and natives think that the reason that other sea lions never came there afterwards. . . . Sea lions were killed just south of where the village now stands. At that time seals were not driven from East rookery at all. They began to drive East Rookery when the village was first erected where it now stands. When it was determined to build the present village, fires were built in the vicinity of the seals & sea lions to drive them away. It was necessary to keep the fires going for a long time, and day and night before the animals all left. All those old men were born on the present village site in community houses. There was only one of those houses and every family in the village lived under that roof. The agent had a house for himself. One family would have 5# of flour every month, ¼# of tea. Sugar about 1 lb. . . .

The agent used to make the quass and deal it out. The young men got none. There was plenty to drink at the dances. Two kinds of dances—native – Russian. The natives made their own music.

- 1 Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen and Others Who Are Making American History*, vol. 6 (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904), 190; and “Sheldon Jackson (1834–1909) Papers, 1855–1909, Finding Aid to Record Group 239,” Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, <http://history.pcusa.org/finding/phs%20239.xml> (accessed Nov. 9, 2009).
- 2 “Sheldon Jackson Papers,” Presbyterian Historical Society.
- 3 Sheldon Jackson, *Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*, U.S. Congress, Senate, 54th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. no. 111 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 9–10.
- 4 Ibid., 11–3.
- 5 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, 1892, 470.
- 6 Waldemar Jochelson, *History, Ethnology and Anthropology of the Aleut* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002), viii; and Waldemar Jochelson, *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin = Unangam Uniikangis Ama Tunuzangis = Aleut Tales and Narratives, Collected in 1909–1910*, eds. Knut Bergsland and Moses L. Dirks (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1990), 7.
- 7 Jochelson, *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 8.
- 8 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, notes by Walter I. Lembkey, July 16, 1910, 91.
- 9 In 1909, Jochelson recorded the voice of Isidor Solovyov, the Tanǎ-Amǐ storyteller, on phonographic wax cylinders. Jochelson penned the story in Aleut, Russian and English with the assistance of Russian Orthodox Church reader Leontiy Ivanovich Sivtsov. Solovyov’s intonations or lack

- thereof were acknowledged in the body text through a process that imbedded numbers in the lines of the text. Bergsland and Dirks describe Jochelson's procedures in *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, page 34. For example, "A numbered line represents a stretch without an intonational break. There may be an internal pause possibly due to a hesitation or change of mind." Superscript letters within the body of the translation denote Jochelson's footnotes. Note that within the context of the story, those items between brackets are the comments of editors Bergsland and Dirks, not the present authors.
- 10 See Ronald J. Mason, "Archaeology and Native North American Oral Traditions," *American Antiquity* 65, no. 2 (Apr. 2000): 239–66; Bruce Ballenger, "Methods of Memory: On Native American Storytelling," *College English* 59, no. 7 (Nov. 1997): 789–800; and Alan Dundes, "The American Concepts of Folklore," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3, no. 3 (Dec. 1966): 226–49.
 - 11 U.S. Federal Census, 1920, Ancestry.com, (accessed Feb. 5, 2007).
 - 12 WWI registration information, San Diego, CA, Ancestry.com; "Death Takes Edward C. Johnston, 63," *Seattle Times*, Apr. 10, 1951, 21; and U.S. Federal Censuses, 1900 and 1930, Ancestry.com.
 - 13 St. George Island Agent's Log, July 28, 1920.
 - 14 Donald P. Frechin, "The Lepidopterists' News," *Journal of the Lepidopterists' Society* 5, nos. 6–7, 66.
 - 15 Washington State Death Index, 1940–96.
 - 16 "Mrs. Edward C. Johnston," *Seattle Times*, Mar. 11, 1966, 45; and "E. Jeannette Johnston, U.S. Agent's Widow," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Mar. 11, 1966, 28.
 - 17 WWI registration information, San Diego, CA, Ancestry.com; and U.S. Census, 1930.
 - 18 Frechin, "The Lepidopterists' News," 66.
 - 19 Ibid.; Edward Johnston, "The Lepidoptera of the Pribilof Islands," *The Lepidopterists' News* 4 (3): 27–30; and see Eugene Munroe, 1950, "The Occurrence of a Butterfly in the Pribilof Islands," *The Lepidopterists' News* 4 (4–5): 44 about the enigmatic occurrence of a butterfly species on the Pribilof Islands.
 - 20 Letter from C. Howard Baltzo to Laboratory and Program Directors at the Sand Point Naval Air Station, Seattle, WA, Oct. 27, 1960, obtained by John Lindsay from the St. Paul Island Tribal Council collection, St. Paul Island, AK.
 - 21 In an email message from Archivist Karren Elsbernd, California Academy of Sciences, to junior author John Lindsay, on Jan. 25, 2007, the Johnston collection holds 580 mounted photographs, primarily plants and some habitat scenes, but nothing else.
 - 22 Ms. Rappaport was a contractor to NOAA/NOS/ORR with the firm Booz Allen Hamilton.
 - 23 The Edward C. Johnston image was taken on July 16, 1948 by Victor B. Scheffer. Scheffer's photo archives are held by the NMML Library in Seattle, WA. Scheffer cataloged this image as negative 2407. Apparently 2407 was transferred to NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage and placed within RG 22, and cataloged as FWS 2677. Negative 2677 may have been misplaced, but a copy negative now resides with the NMML Library.
 - 24 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo NOS ORR 18 (2009).
 - 25 Letter from Edward C. Johnston to Mr. G. Donald Gibbins, July 21, 1942, in John C. Kirtland and David Coffin Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, 1981), vol. 1, The Military Situation, 93–4.
 - 26 Barbara Torrey, *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts* (St. Paul Island, AK: Tanadgusix, 1978).
 - 27 Dean Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1995).
 - 28 Marla Williams, producer and writer of *Aleut Story* (DVD; Anchorage, AK: SprocketHeads, 2005), executive producer, Carolyn K. Robinson.
 - 29 Michael Single, producer and Beth Harrington, producer and writer of *The Aleutian Islands: Cradle of the Storms* (DVD; Natural History New Zealand Ltd., 2001, and Oregon Public Broadcasting, 2002) 120 minutes.
 - 30 John A. Lindsay (NOAA), producer, and Kate Raisz (42 Degrees N Films), director of the NOAA documentary *People of the Seal* (DVD; Seattle, WA: NOAA, 2009) 71 minutes.
 - 31 "NOAA History, A Science Odyssey: Profiles in Time—C&GS Biographies," Colonel E. Lester Jones, <http://www.history.noaa.gov/cgsbios/bioj7.html> (accessed Mar. 18, 2009).
 - 32 Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 16.
 - 33 Ibid.

- 34 "NOAA History, A Science Odyssey: Profiles in Time—C&GS Biographies," Colonel E. Lester Jones, <http://www.history.noaa.gov/cgsbios/bioj7.html> (accessed Mar. 18, 2009).
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ernest Lester Jones, *Report of Alaska Investigations in 1914* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1915), 124.
- 37 Ibid.; also see biography of Alvin Whitney, who with his wife made the allegations against the government employees.
- 38 "Arrest Five Agents in Alaska Scandal," *New York Times*, July 20, 1914, 1.
- 39 Jones, *Report of Alaska Investigations*, 124.
- 40 "Arrest Five Agents in Alaska Scandal," *New York Times*, July 20, 1914, 1.
- 41 Jones, *Report of Alaska Investigations*, 126. This report described the deplorable conditions on the Pribilof Islands in 1914, and made recommendations to improve those conditions. However, the authors could not locate any official documents leading up to this report, including the diary submitted by teachers Mr. and Mrs. Alvin G. Whitney to Secretary of Commerce Redfield, which offered detailed allegations leading to Jones' investigation. Also not located were the records Jones alluded to in his 1915 report (page 126). Island agent records from July 5, 1914, to Sept. 1916 are also absent in the NARA collection.
- 42 Jones, *Report of Alaska Investigations*, 124–45. Following Jones' investigation many positive improvements took place on both islands, although they were not all-encompassing.
- 43 David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book, 1922), vol. 1, 1–10; Frank R. Perry, "David Starr Jordan," <http://www.calcentral.com/-fossils/peopled.html#jordan> (accessed Dec. 12, 2005).
- 44 David Starr Jordan, <http://faculty.evansville.edu/ck6/bstud/jordan.html> (accessed February 1, 2006); "David Starr Jordan," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com: Lareau Family Master File, (accessed Nov. 7, 2005); and Anon., "Obituary, David Starr Jordan," *Science*, 74 (Oct. 2, 1931): 327–9.
- 45 David Starr Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), pt. 1, 17.
- 46 Ibid., 17.
- 47 Ibid., 17–8.
- 48 Ibid., 18.
- 49 Jordan, *The Days of A Man*, vol. 1, 553, described Macoun as a botanist with the Canadian Museum and Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals*, 18, simply characterized Macoun as a member of the Geological Survey of Canada.
- 50 Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals*, 18.
- 51 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1896, 45.
- 52 "Evil of Pelagic Sealing," *New York Times*, Aug. 23, 1897, 2.
- 53 "Washington, Dec. 13, 1897, Fur Seal Legislation," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1897, 3.
- 54 Responsibility for fur seals was transferred to the Bureau of Fisheries by a Secretary of Commerce and Labor order of Dec. 28, 1908, although initiation didn't occur until Jan. 1, 1909. NARA, Research Room Guide to Records of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22.1 & RG 22.2, 3–4.
- 55 U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, David Starr Jordan, SIA, RU 7176, box 4, folder 4; U.S. Senate, Resolution 90, 91, 92 (Dec 7, 1909); Senate Bill S. 7242 (Mar. 17, 1910); and Witness Henry W. Elliott in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, 69th Cong., 1st sess., Hearing June 10, 1926 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1926), 4–84. Since the treaty became effective in Dec. of 1912, and the government officials involved with the Pribilofs were aware of the pending moratorium as they went into the 1912 sealing year, officials decided to cancel the seal harvest for 1912—effectively the moratorium lasted for six years rather than five as commonly stated in various documents.
- 56 Barrett Willoughby, *Alaska Holiday* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940), 217. David Starr Jordan originally published his seal tale as *Matka and Kotik: A Tale of the Mist Islands* (San Francisco: Whitaker and Ray, 1897). The story became so popular it was republished under the title *The Story of Matka: A Tale of the Mist Islands* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book, 1927). Briton Cooper Busch, *The War Against the Seals* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1985), 154 and 293 n73, commented that Jordan's story was reprinted in 1910 and 1921.
- 57 State of Ohio, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Death, Franklin County, file no. 52819. The death certificate gives James Judge's birth year as 1867 instead of 1866 as offered by the Oregon Historical Society in "Guide to James Judge Papers 1894–1907;" the 1880 U.S. Census gave James' age as 13.

- 58 Genealogical information from U.S. Census, 1900, 1910, and 1920; and Ohio Marriage Directory, Ancestry.com.
- 59 U.S. Congress, House, *House Resolution No. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess., Hearing no. 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 137–8; U.S. Census, John Judge, for 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, Columbus, Franklin County, OH; Illinois State Marriage Index, 1763–1900, License no. 217690, Cook County; and State of Ohio Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Death, Franklin County, file no. 52819.
- 60 U.S. Congress, House, *House Resolution No. 73*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess., Hearing no. 2, 137–8, and 926; and U.S. Census, 1880.
- 61 Ibid., 137–8.
- 62 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, 42.
- 63 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 19, 1901, 83.
- 64 The authors visited the Oregon Historical Society (OHS) on Apr. 5 and 6, 2007. Busch, *The War Against the Seals*, 136 and 290 n36, commented that the James Judge papers MSS 230 at OHS contained two photographs of Gatling guns and cannons. The authors were unable to locate any of the Judge collection photographs, even with the high interest and assistance of the OHS staff.



St. Paul Island High School class trip in 1960, leaving on a Reeve Aleutian airplane. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-95-ADMC-2777)

K

KASHEVAROFF, PHILLIP

Pelagic Sealer

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Phillip Kashevaroff was not a Pribilovian, although he very likely had relatives residing in the Pribilof Islands. But because his deposition for the *Fur-Seal Tribunal of Arbitration* presented an illuminating perspective from a pelagic sealer, it is transcribed, in part, below. Kashevaroff deposed before Treasury Agent Albert W. Lavender on April 11, 1892. Phillip Kashevaroff stated:

Am 47 years old; born at and reside in Sitka. Am by occupation a mariner. The last year I spent hunting seal on the schooner *Allie Alger*. First seal were seen off Sitka Sound in May by me. We followed the seals as far as Sand Point on Unger [sic: Unga] Island. The shotgun was used altogether for taking seal. About three seal are secured out of every ten shot. The majority of seal are cows with pup. Everything is killed that comes near the boat. I think the seal are about as plentiful along this coast, but much more scarce farther west. The cause of this scarcity is too much pelagic hunting. Last year I was not in Bering Sea, but was on the Russian side. Have taken cows seals full of milk 30 miles from Copper Islands. Did not see any big bulls on Attu Islands. I think if sealing in Bering Sea was stopped and the indiscriminate killing of cows was stopped, seal would again become plentiful along the coast. When I was with the Russian Company, I spent six years looking for rookeries, but was unable to find any place where the fur seal hauled out elsewhere than on the Pribilof Islands.¹

KEYES, MARK C. (1928–1984)

*Veterinarian Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and National Marine Fisheries Service,
Pribilof Islands, 1962-1974*

Genealogy

Mark Keyes was born on October 3, 1928, at Cambridge, New York. When Mark Keyes died on July 14, 1984, he was survived by his wife, Valerie, and sons Steward, Kenneth, Nathan, and Forrest.²

Biographical Sketch

Mark Keyes was a student at Pacific Lutheran College, Tacoma, Washington, from 1946 to 1948. He graduated in 1950 with a degree in zoology from the University of Washington in Seattle. He became proficient in the Korean language at the U.S. Army Language School and served as a language specialist with the U.S. Air Force during and following the Korean War, from 1951 to 1955. After the war, Keyes entered Washington State University's pre-veterinary program and received his DVM in 1959. He worked at Evans Veterinary Hospital in Kennewick, Washington, for three years before his government appointment to the Pribilof Islands in 1962.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Mark Keyes "was the first fulltime veterinarian hired by the forerunner agency [Bureau of Commercial Fisheries] of the National Marine Fisheries Service. As such, he directed and conducted research at the Seattle Aquarium, and on the Pribilof Islands regarding aspects of northern fur-seal biology, particularly in the fields of animal diseases and nutrition."³

KIMMEL, LOUIS (B. 1828)

*Physician, Assistant Treasury Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island,
1882–1883*

Genealogy

Louis Kimmel was born at Raedgon, Grand Duchy, Hesse Darmstadt, Germany, on April 21, 1828. He emigrated from Bremen, Germany, to the United States in April 1854, and became a naturalized U.S. citizen at Lafayette, Indiana, on June 15, 1859.⁴

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Louis Kimmel provided the Tribunal of Arbitration with interesting information about the mortality of fur seals ancillary to the harvest at the Pribilof Islands. Such information was used by the Tribunal in making its decisions about the impacts of pelagic sealing and land harvests on the fur-seal population. Kimmel deposed before Notary Public Svellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C., on March 25, 1892:

I am a resident of La Fayette, Indiana, and am 63 years of age. During the years 1882 and 1883 was the assistant Treasury Agent located on St. George Island of the Pribilof Group. I arrived on the island May 31, 1882, and remained there continuously until the later part of July, 1883.

After every “drive” that took place while I was on the island I went back over the ground along which the seals had been driven to see if any seals had been killed by overdriving. The entire number of seals killed in all these “drives” did not exceed one hundred, and the majority of them were killed by the large seals crushing the smaller ones to death. In every case of a seal being killed on the “drive,” I, as Government agent, imposed a fine in order that they might be more careful in the future.⁵

KOCHERGIN, PETER (B. 1902)

Leader of the Aleut Civil Rights Movement, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

Peter Tetoff Kochergin was born March 2, 1902, to parents Daria Antonoff Tetoff (b. November 30, 1880, St. George Island)⁶ and Zachar Tetoff (b. May 21, 1879, St. Paul Island)⁷ on St. Paul Island.⁸ Peter’s siblings to Daria and Zachary Tetoff included: Paul (b. June 5, 1905), Venedict (b. March 27, 1907; Fedosia (b. June 11, 1913); Tatiana (b. January 25, 1916); and Ifrosenia (b. October 6, 1917).⁹ Peter was adopted by Gregory and Agafia Kochergin.¹⁰ Peter Tetoff Kochergin married Helen S. Bourdukofsky, born May 14, 1905 (the adopted daughter of Peter and Alexandra Bourdukofsky) on May 22, 1921, at St. Paul Island.¹¹ Peter and Helen Kochergin had four children born at St. Paul Island: Victor born September 26, 1923; Haretina born October 16, 1925; Moran born August 28, 1928; and Peter born July 11, 1931 (d. March 9, 2002).¹²

Biographical Sketch

Peter Kochergin attended Chemawa Indian Training School in Oregon during the early 1900s.¹³ Peter Kochergin was one of the acknowledged leaders during efforts to acquire Pribilovian civil rights during the 1940s and 1950s. He was revered for his knowledge, intelligence, and leadership abilities. He is portrayed along with four of his comrades in a painting which hangs in the St. Paul Island city council chambers.¹⁴

KOCHUTIN (KOTCHOOTEN), JACOB (1851–1931)

Aleut Sealer, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

Jacob Kochutin was born May 12, 1851, on St. Paul Island. Jacob Kochutin married Alexandra (surname unknown) born May 5, 1863, at Unalaska. Jacob and Alexandra Kochutin had two sons: Theodore (b. March 1, 1888), and Larion (b. March 8, 1893), St. Paul Island.¹⁵ Theodore Kochutin married Mary Sedick (b. July 1, 1883, St. Paul Island)¹⁶ November 27, 1905, on St. Paul Island.¹⁷ Jacob Kochutin died on St. Paul on June 5, 1931.¹⁸



Jacob Kochutin, St. Paul Island, 1930. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987.)

Alexandra Kochutin died April 15, 1947, on St. Paul Island, Alaska.¹⁹ Agent Daniel C. R. Benson wrote in the log, “Alexandra Kochutin passed away at 7:00 am. She was the island’s oldest resident and would have been 84 next month.”²⁰

Biographical Sketch

Jacob Kochutin spent his life as a sealer. Government Agent Harry Peterson wrote about Kotchooten in his St. Paul Island Agent’s Log:

Jacob Kochutin, age 80 years, died at 4:30 p.m. today of Myocarditis. He is survived by his wife, Alexandra, and son, Theodore. Jacob was the oldest native on the island and is honorably remembered for his long and faithful service here. He had the reputation of being the fastest and most efficient seal skinner and it is probable that he has skinned more of these animals than any sealer since 1867.²¹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Jacob Kotchooten provided the following historical information about changes in the seal harvest process as part of his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration. Kotchooten deposed before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska, on June 8, 1892:

I am a native of St. Paul Island, Alaska, and I am 40 years of age. I am a native sealer, and have worked among seals on St. Paul Island all my life, and I remember when I was first rated a man, some twenty-three years ago; it was when Kerrick Buterin was chief, and he used to follow us up when we went to drive seals, and tell us to walk along as slow as we could, so as not to tire the seals or worry them in any way.

In 1879 the Alaska Commercial Company built a salt house about 2 miles from Halfway Point, and after that the seals were never driven more than 2 miles.

Ten or twelve years ago the rookeries and sea were full of seals, but now there is not a great many; we used to kill 85,000 in less than two month’s time on St. Paul Island, and our people earned plenty of money to buy everything they wanted, and in the winter we killed 2,000 to 3,000 male pups for food and clothing. Now we are not allowed to kill any more pups, and only 7,500 male seals for food, and our people are very much worried to know what is to become of themselves and children.²²

KRUKOFF, NICOLI (B. 1849)

Aleut Sealer, St. Paul Island

Second Chief, St. Paul Island, 1891–1892+(?)

Genealogy

Nicoli Krukoff was born at sea near Sitka, Alaska in 1849.²³ Nicoli married Catherine (surname unknown), born August 30, 1858, at Atka.²⁴ Nicoli and Catherine had two children, Metrofan (b. June 4, 1883)²⁵ and Oustenia (Eustina) b. October 15, 1889.²⁶ Both children were born at St. Paul Island. Metrofan Krukoff married Pelagia Philammiff, born October 19, 1887, at St. George Island.²⁷ Metrofan and Pelagia had a son, Metrofay, born August 22, 1909, at St. Paul Island.²⁸ Nicoli Krukoff died July 13, 1910 of uremia.²⁹ Eustina Krukoff died October 15, 1910, of “Ludwig’s Angina” and “Septisemia.”³⁰

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

In his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration, Nicoli Krukoff, as second chief, provided the following insights about the seal harvest at St. Paul Island. Krukoff deposed before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska, on June 8, 1892:

I am 43 years of age and was born at Sitka, Alaska. I can read and speak the Russian, Aleut, and English languages. I came to St. Paul Island in 1869, and have been here ever since, constantly employed among the fur seals, and I have had daily experience in all the branches of the business, from driving the seals to preparing the skins for shipment, and I am at present the second chief on St. Paul Island, to which position I was appointed in 1891.

The driving is all done by our own people under direction of the chiefs and we never drive faster than about half a mile in one hour. We very seldom drive twice from one rookery in one week and very few cows get into a drive before the middle of August.

The Government has forbidden us to kill any more pups and we get other meat instead. All our people know the seal are getting scarcer every year and we think it is because of the schooners coming in and shooting the cows in the sea. Sometimes they try to land on the rookeries, but we drive them off with guns and they never get many seals that way. We earn very little wages now, and we expect the Government to keep us in food and clothing. Unless the schooners are stopped the seals will all be gone soon and then I do not know what my people can do for a living; they know nothing of other work and there is nothing else at the seal islands.³¹

KUSHIN, AGGIE (1855–1900)

Aleut Sealer, St. Paul Island, 1870–1892 or later (?)

Assistant Priest, Greek Catholic Church, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

Aggie Kushin was born on the Kurile Islands circa 1855. Aggie Kushin married Mary (surname unknown) from St. George Island.³² Aggie and Mary had two children, Lukera and Michael.³³ A nine-month old grandson, Nestor (b. November 7, 1892),³⁴ was listed

in the St. Paul Island Census of June 30, 1893.³⁵ Nestor was apparently adopted by John Hanson (Hansen) by 1895.³⁶ Nestor married Nellie Golovin on August 28, 1911.³⁷ Nellie was born May 23, 1892, at Morzhovi, Alaska.³⁸ She was apparently an orphan residing at the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska, which may have contributed to the discrepancies in the St. Paul Island census records which cite both Morzhovi and Unalaska as her birthplaces.³⁹ Nestor and Nellie Kushin had one son, John Hunter Kushin, born at St. Paul Island, October 3, 1914.⁴⁰ Nestor died March 27, 1916.⁴¹ Aggie Kushin died September 12, 1900, of "capillary bronchitis super-induced by measles."⁴²

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Aleut sealer Aggie Kushin expressed his concern about the impact of pelagic sealing not only on the seal population but also upon the Pribilof Islands' Native community. He deposed before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams on St. Paul Island, on June 6, 1892:

I was born at Simshoe, Kurile Islands, and am 37 years of age. I came to St. Paul Island in 1867 and have resided here ever since. I can read and write in the Russian and Aleut languages, and am able to interpret the one into the other; and I understand the English language fairly well. At present and for several years past I am assistant priest in the Greek Catholic Church. My occupation on the island is that of native sealer, and I have been such since 1870. I have a thorough knowledge of the taking of fur seals for skins in all its details as it has been done on St. Paul Island since 1870.

I never saw many sealing schooners before 1884, but they have been coming more and more every year since, and I notice that as the schooners multiply in the sea the seals decrease on the rookeries. I do not mean to say that the seals were injured because a few were killed on the rookeries, when men from schooners landed on the islands in the night or when the fog was very thick, for the number killed in that way never amounted to much, as it is not often the raiders can land on a rookery and escape with their plunder. When, in 1886, we all saw the decrease of seals upon the hauling ground and rookeries, we asked each other what was the cause of it, but when we learned that white men were shooting seal in the water with guns we knew what was the matter; we knew that if they killed seals in the water that they must be nearly all females that were going out to feed, because the males stay on the islands until they get ready to go away in the fall or winter.

I never heard any of the old men who have lived here for fifty years before my time speak of such a thing as sickness or death among the seals. We eat the flesh of the seal and it constitutes the meat supply of the natives, and seals from two to five years old have been killed by them for food every week during their stay on the land ever since the islands were peopled, and no one has yet found a diseased seal either young or old.

When I first came here seals used to be driven from Half way [sic] Point to the village, a distance of about six miles; and from Zapadnie to the village a distance of nearly five miles. Wet, or very damp, cool weather was chosen for such drives, and we started the drive at about six o'clock at night and driving all night reached the village at from six to eight o'clock next morning.

The seals are never driven at a greater speed than one mile in three hours; and the men who do the driving have to relieve each other on the road because they travel so slowly they get very cold.

No one knows better than the natives that our prosperity is in the protection of the seals. They are our food supply, and our earnings from taking the skins enable us to live comfortably. Should the Company desire us to kill female seals, every native in the village would be interested in having the Government officer know it.⁴³

- 1 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 261–2.
- 2 Genealogical information from U.S. Census, 1900, 1910, and 1920; and “Ohio Marriage Directory,” Ancestry.com.
- 3 Ann York, “Memories—Mark C. Keyes, 1928–1984,” *Marine Mammal Science* 1, no. 2 (Apr. 1985): 186.
- 4 U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925, NARA microfilm publication M1490, passport no. 14481 issued May 31, 1906.
- 5 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 173.
- 6 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 59 and 319. No mention is made of a “Daria,” an “Antonoff,” or the phonetically similar “Artomonoff” family in the St. George census records for 1880 or 1881.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid. Two-year old Peter Tetoff is listed under his parents Zachar and Daria Tetoff in the St. Paul Island Census of 1904 (p. 326), as the “Godchild” of George and Agafia “Kotchergin” in the St. Paul Island Census of 1905 (p. 335), and as the adopted son of George and Agafia Kotchergin in the St. Paul Island Census of 1906 (p. 339).
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., 54 and 339.
- 11 Ibid., 567.
- 12 Ibid., 54.
- 13 Ibid., 533.
- 14 Biographical sketch provided by Larry Merculieff, Jan. 13, 2007, in an email to John Lindsay.
- 15 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 54, 355.
- 16 Ibid., 355.
- 17 Ibid., 346.
- 18 Official Log, St. Paul Island, Alaska, June 5, 1931.
- 19 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 54.
- 20 Official Log, St. Paul Island, Alaska, Apr. 15, 1947.
- 21 Ibid., June 5, 1931.
- 22 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 131–2.
- 23 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 205.
- 24 Ibid. The St. Paul census of 1908 (p. 371) listed Catherine Krukof’s birthplace as Kamchatka, which may have been mistaken as Atka by earlier census takers.
- 25 Ibid., 340.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., 187, 340, and 356.
- 28 Ibid., 295.
- 29 Ibid., 400.
- 30 Ibid., 400 and 417.
- 31 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 132–3.
- 32 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 205.
- 33 Ibid., 227.
- 34 Ibid., 380.
- 35 Ibid., 241.
- 36 Ibid., 272 and 380.
- 37 Ibid., 427, 433, and 449.
- 38 Ibid., 55, 449, and 474. See footnote n on page 454, which suggests Nellie Galovin’s birthplace was Unalaska Island.
- 39 Ibid., 427.
- 40 Ibid., 466.
- 41 Ibid., 480.
- 42 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, Sept. 12, 1900.

43 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 128–30, 54.



Luka Mandregan's Barabara on St. Paul Island Village in January 1873. Henry Wood Elliott, Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska, 1873.

L

LAVENDER, ALBERT WEBSTER (1842–1916)

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1891–1893

Genealogy

Albert Webster Lavender was born August 22, 1842, at White Point, Queens, Nova Scotia, Canada,¹ to Allen Lavender and Catherine (Hoffman) Lavender. Allen Lavender's family had English roots and had established itself in South Carolina during colonial days. The family relocated to Nova Scotia after the Revolutionary War, as they retained English sympathies, but eventually returned to the United States and settled on Cape Cod. Albert's father, Allen Lavender, was born at Charleston, South Carolina, and became a sea captain. Catherine Hoffman, of Dutch heritage, was born in New York's Mohawk Valley.²

Albert Webster Lavender married Mary Edgar on February 14, 1871, in Parkville, Kings County, New York. Mary Edgar was born circa 1850 in England.³ According to one source Albert and Mary had eight children, but the source only identified four by name.⁴ A more recent source listed seven children: Edgar Worthald, born circa 1872 in New York; Katherine, born February 8, 1874, in Yankton, South Dakota, and died February 6, 1877, in Yankton; Carrie Alberta, born circa 1876, in Yankton; Mary, born October 8, 1879, in Yankton, died September 14, 1881, in Scotland, South Dakota; Robert Webster; Roy Allen, born June 22, 1885, in Scotland, South Dakota, died March



*Albert Webster Lavender, circa 1890.
(Alaska State Library, AW Lavender Coll., MS235-38.)*

14, 1886; and Harrison Morton.⁵ After his wife Mary died (November 2, 1893, in Yankton, South Dakota),⁶ Albert Lavender married Deborah Rooke Wynn (born in Yankton, South Dakota), a widow with one son, Frank Wynn.⁷ Deborah Rooke Lavender died October 18, 1911, and Albert Lavender died on December 24, 1916, both in Yankton, South Dakota.

Biographical Sketch

Albert Lavender's father and seven of Albert's uncles served as captains of ocean-going craft in the days when American clippers were known on every sea. Captain Albert Lavender, three of his brothers, and many of his cousins followed the family tradition by commanding saltwater vessels.⁸ Because of illness, Albert was compelled to give up the sea and in 1872 had settled in South Dakota, where he became a businessman. In 1890, he sold his grocery and general store in Scotland, South Dakota

to accept an appointment as special agent of seal fisheries for the Federal government, serving throughout President Benjamin Harrison's administration. . . . He kept guard over the seals in the Pribyloff islands, limited the killing of the animals and prevented illegal sealing, serving until June 15, 1893. He did not know until that date that Grover Cleveland was a candidate for the presidency and had been elected. He was ordered to report at Washington and in September of the same year arrived again in Yankton, though he was frequently called upon in Washington for information until the following December.⁹

Captain Albert Lavender's time in the Pribilof Islands was only one of many action-filled and rewarding life experiences. Excerpts from his biography in the *History of Dakota Territory*, vol. 5, by George Kingsbury illustrate not only Captain Lavender's personality but also the type of man who served on the Pribilof Islands.

Captain Lavender of this review was actively connected with seafaring from the age of eight or nine years, and yet, is frank enough to confess that he never left port without being seasick for a longer or shorter period. From early boyhood he went with fishing fleets to the banks of Newfoundland and, working his way upward, was for thirteen years in command of vessels. For ten years he represented the same firm, sailing out of New York, and he has visited every port of any importance on the five continents, in Australia and in the islands of the South Sea. His many years of life at sea at length affected his throat and while at Buenos Aires, South America, his voice was lost completely as a result of bronchitis. A sea captain without a voice is like a ship without a rudder and so he decided to quit the sea for a time. An uncle at Yankton [South Dakota] recommended that he try the western climate and the 11th of January, 1872, witnessed his arrival in Dakota. Today he is one of the most widely known citizens of Yankton. He has been identified with many lines of business in this state and has held various offices of trust in the service of the national government. After reaching Yankton he purchased a grocery business, in which he engaged from 1872 until 1879. He then opened a general store in connection with his grocery and at the same time established a branch store in Scotland [SD]. In 1882 he sold his Yankton store, but continued business in Scotland until 1890, when he sold out. . . .

On his return to Yankton Captain Lavender purchased cattle. He had previously engaged in that business while conducting his store and he continued to deal in cattle until the Spanish-American War, when he was appointed paymaster in the navy, serving on the flagship *Cincinnati*, most of the time in Cuban waters. The *Cincinnati* was about thirty miles east of Santiago when they heard the guns of battle. At full speed she raced along the coast, hoping to get into the battle, but arrived only in time, after a chase of eighty or ninety miles, to see the last vessel, the *Santa Maria*, sinking. Captain Lavender was the only paymaster chosen from civil life and because he could speak Spanish he was sent aboard the *Santa Maria* to receive the surrender of the vessel. He remained in the naval service

until January 1, 1899, when he resigned and returned to Yankton, since which time he has been upon the road for the Excelsior Mill Company, buying produce which he ships to larger markets. He is thoroughly familiar with all trade conditions in his territory and is one of the best salesmen on the road.¹⁰

Captain Lavender has been familiar with the history of Dakota from the early territorial days when Indians were hostile and soldiers were continually passing to and fro between the forts and army posts. He was in Yankton when General Custer arrived there in the midst of a three days' snow storm, covering April 12, 13 and 14, 1873. He lived in the territory through the period of the grasshopper scourge and the hard times caused by drought. During the flood of the spring of 1881 he was one of the rescue party and with a launch of a steamer and a crew he spent two weeks in constant rescue work, returning to town only when assured that all settlers along the bottoms of the Missouri and James rivers were safe. He rescued two hundred and fourteen at Gayville alone and more than that number from farm houses or on barns or hay stacks, where they had taken refuge throughout the flooded districts. Many there are who owe their lives to Captain Lavender's untiring efforts in their behalf and all but one from the flooded districts were brought out alive. He was in Chicago with a shipment of cattle on the 12th of January, 1888, and therefore missed the fearful blizzard of that date. Among his many souvenirs and trophies of the long years which he spent at sea is a mass of melted Spanish money from the Santa Maria, which is both curious and artistic, resembling antique Chinese carving of grotesque figures. He has one mass weighing eleven pounds in the First National Bank at Elk Point. His son in Colorado has another of the four given him on the Santa Maria and the fourth he presented to a friend in Washington.¹¹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Albert Lavender was the Treasury Agent at St. George Island during the years 1891–93. His deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration offered some additional insight into the extent of pelagic sealing. Lavender was deposed by Notary Public C. L. Hooper on June 7, 1892, in Alaska:

I am 49 years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Scotland, South Dakota. I am now, and have been for two years past, employed as special agent of the Treasury Department, assigned to duty as agent in charge of St. George Island. While in Unalaska in September, 1891, awaiting transportation to San Francisco, I had an opportunity to examine personally the seal catch of the steam-sloop *Challenge*, which had been warned out of the sea, and was undergoing repairs at the harbor named. The catch amounted to 172 skins, which were all taken in Berhing Sea at various distances from the seal islands, and of this number only three were those of male seals, one of these being an old bull, and the other two being younger males.¹²

LEMBKEY, WALTER IRWIN (1870–1951)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, June 1899–June 1900

Agent, Seal Fisheries of Alaska, October 1900–July 1913

St. George Island, October 1900–June 1901

St. Paul Island, June 1901–July 1913

Genealogy

Walter Irwin Lembkey, son of William and Mary Burke (Hawksworth) Lembkey, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 18, 1870. Walter Lembkey married Grace



Left to right: Assistant Engineer Wood, Second Lieutenant Camden, Dr. Samuel J. Call, Captain C. F. Shoemaker. Far right: Captain Albert W. Lavender. (Alaska State Library, AW Lavender Coll., MS235-49.)

M. Hurd of Altoona, Pennsylvania, at Washington, D.C., in 1894. Walter and Grace's only child, Julia H. Lembkey, was born in 1896.¹³ Julia married William Lewis Brosius Jr., MD, who was a 1917 graduate of Johns Hopkins Medical School. Brosius was born September 30, 1892, at Gallatin, Missouri, the son of Dr. William Brosius and Molly (Price) Brosius. Julia and William Brosius Jr. had three children, all born in Detroit, Michigan: Betty, Julia L., and William L. Brosius. Julia died in 1951 and William on April 3, 1976, at Riverton, Wyoming. Both are buried next to their parents at the Lyle Cemetery in Gallatin, Daviess County, Missouri.¹⁴ Walter I. Lembkey died a widower on December 20, 1951, at Eloise, Wayne County, Michigan, and was buried at Arlington, Virginia.¹⁵

Biographical Sketch

At the age of nine, Walter Lembkey was residing with his uncle, Justice of the Peace John J. Rankin, and attending public school in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Columbia University in New York City in 1893, with an LLM degree. Before entering government service, Lembkey was an editor for a local newspaper, general secretary of the YMCA, and deputy recorder of deeds; he also dealt in general real-estate business. As a college student he had earned money as a clerk-copyist for the U.S. Department of the Treasury from 1890 to 1892.¹⁶

Pribilof Islands Experience

Walter Lembkey was appointed assistant agent of the seal fisheries on March 22, 1899, through the Sixth County Congressional District of Pennsylvania. His wife, Grace, and their daughter, Julia, accompanied him. Lembkey was later promoted to agent, with "gen-



Walter and Grace Lembkey at the wedding of Alexandra Peterson to Peter Bourdukofsky, Saints Peter and Paul Church, St. Paul Island, September 8, 1908. Persons identified in the photo: 1. Alexandra Peterson Bourdukofsky, 2. Peter Bourdukofsky, 3. Alexandra (Melovidov) Mandregan, 4. Justina Nozekoff, 5. Agent Walter I. Lembkey, 6. Paula (Stepetin) McGlashan, 7. Elary (Stepetin) Gromoff, age 5, 8. Dr. Mills, 9. Mrs. Grace Lembkey, 10. Rev. John Orloff, 11. Juliana Gromoff, 12. Alexandra Orloff. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-USBF 1.022. Photo cropped.)

eral charge of all matters pertaining to the fur-seal fisheries of Alaska, including relations with lessees of the seal islands and the natives, guarding the seal herds, custody of buildings and Government property.”¹⁷

During his first year on St. Paul Island, an issue arose regarding funds held by the North American Commercial Company (NACC) for the translation of the “Russian Church Ritual” into Aleut. The resident priest and Native chiefs asked Assistant Agent Lembkey to write an official letter on their behalf to the NACC. Lembkey wrote to NACC Agent J. C. Redpath:

Office of Special Agent Treasury Department
St. Paul Island, Alaska
August 14, 1899
Mr. J.C. Redpath
Agent, N.A. Commercial Company
Sir:

At a recent conference between Mr. Morton, the Treasury Agent in charge, and the natives of this Island, the latter expressed a wish that the amount of money now on deposit with your company, contributed in past years by the natives of this Island, for the translation of their Church Ritual from Russian into Aleut, be paid by you to the Russian Consistory at San Francisco, it being understood that a portion of the Ritual has already been translated. In this request Mr. Morton acquiesced and directed me to issue an order for the amount.

You are therefore hereby requested to pay to Rev. Nicholi Reeseff, the resident priest on this Island of the Russian Church, the amount above referred to, amounting to fifteen hundred and ninety two dollars and eighty four cents (\$1,592.84) the amount to be forwarded by him to the Russian Consistory at San Francisco, to be placed to the credit of the natives of this Island, for the translation above referred to.

This letter shall constitute your voucher for the payment of the above amount.

Respectfully yours,
W.J. Lembkey Treas. Agent, St. Paul Island

Received the above amount from transmission to the Russian Ecclesiastical Consistory at San Francisco, to be used in translating the Church Ritual from the Russian Language into Aleut.

(Signed) Rec'd, N.S. Reeseff

Approved:-

(signed) Nicoli Gromoff, First Chief

(signed in Russian) Martin Nedarazoff, Second Chief¹⁸

Later, Agent Lembkey became embroiled in struggles with the marauding pelagic sealers. Beginning in the mid-1880s and throughout most of the first decade of the twentieth century, American and Canadian pelagic sealers killed hundreds of thousands of fur seals in the Bering Sea. Greed emboldened some sufficiently to dare to land on the shores of the Seal Islands. Usually under the shroud of the nearly omnipresent fog, the marauders would land and kill many fur seals. Some of these pirates were captured and their vessels seized, thanks to the bravery of the islanders. Deadly force was always a prospect, but it never came to pass until 1906.

The Japanese had been totally unprepared for pelagic sealing in the waters around northern Japan, where fur seals passed during their annual migration. Eventually the Japanese awoke to the many foreigners, primarily Americans and Canadians, reaping huge

profits in their backyard from natural resources including sea otters and fur seals. That realization, stoked by their own desire for big profits, motivated Japanese fishers to take bold moves. In 1893, the Imperial Fisheries Company (Dai Nippon Suisan Kaisha) outfitted the *Chishima no. 1* and the *Chishima Maru no. 3* for pelagic sealing.¹⁹ Not bound by the Paris Arbitration Tribunal decision, Japan moved eastward. In time, market changes and U.S. laws essentially eliminated competition by American and Canadian pelagic sealers sailing out of North America, but the same factors in turn encouraged Japan to move in for the kill and American sealers to sail under Japanese colors.²⁰

In July 1906, Agent Lembkey reported at least thirteen Japanese sealing schooners surrounding St. Paul Island, killing seals both outside and inside the three-mile territorial limit. He observed that with the Japanese pelagic sealers hovering off the coast, just the process of counting seals on the rookeries would work disadvantageously toward protecting the seals.

this island [St. Paul] after July 15 was surrounded by a large fleet of Japanese pelagic schooners hunting seals in the immediate vicinity of the island. To have continued counting under these circumstances would have involved the driving off the rookeries of large numbers of female breeding seals to fall the prey of pelagic hunters within sight of land.²¹

Possibly emboldened by the presence of so many compatriots, Japanese sealers decided to raid St. Paul Island at Northeast Point on July 16, 1906, with fatal consequences. Several Japanese sealers were killed by an armed island guard. Coincidentally, Edwin W. Sims, Esq., solicitor with the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, arrived a few days after the raid and recorded accounts of the incident. Sims' report honored Agent Lembkey and the island's Aleut guard and attested to the stressful conditions facing the island inhabitants during the pelagic sealing era.²² (See Edwin W. Sims biography for appropriate excerpts of the reporting of the Japanese raid.)

The U.S. Consul in Hokodate, Japan, estimated that the 1906 Japanese pelagic sealing fleet took 7,000 seals around the Pribilof Islands. Agent Lembkey contended that



Walter, Julia, and Grace Lembkey, circa 1940s. (Courtesy William Lewis Brosius IV.)



Walter, Grace, and Julia Lembkey on Government House porch with Native Chief Karp Buterin (right), St. Paul Island, 1902. (Courtesy William Lewis Brosius IV.)

that number was low if one considered the inefficiencies of pelagic sealing—that is, the number of seals recovered was small in proportion to those killed by pelagic sealers. In comparison, the North American Commercial Company take of sealskins in 1906 totaled 14,476. Adding the number taken by Canadian sealers, with figures put forward by the London trade sales for “Northwest coast” skins, the 1906 pelagic take in the Bering Sea totaled 27,216.²³

Despite the deaths of the Japanese marauders at the hands of the Americans, pelagic sealers continued to approach the Pribilof Islands. Reading the St. Paul Island Agent’s Log for 1906 reveals the relative magnitude of the incursions around St. Paul and Otter Islands, as well as some of the frustrations associated with those distractions. In the early 1900s more revenue cutters began to patrol the Bering Sea against pelagic sealers, but not until 1907, the year after the deaths of the Japanese sealers, did the revenue cutter patrols around the Pribilofs become more forceful.

The patrol about the islands during the summer of 1907 was energetic and by far the most active put forward in the history of the islands. There is no question that the captains in command of the cutters used every effort to prevent landings and to capture schooners within the three-mile limit.²⁴

Even so, Japanese efforts to kill seals showed no sign of decreasing, and weather conditions, including fog and strong winds, shielded the pelagic sealers from detection and aided them in escape. Lembkey recorded several incidents in the 1907 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log.

July 18, 1907

While hauling in the skins which lay near the well house . . . the company’s teamster Edward met three Japanese sailors, who with packs on their backs, were walking overland to the village. He ordered them into the wagon and drove with them into the village.

The men could not speak English and none in the village could talk Japanese. The Chinese laundryman, however, by writing, could make out here and there a word in common, and, after giving them something to eat, which they requested by means of pantomime, they were brought to the Government House and an attempt was made to ascertain the facts in connection with their landing.



View of warehouse and houses, looking toward Village Landing, St. Paul Island, September 1908. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage. Photo: Walter Lembkey. RG 22, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1907–1921.)

After a great deal of trouble and conflicting statements due to misunderstanding on both sides, their statement amounted to the facts that they were of the schooner EUN MARU, sailing from Sindai, Japan, of 48 tons burden, and carried 25 men and 7 boats. The master's name was Kimdo Skiroka. On July 17, they approached the island in search of water and struck a rock, sinking in 45 minutes. None of the crew were drowned. These men did not know what became of the other boats. They made signs immediately upon arrival that they wanted food. The leader showed on the map of the island the location of their landing which was in the neighborhood of Lincoln Bight. They were given quarters in the Seduli house.

They had quite heavy packs on their backs when they arrived at the village, consisting of clothing, ammunition box, with shell loaded and empty, and two shotguns, one 10 and one 12 gauge. In the afternoon, after arriving at their quarters, the men changed their clothing and appeared very well dressed.

It is hard to believe the statement that their ship was wrecked, especially since they had all their clothing with them, guns, compasses, etc., and cannot account for the other men in the crew. They probably are deserters. They tried to explain to the Chinese who acted as interpreter that the captain was rough with them, and went through a pantomime of striking and tying the hands behind the back. They repeated the story, however, several times of the ship's having been wrecked. The interpreting was done through the Chinese writing characters on paper which were shown to the Japanese, who in turn wrote characters on paper in reply. How much of this either side could understand is conjectural.

July 19, 1907

The watchman sent yesterday to explore the North Shore to ascertain whether the statement made by the Japanese castaways to the effect that their schooner struck a rock and sunk is correct, returned last night about midnight. They state that nothing can be seen of any wrecked ship. Their boat was hauled up on the North Shore near Lincoln Bight. It contained six oars, six row-locks, 1 sail, 1 water-cask, full, one bottle of water, one long pole with three hooks, 2 rain coats and one sou'wester.

The watchmen [sic] further reported that, when he was in the vicinity of West Point, he saw 16 schooners and about 30 small boats, the latter all operating in the vicinity of West Point. . . . Of the 30 boats seen, 6 were well inside the 3-mile limit, and only about 400 yards from shore. Upon seeing the watchmen approaching, the boats turned and made away as rapidly as they could.

This is the record day for schooners. The sixteen seen on the North and West sides are supplemented by 7 more, reported by the watch at North East Point, at the other extreme of the island. This makes 23 schooners in sight from the island in one day.

From the fact that nearly all the boats from the 16 schooners on the west side operated in the vicinity of West Point, it must be believed that the seals, in traveling about the island converge at this point in the swift currents that make past this locality as the tide ebbs and flows. The sealers have been quick to grasp this fact, and to take advantage of it, as shown by their hovering in that place whenever the weather is favorable.

The infamous *Toyai Maru* involved in the 1906 raid returned to haunt the Bering Sea in 1907. This time the crew from the cutter *Perry* boarded the Japanese sealer to find "several white men aboard." According to the St. Paul Island Agent's Log entries below, the Japanese sealers *Kinzai Maru nos. 1, 2, and 3* also had white men aboard, and the owner was purported to be the wife of the U.S. Consul to Japan, Mr. King.²⁵

June 19, 1907

At 6 p. m., a telephonic message was received from the watchmen at North-East Point to the effect that three schooners were in sight to the N. W. of the point, and sailing directly in. The guard was instructed by the Chief, at my instance, not to all[ow] any boat's crew

to land but to fire warning shots, should it be attempted. At 7 p. m., I had the second chief [give] a call up the Point, and it was reported that two of the schooners were about 6 miles out, and were not moving, but that one of them was coming in, and was at that time about 4 miles off shore.

The guard was instructed to keep the village advised as often as possible.

June 20, 1907

The watchmen at North-East Point report this morning that the MANNING was lying to the westward of Hutchinson Hill, in the same position where the schooners were lying last night. The schooners, however, were out of sight.

June 21, 1907

Mr. and Mrs. Judge drove to North-East Point this afternoon. In the evening . . . Mr. Judge telephoned that a schooner had been seen by the guard there this morning, presumably about 8 miles out.

June 22, 1907

At about 1:30, the cutter [MANNING] got under way, steering in the direction of Otter Island. There she fell in with two schooners that evidently had been hidden behind the island. It is stated that one of the schooners was towed by the Cutter toward the Village. . . . The other schooner sailed in a Westerly direction. It is not known whether any of the schooners mentioned were seized.

A telephonic message from Mr. Judge at North-East Point contained the information that, at 7 o'clock, there were two schooners in sight from that place. Both were a considerable distance from the Island. There were, therefore, four schooners sighted today.

Watch was changed at North-East Point today, four men taking the places of those who have been on watch there during the week.

June 24, 1907

A schooner was seen to the Eastward of Otter Island and several miles away. Evidently she had boats out, as she remained in one position for a long time.

June 25, 1907

About 1:30 in the afternoon, native men who were watching from the village hill reported that three small boats were in the vicinity of Otter Island . . . it was seen to fire from shot-guns. The smoke from the guns, as they were fired, could be plainly seen with glasses. . . . I observed the two boats to land at Otter Island and the crews to go ashore there and enter the house. Evidently there were no seals on the Island, for the boat's' [sic] crews soon reembarked. . . . Evidently they were the crews of two schooners lying in the directions taken by the boats.

About 7 p.m., the PERRY was sighted some distance off West Point. She anchored on the West side about 9 p.m. . . . The Captain stated that he had boarded the schooner to the N.W. sighted this morning, to which one of the boats at Otter Island evidently belonged.

The Captain also told me that the prize which he captured off the Island the other day and took to Unalaska was released on order of Captain Munger, fleet captain, on the ground that the evidence obtainable showing her culpability was not sufficient to justify her being held for court. No sealskins were found in the boats, but arms and all other sealing paraphernalia were in them when taken inside the 3-mile limit. It is a question in my mind whether the evidence did not justify the sending of the captain and the crews of the boats to Valdez, as the section of the Alaska Criminal code which provides penalties for attempts states that if a person attempts to commit crime, "and in such attempt does any act toward the commission of such crime, but fails or is intercepted in the perpetration thereof," he shall be punished upon conviction. (Sec. 192, March 3, 1899.) There is no doubt, from

the implements in the boat, that it was the intention of these sealers to violate our law by taking seals in our waters, and were only kept from so doing by their interception and arrest by the Cutter.

The Captain informed me also that yesterday Captain Cantwell in overhauling a schooner had to fire one blank and one solid shot in her direction before the schooner came into the wind.

June 26, 1907

All hands went to the Point in the afternoon. The Government boat was taken up loaded with coal and supplies for the watchmen.

Shortly after our arrival there the guard reported a schooner "close in" toward Hutchinson Hill. In about an hour the entire guard came armed to Webster House, stating that the schooner was standing in toward the rookery and was very close to shore. Mr. Judge and I, therefore, with the guard, ran over to Hutchinson Hill. On our arrival there, we saw the schooner standing to the N. E. and at least 3 miles off shore. The guard watched her until she went out of sight on her course.

June 28, 1907

While killing seals this morning at the Point several shots were heard coming out of the fog from the water in the direction of Sea Lion Neck.

June 30, 1907

At 11 o'clock three shots were heard out on the water in the direction of Zapadni Point, followed by three more at 11.27 and four more at 11.40. A guard was summoned, provisioned and armed, and the four men were sent to Zapadni rookery by boat, with instructions to guard that rookery from invasion, and to make a drive of seals early tomorrow morning, when the sealing gang would come over. . . . The fog is thick, and the weather calm.

In the afternoon, probably 40 shots were fired off Zapadni Point. Firing was heard also in English Bay to the N.W. of the Village. In the evening, cannon shots were heard to the S.W. of the village, as a signal for the small boats to assemble. The fog was too thick to make out anything. . . .

The guard at North-East Point reports that they heard cannon firing in that vicinity this afternoon.

Incursions into the three-mile limit would continue under the veil of fog. Eventually, the community became somewhat complacent as recorded by the agent.

July 4, 1907

The presence of schooners . . . excites little or no comment, so long as the vessels are outside the 3-mile limit, and although sealing vessels are sighted almost daily they are not always reported unless sighted from the village, or something of importance occurs in connection therewith.

On August 13, 1907, the NACC steamer *Homer* delivered to St. Paul Island two 10-barrel, 30-caliber, model 1897 Gatling guns, three 1.65 caliber Hotchkiss mountain guns, twenty-five 30-caliber Model 1898 rifles, and five 38-caliber Colt Model 1901 revolvers from the Rock Island, Illinois, Arsenal.²⁶ According to the Agent's Log, these weapons were brought "for the protection of the island,"²⁷ presumably against potential marauding sealers. The Agent's Log, however, revealed that this weaponry found other practical applications.



Men with cannons (possibly Hotchkiss 42 mm and revolving 37 mm) aimed out to sea, with several men holding ramrods for loading barrels. These weapons were meant to protect St. Paul Island from sealing pirates, although they were more often used to signal ships. 1912. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1907–1921.)

Today Chief Merculif, two natives and I mounted and cleaned the other two [Hotchkiss guns] and I fired a blank shell from each of the three guns. The mechanism of these guns is simple they are easily handled and without doubt very effective for short distances. The rapidity with which the natives followed the literature available on the subject was gratifying.²⁸

Eight men and I spent the entire day cleaning and mounting the two Gatling guns brought up by the HOMER. One was ready for business shortly before noon. We took it to the school house where I fired about 30 shots. One of the shells then became jammed and as we were not thoroughly familiar with the mechanism it took us considerable time to extract the Shell. We then tried it again, and the gun worked beautifully. About 50 shells were fired without any thing going wrong. These guns are superb pieces of machinery, which will require considerable attention to keep them in a state of efficiency. The discharge of a [Gatling] is not unlike that of a bunch of fire crackers but of course much louder.

In order to familiarize the natives with the Hotchkiss guns the three empty shells on hand were re-primed and fired from the shop door several times. The Hotchkiss guns were then cleaned when both mountain and gatlings were covered with the paulins and all gear that came with them. The reloading of the Hotchkiss shells for signaling is a very simple matter.

Lieut. Stromberg [of the Perry] complimented us on setting up the guns, especially as neither the natives nor I, had ever seen a Gatling, and not a scrap of literature accompanied either piece.

All work on the guns was done in the native shop, which we found extremely convient [sic] and without which we would have been seriously handicapped, as the Company shop was in constant use by the Co employees, and there was no other suitable place on the Island.

While the shop was built for the use of the natives, it is evident that the Government will be a large user of it.²⁹

The records examined did not indicate that the Hotchkiss and Gatling guns ever saw action against marauding sealers, but sightings of schooners continued around St. Paul until the end of August 1907.

On June 25, 1913, Agent Lembkey received a telegram from the Secretary of Commerce notifying him "that the position of agent, seal fisheries, was abolished by law, to take effect June 30 instant." On July 1, 1913, he received another telegram stating that he was temporarily appointed special assistant agent-in-charge until Mr. Chamberlain, the naturalist to replace Dr. Walter Hahn, who had died of exposure earlier in the year, ar-

rived at the island (see the biography for Walter Hahn). Mr. Chamberlain arrived aboard the *Homer* on July 14, 1913, and Lembkey left the island. Agent Lembkey's departure from the Seal Islands was either good timing, or indirectly responsible for one of the most infamous scandals to envelop the Pribilof Islands over the behavior of the government staff. The next year, several government officials were charged with gross misconduct. Given that Agent Lembkey had conducted himself as an honorable leader, those officials who remained behind and fell into disgrace may not have done so if Lembkey and his positive influence had remained on the island. Conversely, Lembkey might have been caught up in the scandal by association (see E. Lester Jones and Alvin Whitney biographies).

The 1920 U.S. Census showed that Lembkey had returned to Washington, D.C., after his service in the Pribilof Islands. He worked as a law clerk for the War Department.

LOUD, ABIAL P. (B. 1837)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1885–1887

Assistant Agent, St. George Island, 1888–1889

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

St. George Island Assistant Agent Abial Loud deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 15, 1892, before Notary Public Charles L. Hughes at Washington, D.C. Excerpts provide the dates of his service in the Pribilofs:

I am a resident of Hampden, Me., and am 55 years of age. On April 4, 1885, I was appointed special assistant Treasury agent for the seal islands, and immediately started for the islands, arriving at the island of St. Paul on May 28 or 30, spent that season on St. Paul Island, and returned for the winter to the States, leaving the islands on the 18th of August. Went back again next spring arriving there in the latter part of May, and remained until August, 1887. . . . Spent the season of 1888 and 1889 on St. George Island, returning in the fall of 1889 to the States. In 1889 I spent some time in the fall on St. Paul Island.

In July, 1887, I captured the sealing schooner *Angel Dolly* while she was hovering about the islands. I examined the seal skins she had on board, and about 80 percent were females.

I have conversed with the captains of several marauding schooners, and others who were employed in pelagic sealing have informed me that they usually use rifles in shooting seals in the water. Some, however, use shotguns, but to no great extent. From these conversations I should judge they did not secure more than one-half of the seals killed.³⁰



Mrs. Abial Loud. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 57, Photographs and Charts of Treasury Agent Abial P. Loud, ca. 1885–ca. 1889.)

Abial Loud's pencil map of the village of St. Paul, St. Paul Island, 1886. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 57, Photographs and Charts of Treasury Agent Abial P. Loud, ca. 1885—ca. 1889.)



From left to right: Dr. Hereford, Mrs. Loud, and Agent Abial Loud inside Government House circa 1886. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 57, Photographs and Charts of Treasury Agent Abial P. Loud, ca. 1885–ca. 1889.)

LUCAS, FREDERIC AUGUSTUS (1852–1929)

Naturalist, Osteologist, Scientist

Member U.S. Fur-Seal Commission, 1896–1897

Director, American Museum of Natural History, 1911–1929

Genealogy

Frederic Augustus Lucas was born March 25, 1852, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, the son of Augustus H. Lucas, a clipper ship captain, and Elizabeth O. (Sylvester) Lucas. Frederic Lucas married Annie J. Edgar on February 13, 1884.³¹ Frederic Lucas died on February 9, 1929, in Flushing, New York.³²

Biographical Sketch

“On one of several long voyages with his father, [Frederic] . . . met a man who influenced the whole course of his life. This was Professor Ward of Rochester, who took young Lucas into his Natural Science Establishment at Rochester. He studied taxidermy, osteology, geology and comparative anatomy from 1871 until his appointment, eleven years later, as osteologist of the United States National Museum in Washington.”³³ Lucas joined the Smithsonian Institution in 1882 as an “osteological preparatory” (a scientist who prepares bones for further study or examination). He became assistant curator of the Division of Comparative Anatomy at the U.S. National Museum in 1887–98 and served as cura-

tor from 1898 to 1904. He remained at the Smithsonian for twenty-two years and then became curator-in-chief of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.³⁴ From the *New York Times* obituary for Dr. Frederic Lucas on February 10, 1920:

In 1904 Dr. Lucas came to Brooklyn as curator-in-chief of the museums of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. In May, 1911, he was appointed director of the American Museum of Natural History to succeed Dr. Hermon C. Bumpus. Among the authorities who endorsed his selection were Dr. William T. Hornaday, Director of the Bronx Zoological Gardens, and Charles H. Townsend, director of the Aquarium, both of whom had worked with Dr. Lucas thirty-five years before at Professor Ward's in Rochester.³⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

Frederic Lucas participated in the American Fur-Seal Commission investigation headed by Dr. David Starr Jordan. He contributed to the 1896 herd census on St. Paul Island³⁶ and wrote on the subjects of northern fur-seal taxonomy, anatomy, and biology for Part 3 of the Fur-Seal Commission's four-part report (David Starr Jordan, editor, *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, U.S. Dept of the Treasury, Doc. 2017, Washington, DC: GPO).

LUTZ, JOHN EDWIN (1857–1937)

Lieutenant, Revenue Marine, Pribilof Islands Guard, 1884

Genealogy

John Edwin Lutz was born in October 1857 at Circleville, Pickaway County, Ohio, one of three sons of lawyer John A. Lutz and Mary H. (Humphreys) Lutz. John Lutz's brothers, also born in Circleville, were Harry E. Lutz, born September 18, 1860, and Samuel J. Lutz, born in 1867.

John Edwin Lutz married twice, first in 1896 to Nellie R. Miller, born September 1865, daughter of Oakland, California, banker William E. and Augusta Miller. John and Nellie Lutz had two daughters: Winifred A. Lutz, born November 1898, and Eulila E. Lutz, born June 1899, both in Oakland. Nellie R. Miller Lutz died in Oakland on November 25, 1904. John Lutz married again in 1906 at Oakland to Ruby Smith, born June 20, 1878, in California, and died June 18, 1956, in Napa, California. No children were born of this second marriage. John Edwin Lutz died in Los Angeles, California, on February 15, 1937, and is buried at the Los Angeles National Cemetery.³⁷

Biographical Sketch

At age eighteen, John Edwin Lutz passed rigorous entrance exams and entered the Revenue Cutter School of Instruction, which later became the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. In June 1881, he was one of ten cadets to graduate since the school had opened in 1877. After graduation, he became a third lieutenant in the Revenue Marine Service and was stationed out of San Francisco. He soon commanded revenue cutters in Alaskan waters and on Puget Sound in Washington state.³⁸ Among other things, Lutz was involved in land ven-

tures such as building the Union Pacific railroad terminus at Port Crescent, Washington, and the operation of a car ferry to Victoria, British Columbia.³⁹

John Lutz settled in Oakland, California, in 1896, after his first marriage. The 1900 and 1910 U.S. Censuses recorded John E. Lutz as a “miner, copper mine operator.” He had interests in the gold and copper mines in the Yerington District and Buckskin Range of Nevada, which had reported making a rich strike in 1906. By the 1920 U.S. Census, Lutz had re-joined the Navy as a first lieutenant.⁴⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

Third Lieutenant John E. Lutz served under Captain Michael A. Healy, U.S. Revenue Marine, aboard the steamer USS *Corwin*. In 1884, he was detailed to the Pribilof Islands and specifically to Otter Island to protect the fur seals against raids by pirates. In an ancillary capacity, he received orders to collect bird specimens at Otter Island for the Smithsonian Institution’s collection. His observations of bird behavior resulted in interesting commentaries about several species—from nest building and rebuilding to egg laying to notes on fledglings.⁴¹

Lutz’s report for the period June 1 to September 29, 1884, recommended monitoring Otter Island from St. Paul Island:⁴²

A comparatively small number of seals visited Otter Island this season. While the necessity of this detail for the protection of Otter Island and St. Paul Island are self-evident, I would respectfully suggest that the officer sent there could perform that duty better if stationed on the latter island instead of the former. He should, of course, be instructed to visit Otter Island whenever practicable, as well as the more remote portions of St. Paul Island, in order to observe any possible depredations. Marauders are not so likely to attempt to take seal from Otter Island, which is so well protected by rocks and heavy surf, as they are to visit the northern part of St. Paul Island, where a fine sandy beach extends for miles on either side of the island, and seals are to be found in great abundance. With the small boat provided for use on Otter Island, and a crew of only two men, it would be impossible, usually, to board and seize any vessel which might be detected in the attempt to kill seals. I would respectfully urge the necessity of having a small boat howitzer provided for the officer detailed for duty at that place. With that, and a large boat and crew which the Alaska Commercial Company would be willing to furnish whenever desired, one officer stationed on the island of St. Paul could protect it and the adjacent waters from the depredations of marauding vessels, and would also be able to take by force any vessel found violating the law.⁴³

On August 20, 1884, after having been stationed on Otter Island since June 10,⁴⁴ Lieutenant Lutz and his two-man detail departed for St. Paul Island.⁴⁵ On August 29, a schooner was observed southwest of St. Paul Island. Nothing came of the sighting. Then in the afternoon of August 30, another schooner traveled along the western shore of St. Paul Island. Lutz surmised from the vessel’s behavior that it intended to take seals on St. Paul’s north shore. A patrol composed of Lutz and his two men, six Aleuts, and a volunteer from the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) rowed about twenty miles to Northeast Point in a whaleboat furnished by the ACC. There the crew linked up with the Aleut watchman. On the 31st, Lutz monitored the vessel, which lay to twenty miles offshore. By noon the inevitable fog obscured the vessel. Because the schooner lay to “in the middle of the Bering Sea,” Lutz could only assume that the crew intended to come ashore

for seals. At 12:30 a.m. on September first the vessel came within a mile of shore on the eastern side of Northeast Point. Lutz immediately launched the whaleboat. After a mile-and-a-half row, the crew reached the anchored vessel around 1:00 a.m.⁴⁶

I boarded her with my men and found the master of the vessel on board. Upon being questioned, he freely admitted that he was there for the purpose of sealing, and that his boats had been sent ashore to make a catch. I then waited for the return of the boats.

During the wait for the sealers' return, "The master . . . pleaded to be released, making various excuses, and saying that I would 'lose nothing' if I would let the vessel go."⁴⁷ Eventually three boats returned to the schooner. The crew disposed of many of the seals overboard in an initial attempt to escape, but in the end they surrendered with twenty-one seal carcasses. Thereupon, Lieutenant Lutz notified Master Gustave Isaacson that he was seizing the schooner *Adele* of Hamburg, Germany.⁴⁸

The *Adele*, built at Shanghai in 1877 as a pilot boat, measured fifty British tons. It was known as "The Flying Dutchman" because of its daring raids on sealing grounds under various masters.⁴⁹ Isaacson had sailed the *Adele* from Yokohama, Japan, on April 9, 1877, with three white officers and eighteen Japanese crew. Two other white men were aboard but not listed on the manifest; the captain claimed they were passengers. However, these passengers had accompanied the poachers ashore and by association participated in the poaching. Unbeknownst to Lutz,⁵⁰ the two had joined the *Adele* after leaving the crew of the *Nemo*, which following its purchase in 1884 from the Russians by adventurer, sea otter hunter, and author H. J. Snow, had been sent to the Pribilofs.⁵¹ The *Adele's* papers demonstrated she was cleared "for a hunting voyage to the North Pacific, the Kurile Islands, and return. She was therefore out of the waters for which she cleared, in addition to which she had no name painted on the stern."⁵² The skins already on board included those of 217 seal, ten sea otter, eighteen sea lion, and thirteen fox.

I had now six white men to contend with, and some of them were outspoken in their determination not to be arrested. They were beginning to arouse a spirit of resistance in the captain also, when I called him aside, formally notified him that I had seized his vessel in behalf of the Government of the United States, warned him against resistance and demanded the vessel's papers. . . . One of the passengers, Sullivan by name, was more disposed to resist arrest than any of the others, saying that all he possessed "was in the vessel." As I could not hope to keep six well-armed men under restraint with my small force, and as the vessel did not afford any safe place for confinement, I deemed it necessary to send them ashore to be kept there until . . . the arrival of the [cutter] *Corwin*.⁵³

After daylight, they sailed the *Adele* to the village.

Soon after our arrival at the village, word was received by telephone from Northeast Point that a schooner was there engaged in the capture of seals, and that another vessel was approaching from the northward. It was necessary to drive off these marauders as soon as possible, so I procured a fresh crew of natives and started forthwith.⁵⁴

Lieutenant Lutz commandeered the *Adele* for the return to Northeast Point, where he intended to "give chase" to the other pirates.⁵⁵

Upon reaching Northeast Point I saw one schooner lying at anchor, about six miles off-shore, her people being then engaged probably in skinning the seals taken from the beach. As soon as I stood off in her direction she got under way for the northward. Then she stood off and on, making signals by dipping the peak of her mainsail, from which, as well as from a chance remark made by one of the officers of the *Adele*, I inferred that these vessels had

been acting in concert. Finally she hove to when nine or ten miles off-shore and waited for me. It was dusk when I drew near her and her people could not distinguish the revenue flag until I was within one hundred yards of her. I then observed that the vessel's name had been painted out. She immediately filled [sic] away and made all sail. I caused two shots to be fired across her bow and two into the upper part of her rigging, hailing her people after every shot and repeating the order for them to heave-to. Muttered imprecations were the only reply until after the fourth shot, when they fired into us. I then directed my men to aim lower, so as to rake the decks of the other vessel. I stopped fire at intervals to see if she would heave-to. She fired five or six shots into us, which we returned with fifty or sixty rounds. We suffered no damage, and they probably received little or no injury, as they were all under cover. Darkness had set in, the wind freshened, and I finally abandoned the chase.⁵⁶

Lutz returned to the village to prepare for his voyage aboard the *Adele* to San Francisco, where the crew would be prosecuted for the illegal taking of fur seals. During the day of September 2, three more vessels were sighted off Northeast Point, but he decided that "as the authorities had now been given sufficient time for equipping and sending out armed parties to protect different portions of the island, I considered it unnecessary for me to remain."⁵⁷

Lieutenant Lutz eventually reached San Francisco with the *Adele* and her crew, except for nine of the Japanese who were left on St. Paul Island to be brought south by the *Corwin*. After some delay, the white men were arrested at San Francisco and the nine other Japanese held as witnesses. In the end all the Japanese were released, including those left on St. Paul, and the vessel returned to its owner in Yokohama.⁵⁸ The officers of the *Adele* pleaded guilty and were sentenced to four months imprisonment.⁵⁹

In 1885, Special Agent George R. Tingle recorded the following epilogue to the *Adele's* seizure and the consequent fate of Lieutenant John E. Lutz:

On Sunday, the 12th of July, while the lessees' steamer *Dora*, was on her course from St. Michaels, via St. Paul, to Unalaska, she sighted a schooner about 15 miles from St. Paul, and under orders from me to go alongside of any suspicious craft he might fall in with, he stood for the schooner with full steam and sail. When close enough to see with his glass, he discovered her crew (about 20 men) very busy on deck. He could not tell whether they were throwing cargo overboard, or disposing of it otherwise. The men all disappeared on the nearer approach of the steamer, which was not long coming alongside of the schooner, whose name was painted out. The captain, when asked by Captain Hogue of the steamer *Dora*, said he was from Victoria, and gave the name of his vessel as the *Adele*, but Captain Hogue recognized her as the same piratical schooner captured here last fall by Lieutenant Lutz, of the revenue marine, with her crew ashore killing seals on the rookery, and loading them in their boats. She was taken to San Francisco by Lieutenant Lutz, who landed her safely and delivered her to the authorities. The voyage from here in her was a very dangerous one, and the exposure to which Lieutenant Lutz was subjected so prostrated him and shattered his health that he is still an invalid. The authorities released the vessel, and set all hands free; and the Government relieved Lieutenant Lutz of his commission. This is the reward of an officer in the faithful discharge of his duty. The captain of the steamer *Dora*, not having any authority to board her, had to let her go to ply her unlawful avocation. The captain of the schooner acknowledged that he thought the *Dora* was the revenue cutter *Corwin* when she started for him, as they are very similar vessels. The presence of this marauder the next season after being captured and released, shows the boldness of her captain and his disregard for the laws.⁶⁰

We did not find any information to corroborate Tingle's story as to the lieutenant's fate.

- 1 "Landers Genealogy," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (accessed Jan. 10, 2009); and "Family Data Collection—Births," <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=genepoolb&gsfn=albert+webster&gsln=lavender> (accessed June 7, 2004). George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory* (Chicago: J. J. Clark, 1915), vol. 5, stated that Albert Webster Lavender was born at Provincetown on the point of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, Aug. 22, 1842.
- 2 Kingsbury, *History of Dakota*, 708.
- 3 "Landers Genealogy," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com; and Kingsbury, *History of Dakota*, 708, which stated that Mary Edgar was born in Brooklyn, NY, and that she was of English descent. According to Kingsbury, Albert Lavender and Mary Edgar were wed in Brooklyn.
- 4 Ibid., 708.
- 5 "Landers Genealogy," Ancestry World Tree.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Kingsbury, *History of Dakota*, 708.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., 709.
- 12 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 265.
- 13 U.S. Censuses, 1900, 1910, and 1920; U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor. House Resolution no. 73, To Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 134–6 and 926; and <http://Familysearch.org>.
- 14 Vincent M. Prichard, "Family View for Walter I. Lembkey and Grace M. Hurd," <http://trees.ancestry.com/pt/family.aspx?tid=4656070&pid=12782>; U.S. Census, 1880, Altoona, Blair County, PA, roll T9-1102, 80C; U.S. Census, 1920, Detroit, Ward 1, Wayne County, MI, roll T625-803, 6B; U.S. Census, 1930, Detroit, Wayne County, MI, roll 1040, 13A; Lembkey-Brosius marriage, *The Washington Post*, Oct. 1, 1919, 7; U.S. Selective Service System, World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918 (Washington, DC); NARA M1509, Daviess County, MO, roll 1683165, Draft Board 0; U.S. Social Security Admin., SSDI, William Brosius, Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry, compiler; and Cemetery Records of Daviess Co., MO, vol. 2, Chillicothe, MO, Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry, 1965, records 671–4.
- 15 Michigan Dept. of Health, Vital Records, Lansing, MI, Certificate of Death file no. 1526. Walter Irwin Lembkey's parentage was confirmed, along with death record information from original records held by descendant Kathy Brosius, Brentwood, TN, in a telephone conversation with Betty Lindsay, June 18, 2008.
- 16 U.S. Census, 1880; and U.S. Congress, House, *Appendix A*, 134–6 and 926.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Letter, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, Location 20, 4–6, folder: Statistics of the Killing Grounds (accessed June 10, 2002).
- 19 Oliver L. Austin and Ford Wilke, *Japanese Fur Sealing*, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Special Scientific Report, Wildlife no. 6 (Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1950), 17.
- 20 H. J. Snow, *In Forbidden Seas: Recollections of Sea-Otter Hunting in the Kurils* (London: Edward Arnold, 1910), gives an interesting account of sea otter and fur-seal hunting in Japan and Russia; and Austin and Wilke, *Japanese Fur Sealing*.
- 21 Comment by Agent-in-Charge Walter I. Lembkey in U.S. Cong., Senate, *Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to Senate Resolution, of Mar. 2, 1908, Certain Reports Relating to The Alaskan Seal Fisheries*, 60th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. no. 376, Mar. 11, 1908, in U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, *Alaska Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Matters Relating Thereto*, vol. 15 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), 12.
- 22 Also see: U.S. Cong., Senate, *Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to Senate Resolution, of Mar. 2, 1908*.
- 23 Ibid., 30.

- 24 Ibid., 70.
- 25 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, July 20, 1907.
- 26 Ibid., Aug. 21, 1907; and Briton Cooper Busch, *War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1985), 136, which erroneously commented that in 1907 the Alaska Commercial Company armed guards with Gatling guns and cannons to battle poachers. In 1907, the North American Commercial Company was leaseholder on the Pribilofs, not the ACC.
- 27 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 21, 1907, 40.
- 28 Ibid., Aug. 21, 1907, 40.
- 29 Ibid., Aug. 23, 1907, 41–2.
- 30 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 38–9.
- 31 W. F. Brainard, *Who's Who in New York City and State: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporaries*, Fifth biennial ed. (NY: W. F. Brainard, 1911), 609.
- 32 "Dr. F. A. Lucas Dies; A Noted Scientist, Authority on Fur Seal," *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1920, 30; and Vital Records of Plymouth, MA.
- 33 "Dr. F. A. Lucas Dies," 30.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Brainard, *Who's Who in New York*, 609, stated Lucas was assistant curator until 1898 and became curator in 1897; we assume he became curator in 1898 and not in 1897. "Dr. F. A. Lucas Dies" stated that Lucas became assistant curator in 1887 and was promoted to curator in 1893 and served in that position until 1904.
- 36 David Starr Jordan, ed., *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, U.S. Treasury Dept., Doc. no. 2017 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), pt. 2.
- 37 Aaron R. Van Cleaf, *History of Pickaway County, Ohio & Representative Citizens* (Circleville, OH: Biographical Publishing, 1906), 258; U.S. Censuses, Oakland, CA, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930; "Funeral of Mrs. Lutz," *Oakland Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1904, 5; "Probate Notice," *Oakland Tribune*, Dec. 14, 1904, 7; California Death Index 1940–1997, Ancestry.com; National Cemetery Administration, U.S. Veterans Cemeteries; and Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <http://www.cem.va.gov/>.
- 38 U.S. Coast Guard Academy, Academy History, "Education at Sea 1876," http://www.cga.edu/about/academy_history.aspx (accessed Jan. 22, 2007); "Notes From Washington," *New York Times*, June 8, 1881, 1; "Revenue Marine Cadets," *New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1880, 3; and "Revenue Marine Cadets Preparing Officers Specially for the Service," *New York Times*, Apr. 25, 1881, 2.
- 39 "Harry Elmer Lutz Obituary," *Port Angeles Evening News*, Dec. 12, 1950, 35.
- 40 "Charter Car to go to Mining District," *Oakland Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1907, 2; and U.S. Census, Oakland, CA, 1900 and 1910.
- 41 M. A. Healy, *Report of the Cruise of the Revenue Marine Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean in the Year 1884* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 31.
- 42 Ibid., 28–35.
- 43 Ibid., 32.
- 44 Ibid., 31.
- 45 Ibid., 31; and St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 20, 1884, 350.
- 46 Healy, *Report of the Cruise*, 31.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Peter Murray, *The Vagabond Fleet* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis, 1988), 23. Murray wrote that the captain of the *Adele* was Gustave Hansen.
- 49 Ibid., 23.
- 50 Lt. Lutz was erroneously identified as Lt. Leutza by Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster in U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 2, *Appendix to The Case of the United States Before the Tribunal of Arbitration*, 519.
- 51 H. J. Snow, *In Forbidden Seas*, 197.
- 52 Healy, *Report of the Cruise*, 33.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid., 33–34.

- 57 Ibid., 34.
58 Snow, *In Forbidden Seas*, 197.
59 Healy, *Report of the Cruise*, 5.
60 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), 173–4. Also published as U.S. Congress, House, 1898, 55th Congress, 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 92, vol. 1. Washington, DC: GPO.



National Weather Service Office, St. Paul Island, July 1971. Left to right: Juan Leon Guerrero, Meteorologist technician; Maurice Hubert Stans, Secretary of Commerce; Stuart Bigler, National Weather Service Area Director, Anchorage, Alaska. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-95-ADMC-1119)

M

MACOUN, JAMES MELVILLE (1862–1920)

Chief Naturalist, Biological Division, Geological Survey of Canada

Pribilof Islands Fur Seal and Plant Specialist, 1891–1920

Genealogy

James Melville Macoun was born on November 7, 1862, in Belleville, Ontario, Canada, to the “Dean of Canadian Naturalists,” John Macoun, and his wife, Ellen (Terrill) Macoun.¹ On January 3, 1889, James Macoun married Mary MacLennan, born at Whitby, Ontario, circa 1863, the daughter of Kenneth and Margret Douglas (Ireland) MacLennan.² James Macoun died at the age of fifty-eight on January 8, 1920, in Ottawa, Canada.³

Biographical Sketch

“The Macoun name is connected with practically all the botanical research work of Canada, and many of the plant species of Canada bear the name of Macoun.”⁴ James Macoun graduated from Belleville High School and earned a degree in botany from Albert College, Belleville, Ontario, Canada. In 1883, he became his father’s assistant at the Canadian Geological Survey.⁵ The two collected many specimens of Canadian and Pribilof Islands flora and wrote numerous botanical books. Their specimens were added to Canada’s National Herbarium of the Geological Survey.⁶



James Macoun. (Theo. Holm, “James M. Macoun,” 240.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

James Macoun's reputation as a first-rate biologist led to his selection as Canada's natural history expert during Great Britain's appeal to the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration for the resolution of claims by the United States that it had sole authority over the Bering Sea and the northern fur seal east of longitude 180 degrees. James Macoun's biographer, Harlan Smith, wrote:

In 1891, when the fur-seal industry of the Pacific Islands was a subject of diplomatic concern between Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, he was chosen by Dr. George M. Dawson, then director of the Geological Survey and Behring Sea Commissioner for Canada, to accompany him on a trip of investigation to Behring Sea. His services in the study of the life history and habits of the fur seal were so valuable that he was retained on this work in 1892 and 1893, and was sent to Europe as an expert in connection with the fur-seal arbitration.⁷

The British believed they received an honorable resolution of their claims before the Tribunal of Arbitration.

[James Macoun], the Canadian sealing expert, thinks the most important points settled by the agreement of the experts at Washington acquit Canada of all wrong. The experts agree, he says, that pelagic sealing is conducted according to the rules under the Paris award, and that so long as the haunts of the seals on land are protected, and the protected zone at sea is maintained, the seals are in no danger of actual extermination.⁸

Despite that positive assessment, Great Britain agreed with the United States that additional scientific investigation was warranted to ascertain the truth on the continued decline of the fur-seal population. Consequently, Macoun was enlisted to represent Great Britain and Canada on the 1896–97 Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission; he also participated in further scientific investigations headed by Commissioner David Starr Jordan. In 1914, Macoun was appointed by the British government to join another American team of scientists including Wilfred Osgood, Edward Preble and George Parker, whose mission, in large part, was to ascertain the Pribilof seal-herd demographics (see Wilfred Osgood biography). Pribilof Islands schoolteacher and naturalist G Dallas Hanna made the acquaintance of Macoun during that time. Hanna affectionately wrote, "Macoun was here [St. Paul Is.] in 1913 [1914]. He didn't get out very much. He was an old man in 1913



Fur-seal rookery on St. Paul Island with seals and hundreds of dead seal pups, circa 1897. (Univ. St. Andrews Library, D'Arcy Thompson Coll., Ms43333-35.)

[1914—at 52 years of age]. He went down to see the [Doctor] one day and said, 'Doctor, my foot hurts. I wish you'd tell me what's the matter with my foot.' The Dr. said, 'Well, if you'd change shoes and put the left one on the left foot and the right one on the right foot I think it would quit.' He [Macoun] was a famous botanist. So was his father before him. They are very celebrated in Canadian natural history, but he was not in very good physical condition."⁹

Macoun's participation did not appear to lead to a report about his findings. Eminent fur-seal expert Dr. Victor Scheffer commented in this regard, "We find no record of a published report."¹⁰ Regardless, James Macoun's scientific contributions at the Seal Islands made him the recognized Canadian seal expert.

In 1896 and in 1914 he was again sent to the Behring Sea. In 1911 [James Macoun] spent 10 weeks in Washington as one of the Canadian representatives at the fur-seal conference. For his special international work in connection with the fur-seal he was highly commended by Lord Bryce, then British Ambassador at Washington, and received a C.M.G. for his services.¹¹

While Macoun's charge was to study the fur seal, given his background he naturally became more interested in the plants of the Pribilof Islands than counting seals. He authored papers on mosses and plant identification. Part 3 of the Fur-Seal Commission's report (David Starr Jordan, editor, *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, U.S. Dept of the Treasury, Doc. 2017, Washington, DC: GPO.) contained Macoun's report on the Pribilof Islands flora.¹² Macoun wrote later, "The Pribylov Islands are not so barren and bleak as they are generally supposed to be. Except where the rocks have not yet been covered with soil the ground is everywhere hidden by a luxuriant growth of grass interspersed with beautiful flowers. Though the hours of sunshine are few in summer this does not affect the coloring of the blossoms, for I have nowhere seen deeper, richer colors than are exhibited by the flowers growing on the Pribylov Islands."¹³

Whether Macoun's interpretations about the cause of the seal herd's decline were influenced by his country's strong desire to support its case for limiting harvesting and sustaining pelagic sealing is unclear to these authors. Certainly the historical record reveals Canada's predilection for its fishers working out of British Columbia. The following example of seeming bias by Macoun appeared in an independently published account (i.e., outside the Fur-Seal Commission's report) of his interpretations.

Some pups undoubtedly die of starvation, but the number is small and even when the mother is killed before the young one can procure food from the sea it not infrequently secures nourishment from other females. Several such cases have been noted by me.¹⁴

This account suggests that Macoun's powers of observation regarding seal biology were poor, although the same cannot be said regarding his botanical observations. The female northern fur seal is not known to feed other than its own pup, and as seen in the accompanying photograph, many dead seal pups littered the beaches. However, Macoun's other writings offer interesting perspectives about human life on the Bering Sea during those times.

The native seal-killer on the islands . . . is concerned only with the work of killing the seals and the consequent feasting such an ample supply of fresh meat affords him. While the men are busy clubbing and skinning the seals, the women and children are employed in cutting off the best parts of the carcase for use as food. All parts of the seal are eaten, tongue, heart and liver, as well as the solid flesh. A part of what is not consumed during the summer is dried for winter use, though the process is a long one on account of the prevailing foggy or wet weather, and the drying meat is unsavoury to a white man, both in appearance and odour. At the table of the sealing company such meat is served in some form at every meal. As dressed by cooks of experience it is very palatable, though rather gamy in flavour. The liver, is particularly good, at least those who are fond of liver say so.

The life of the pelagic seal hunters is in every respect a hard one. On board the schooner his quarters are crowded and his fare often poor. He is allowed to remain on board in the very roughest weather, any day on which the boats may be lowered with safety being considered a suitable one for hunting. . . . Often in the North Pacific, and nearly always in Behring Sea, the fog is so dense that the vessel can be distinguished only a few yards away, but these hardy, adventurous men, taking their lives in their hands, set out to look for seals with the same unconcern as if the day were clear.¹⁵

MALAVANSKY, NICOLAI (NICOLI) (1864–1927)

Resident, St. George Island



The Malavansky family of St. George Island. Left to right: Stepineda (daughter of Repsemia), Nicoli, Peter (son of Repsemia, and Nicoli's nephew), Kleopatra (daughter of Repsemia), and Repsemia, who never married. (Charles S. Hamlin Coll., 728-040, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

Genealogy

Nicolai Malavansky was born in 1864 on St. George Island, Alaska. Nicolai was the son of Maria Malavansky (b. 1835 on St. George Island; d. October 19, 1890 of “la gripp”).¹⁶ Nicolai’s father’s given name was not determined by the authors. The Pribilof Islands census records spelled the given names of Maria Malavansky’s children variously. The more common spellings are: Repsemia b. 1858; Vladimir (Lodesna) b. November 10, 1870; and Vasilisa (Wasilisa) b. August 14, 1874.¹⁷

Nicoli Malavansky married Fedosia Philomonoff, circa 1905.¹⁸ Fedosia Philomonoff was the daughter (b. April 15, 1881) of Simeon and Lukaria Philomonoff.¹⁹ Nicoli and Fedosia Malavansky apparently had no children, and by 1908 Nicoli became a widower.²⁰ Nicoli Malavansky died December 27, 1927.²¹

Biographical Anecdote

The 1893 St. George Agent’s Log provided this reference to Nicoli Malavansky, who resided on the island:

Nicoli Malavansky, a brother of Ripainnia and Vassa Malavansky, shall be recognized as the head of the family, and orders for supplies for the family shall be issued to him. His sister, Ripainnia, who is chamber-maid at the house of the N.A.C. Company, must be given a pass-book by the Company, and her compensation must be entered therein as a credit, and not be drawn upon except upon written order of the Government Agent in charge.²²

MANCHESTER, J. P.

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury

St. George Island, May–July 1886 and May–August 1887

St. Paul Island, August 1887–July 1889

Biographical Note

Mr. Manchester resided in Hume, New York.

Pribilof Islands Experience

The following comment about J. P. Manchester was made after his retirement in 1889:

On retirement of Mr. J.P. Manchester the Department loses a fearless, faithful, and honorable officer—one who has in the performance of his duties reflected credit upon himself and on his Government.²³



Group of men wielding sealing clubs with Church of Saint George the Victorious in the background. From left to right: Clark Kirst, Eugene Kirst, St. Paul Island school teacher Henry N. Clark, ACC Superintendent Thomas F. Morgan, and U.S. Treasury Agent J. P. Manchester. St. George Island, circa 1887. (Washington State Historical Society. Photo: Dr. Charles A. Lutz. Henry Wood Elliot Coll., 087.37.doc/3.OLE.)

MANDERVILLE, PURL LEROY (1896–1964)

Storekeeper and Acting Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. George Island, 1937–1939

Acting Agent, U.S. Department of the Interior, St. George Island, 1939–1940

Genealogy

Purl Leroy Manderville was born in Tolt, Washington, on March 15, 1896, to Gordon and Ida Manderville. In Portland, Oregon, in 1924, Purl married Esther Malvina Carlson (born 1893 in Michigan; died 1955, in Mesa, Arizona). Purl and Ester had one son,



Looking East towards village, St. George Island road.

Plank road between the village and Zapadne Rookery, St. George Island, 1931. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987.)



Ester and Purl Manderville with son William, St. George Island, late 1930s. (Anchorage Museum at Rasmuson Center, Edward A. Dunlap Coll. B96.11.223.)



William Gordon Manderville with lemming in hand, St. George Island, late 1930s. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG174.)



Purl Manderville, Agent (left) and Mr. Olander, teacher (right), St. George Island, circa late 1930s. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG176.)

William “Billy” Gordon, born in 1925 in Washington. Purl Leroy Manderville was working as a printer in Seattle before his work began on St. George Island. Purl Manderville died in Arizona in July 1964.²⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

Purl Manderville worked for the government as a storekeeper on St. George Island for two years, 1937–1939. The Manderville family resided on St. George Island during a period of infrastructure development that included the construction of a power house, a Native bunkhouse, and two laundries for the Natives, as well as a 9,000-foot expansion of the wooden plank road to the Zapadnie rookery on the western end of the island.

MARSHALL, EDISON TESLA (1894–1967)

Adventure Novelist

Genealogy

Edison Marshall was born August 29, 1894, in Rensselaer, Indiana, to newspaper publisher George Edward Marshall and Lille (Bartoo) Marshall. Edison Marshall died at his Augusta, Georgia, home on October 30, 1967.²⁵

Biographical Sketch

Edison Marshall turned to writing full-time for national magazines after spending three years (1913–1916) at the University of Oregon. During World War I, he was a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army and served as a public relations officer, writing educational

film scripts for the Department of Defense. In 1920, while stationed at Camp Hancock in Augusta, Georgia, he met and married Agnes Sharp Flythe. A prolific author, Marshall published at least one novel per year from 1920 until his death in 1967.²⁶

Pribilof Islands Experience

Edison Marshall was an internationally acclaimed American adventure novelist when he arrived at St. Paul Island on August 4, 1926, aboard the U.S. naval vessel USS *Vega*.²⁷ He was traveling the Seal Islands and other parts of Alaska to gather information for a new book. On St. Paul Island he spent ten days watching the assembly of seals and collecting information for his next adventure novel, *The Far Call*. The 1927 publication was an overnight success. The dust jacket of the 1928 edition proclaimed:

Edison Marshall's growing public will find him in THE FAR CALL surpassing any of his earlier efforts and bidding for the title of one of the foremost adventure writers of today with a voice that cannot be denied. Here is the reckless and bloody story of a polyglot gang of seamen who set out in these modern days to perform the greatest act of piracy since the time of Captain Kidd. Here is the old lure of strong men grappling each other; here is barricade-fighting, thundering sea and wickedness contrasted with the beauty of woman and the courageous tenderness of love. Marshall knows his men, his women, his settings. Let his gifted pen *shang-hai* you to the north oceans.²⁸



Dust jacket of *The Far Call*, Edison Marshall's novel about sealing pirates attacking St. Paul Island.

Hollywood loved the story, and Walter Woods adapted the book for the screen. Two years later, director Allan Dwan and Fox Studios brought Marshall's story to life. A "CINEMA FLASH" in the March 24, 1929, edition of the *New York Times* noted, "Allan Dwan has completed 'The Far Call' featuring Charles Morton and Leila Hyams about the piratical raiding on the seal preserves of the Pribilof Islands."²⁹ Other actors of note included Bernard Siegel as "Aleut Chief" and Randolph Scott in his first credited movie role, in the part of villain/hero "Helms."³⁰

The Department of Commerce granted Fox Studios permission to film on the Pribilof Islands during the 1925 sealing season. The St. Paul Island agent recorded:

Senator Clarence C. Dill, accompanied by his secretary Mr. Frank T. Bell and motion picture man Mr. Merl LaVoy were brought ashore from the USCGC *Haida*. The latter (LaVoy) carried permit No. 151 signed by Acting Secretary of Commerce L. Walter Drake. The party was escorted to Observation Rock and afterward to Lukanin. Mr. LaVoy, motion picture man for Fox Film Company, took pictures of seal life at both Gorbach and Lukanin.³¹

Marshall's other books served as the basis for five silent movies and five sound films, including the 1958 epic *The Vikings*.

MARSTON, GEORGE W. (1825–1888)

*Assistant Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island,
June–August 1875*

Assistant Agent-in-Charge, August 1875–May 1876

Assistant Special Agent, St. George Island, September 1876–May 1877

Genealogy

George Marston was born in Sandown, New Hampshire, on January 7, 1825, the son of wheelwright Amos Marston and Susan (Flanders) Marston. George married Henrietta A. Clark, also of Sandown, in 1846. George and Henrietta Marston had three children: Henrietta E. Marston, born June 12, 1847, at Sandown; Andrew Jackson Marston, born October 1, 1850, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and Annie Susan Marston, born March 1853, in New Hampshire. Henrietta Marston died June 30, 1861; George Marston died August 16, 1888, at San Diego, California,³² and he was interred at the Mt. Hope Cemetery in San Diego.



George Marston. (Courtesy Sandown, NH, Public Library.)

Biographical Sketch

George Marston was a businessman, politician, newspaperman, and community leader. He had a farm situated on the town line of Sandown and Hampstead, New Hampshire, but his business and political life often took him elsewhere. As a newlywed in the 1850s, Marston ran a grocery store in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and “took quite a prominent part in politics during the administration of President [Franklin] Pierce [1853–1857] and occupied a government position in the treasury department at Washington.”³³

George was undoubtedly influenced by his uncle Gilman Marston (1811–1890) to become involved with the political scene. Gilman had earned a law degree from Harvard in 1840 and maintained a law practice in Exeter, New Hampshire. A Republican, he was elected New Hampshire’s representative and senator to the 36th and 37th Congress, respectively, from 1859–1863. With his uncle’s encouragement, George Marston became “Doorkeeper” to the U.S. House of Representatives on February 6, 1860, a position he held for two years.³⁴ During the Civil War years, George was a paymaster for the Army. Afterward he accepted a two-year government appointment as Superintendent of Internal Revenue. In 1868, he entered into a business venture as part owner of the *Portsmouth Chronicle* in New Hampshire.

Following Marston’s tour at the Pribilof Islands in the later 1870s, he returned to his farm in New Hampshire where he lived until moving to San Diego, California, ten years later.³⁵



George Marston's gravestone in Mt. Hope Cemetery, San Diego, California, 2009. Gravestone inscription reads: Col. Geo. Marston, Died at Horton House, San Diego Calif., Aug. 16. 1888., Aged 64 years, Miss Etta L. Marston, 1845–1924. (Photo: John Lindsay, NOAA.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Assistant Special Agent George Marston arrived at St. Paul Island on June 27, 1875.³⁶ In the Agent's Log, Marston expressed his discomfort at being left in charge following the departure of Agent Charles Bryant on August 6, 1875, aboard the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) steamer *Alexander*.³⁷ Nonetheless, Marston's entries suggested that he was an honorable man and readily accepted his responsibilities to oversee the welfare of the Natives and the business practices of the government's lessee, the ACC.

September 24, 1875

A deputation of the natives called upon Asst. Treas. Agt. Marston, and expressed

a desire to have the 1st chief Bootrin displaced, and the 2nd chief Artimonoff appointed in his stead. They stated that Bootrin was not their choice; that he is intemperate and has other faults, which, in their opinion disqualifies him for the position. Their charging Bootrin with intemperance is hardly consistent, for they all drink and Artimonoff was himself very drunk on the 21st inst.³⁸ There seems to be two parties in the village, the strongest of which is the church party, and it is the latter that desire the appointment of Artimonoff. The [lessees'] officers desire the retention of Bootrin, as they say he is a man of better sense, more industrious, and reliable and fully competent for the position. The natives also complained that there was partiality shown in the distribution of the sea lion moneys. Mr. B.G. McIntyre, the [lessee's] agent, denies this, and says that there are a few indolent men, especially among the older natives who never participate in the drives, nor clean the skins . . . that he (McIntyre) was perfectly willing to pay every man for his labor but did not believe in encouraging indolence, or in paying the lazy for the work they refuse to perform, and which is accomplished by the industrious—in other words, to those who do the labor he shall give the pay. Col. Marston after hearing their grievances desired them to call again on Monday next.³⁹

September 27, 1875

In the meeting had with natives in the salthouse, it was decided that no changes be made in the chiefs at present. I also told them that the sea lion belonged to the people and could not be bargained away.⁴⁰

The following entry by Assistant Treasury Agent William McIntyre (no relation to ACC agent B. G. McIntyre) was challenged by Marston, as noted in the November first entry to the Agent's Log.

October 24, 1875

Today witnesses the completion of sixty four new dwellings and the housing of every family in the village. These houses are gratuitously furnished by the Company, and given to the natives rent free. In addition, the Co. presents each upon the completion of his house with a new bed, and new stove and fixtures. These houses are all erected in a substantial manner, papered, painted, and are peculiarly adapted to the climate, and the habits of the people. These sixty four houses have cost the Company about \$44,800.00, and as it was an obligation voluntarily assumed by them, it is but justice to state that they are entitled to

the gratitude of every Aleute [sic] on the island. This noble generosity on the part of the Company is in keeping with their general dealings with the natives especially in providing at their own expense for all the widows and orphans. Similar provision is being made for the natives at St. George, and for some at Onalaska. The village of St. Paul will today, in health, and all the comforts of life, compare favorably with any town of the same number of inhabitants in the states. (over* next page)⁴¹

The postscript marked with an asterisk was presumably added by Marston and referred to the log entry for November first:

November 1, 1875

*The record of Sunday Oct. 24th, the page before this, got into this book without my seeing it. As I was in charge of the Island at the time, I wish to say 'tis not true. These houses only cost the Co. about three hundred dollars each, and they give nothing. The houses were built to get possession of the land by the Co. Natives done much of the work themselves. Geo. Marston.⁴²

An additional log entry, written by Marston on October 25, is included here because of historical interest in the evolution of dwelling types on the islands, beginning with the semi-subterranean sod-covered homes called barabararas to wood-frame and concrete/brick homes.

October 25, 1875

Natives engaged in pulling down Moleveedoffs old house, it having been decided [to build] a new one a little north of the site occupied by the old one; also the Priest's barrabrakie [sic passim], which is torn down to make room for Moleveedoffs house. A new barrabrakie will be built back of Artimonoffs house, to be occupied by Cassian Shyenekoff and wife, and Herman Artimonoff.⁴³

On November 21, Marston's growing displeasure over the antics of the ACC agents was expressed through a somewhat disjointed commentary in an apparent moment of frustration and rage:

The truth is—he [Co. Agent B.G. McIntyre] got his Irish up because I would not let him bargain with [Native Chief] Butrin to drive these peoples to go at the risk of their health and lives to get Sea lion [sic] belonging solely to this people and then take them [sea lion skins] all away from them on his own terms. So to spit his spite out upon me and Capt. Bryant, (as he made his brags) he had this house built, and put where Dr. McIntyre [B.G. McIntyre's brother], Genl. Co. Agt., had told both Capt. Bryant and me none should be built. Said he [emphasis by Marston] would teach these Gov't Agents to keep their place. At the time I was arguing against putting the house there, he said he knew that Capt. Bryant did not want one there, and that he should like to accommodate him, but he says that is asking too much. As Ben McIntyre nor the Alaska Comm. Co. neither of them own one foot, no not one inch of land on this whole Island. The audacity of the above remark from the truthful creature was more farcical than decent. It put me in mind of the record in the Bible, where the devil took our Savior up into a high mountain and offered him all the Kingdom of the earth, if he would fall down and worship him—a nice offer, when the old tormentor owned not an inch of all God's creation.⁴⁴

Marston's feelings toward the ACC agents had not subsided by the next day.

November 22, 1875

They killed the Sea lion today about 12 PM⁴⁵ without informing me anything about it. A contemptible trick that will not be again passed over.

The Sea lion belong to this people, and by the eternal they shall have them to use or dispose of as they please without let or hindrance from anyone, or any power, tis all the resource



Rows of houses constructed by the Alaska Commercial Company, likely during the 1870s, St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island. (Alaska State Library, Gray and Hereford Photograph Coll., P185.12.)

they have for some months of the year, except a few fox skins that they have to compete for in getting, with some of the employees of the Alaska Commercial Co.

The Alaska Commercial Co. have a lease to take fur Seal, under certain regulations, and nothing more. This last would seem to be enough, as they make more money out of that alone for the amount involved, than any other business on God's given earth, or in the waters thereof. So I say they ought to be satisfied, and teach their agents to leave the Sea lion business to the people under the Gov't. officer. I make the Record because an attempt was made by Butrin one of the Chiefs to bargain away to the A.C. Co. all the Sea lion skins, intestines, throats, etc. without consulting the peoples. Five or six of the best citizens came to me and made complaint, about his bargaining away their rights. I have now settled as I understand Capt. Bryant had it. That the Sea lion belong to this people, and under the Supervision of the Gov't Agent in charge, will generally be driven here and killed, so that the meat-blubber and all can be saved to them.⁴⁶

Assistant Agent George Marston was reassigned to St. George Island on September 22, 1876, to replace William McIntyre (as noted, no relation to the ACC's Benjamin McIntyre), who resigned effective September 30, 1876.⁴⁷ He made numerous observations in the Agent's Log about life and conditions on the islands, wonderfully descriptive despite somewhat idiosyncratic spelling and writing style.

Religion

This [emphasis by Marston] is Russian Christmas. Church service from two this morning and so along at intervals all day. At 5 p.m. we all attended. Mr. Artimonoff had chairs kindly provided for the Americans. After church was out we went to the Company House, where we were entertained by the singers who were round with stars, and other mottoes of some

sort of flags with them borne by the boys. They sang very well, and their emblems looked quite pretty.⁴⁸

The masqueraders were round in several parties some with accordions, they played and danced. A number of them called here. They behaved first rate and I enjoyed the calls. I came near forgetting to say that the old lady who does the washing at the Company House was one of the above party dressed in men's clothes. She carried it out well, and danced as spry as a Boy, and appeared as young as any of them.⁴⁹

This is the last day of Christmas "praisnicks" called Christiania (Chrischana) day. At the close of Church Service (about noon) the priest blessed a large cask of water for the season, the natives all run for their various vessels to get some of this water to take home some with pitchers some with tea pots some with bowls, etc. etc. The winding up of the church service was very interesting as it put me in mind of the beginning of battle or the 4th of July. It was the firing of five heavy guns, each loaded with one and a half pounds of powder. They were let off on the Plaza in front of the Govt. house about noon. These guns spoke in loud tone.⁵⁰

Three marriages took place at the church this forenoon. Timafay Evanoff and Eyo Austigoff, Stephen Kozerooff and Maria Sedick, Stepetin Neaderazoff to Anna Meeseekin. After the Priest had got through with the long service, which was performed as the parties stood side by side with large spermacetic candles lighted in the hand of each of the lovers, they all kissed three times each, that is, each of the pair. Thus were three couples united in the holy bonds of matrimony today.

After the above was over, a child ten days old of Markiel Volcoff was brought in by Doctress Mary Sedick to be christened, this ceremony was longer than the moral law, the little thing yelled and had to be nursed while the Priest was saying or reading over the long service, finally he got through reading and the child was stripped and then taken by the Priest and dipped three times into a tub of water—he saying over some sort of rite, he then put the child into the arms of Stephen Beylelazoff, Godfather, who stood two paces to the rear of the tub of water with linen & calico across his arms and lighted candle in hand to receive the said infant.

While this rite was being performed an incident occurred which is proper here to record. As Mrs. Dr. Mary Sedick who had brought the child in, and was standing by the side of the Godfather to take it home again as soon as the service was over, she was suddenly called out from her place to attend upon the wife of John Fratis in the birth of another son. She left as gracefully and as easy as a swan could swim down the lagoon, and with as little noise or flutter, simply whispering to Mrs. Beylelazoff to take her place, while she assisted in bringing another sealer to St. Paul, on this eventful Sunday May 7th 1876.⁵¹

Father Nicholy [Nikolai Kovrigin] conducted the church service today. His interesting and eloquent discourse was listened to very attentively by a large audience. No man could talk better than he did to them, he advised them to send their children to the school that the American government had kindly provided for them, and for them to learn the English language, as they were now and always would be under the great American nation and a part of it. A ball was given in the evening at the school house under the auspices of the Agents of the Alaska Commercial Co., much rain during the night.⁵²

Father Nicholas T. Koveregein (Father Nikolai) departed St. Paul Island on July 27, 1876.⁵³

Sleigh ride

Fair day and plenty of snow, by invitation of B.G. McIntyre went to a sleigh ride on a sled or land schooner fixed up with four chairs fastened with cords. We were drawn by two mules in tandem, with Nicholi [Krukoff?] on the forward one as guide, footman and post rider. The party was made up of four, Mrs. C.P. Fish, Mrs. Wm. J. McIntyre, B.G. McIntyre and myself. We had a gay and palatial ride. I got tipped off one by my chair leg getting into a



Aleut boy and women gathering fur-seal meat on a St. Paul Island seal killing-field, May 9, 1892. (NAA, Arctic: Aleut series, lot 24, 1457900.)



Aleut woman with a leather pack and holding a knife on a St. Paul Island, fur-seal killing ground strewn with seal carcasses, July 25, 1896. (Univ. of St. Andrews, D'Arcy Thompson Coll., DT31_Ms43795-86.)

MARTIN, FREDERICKA (FREDDIE) IMOGENE (1905–1992)

Nurse, U.S. Department of the Interior, St. Paul Island, 1941–1942

Author of books on Seal Island history

Genealogy

Fredericka (Freddie) Imogene Martin was born in Cooperstown, New York, on June 2, 1905. Her father died in an accident before her birth. When she was five her mother remarried and they moved to Oneonta, New York. Fredericka Martin married Dr. Samuel Righter Berenberg (born August 2, 1910, died June 1982 at Paris, France)⁶² in 1940. They had one child—a daughter, Tobyanne—born on St. Paul Island in 1941. Martin and Berenberg divorced in 1950, and she moved to Cuernavaca, Mexico. Fredericka Martin died October 4, 1992, at Cuernavaca at the age of eighty-seven years.⁶³ Her daughter interred her mother's ashes at the St. Paul Island cemetery in August 2007.



*Fredericka, Tobyanne, and Samuel Berenberg, St. Paul Island, 1941.
(Courtesy Tobyanne Berenberg.)*

Biographical Sketch

A biographical sketch of Fredericka Martin prepared by Jessica Weglein of New York University's Tamiment Library shows the development of Martin's strong character and humanity, qualities that aided the Pribilof Aleuts in achieving their long-sought independence from being wards of the government:

Fredericka (Freddie) Imogene Martin - Spanish Civil War nurse, writer, and historian . . . a spirited child by her own account . . . grew up in a warm and indulgent family. Following high school, she lived and worked with the St. Margaret Episcopal Order of Nuns in Jersey City, New Jersey, and in 1925 attended the affiliated nursing school of Christ Hospital. She graduated with honors and as a young woman practiced professionally in hospitals throughout New York City. As supervisor and head nurse she served on the staffs of Bellevue, Fordham, Lying-In Hospital, and Crotona Park Hospital. In 1929, Martin married English-born Alexander Cohen. During the early 1930s Martin became an active member in the nurses union, attended political science classes at the Labor Temple in New York City, and began developing her aptitude for foreign languages, learning Russian and Yiddish. In 1935, while visiting her in-laws in England she traveled to Germany and Russia. Her time abroad awakened her to the growing threat of Fascism. When she returned, a nurses' union colleague encouraged Martin to become active in the then nascent Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. Initially organized by a group of doctors and concerned citizens to provide medical supplies, food and clothing to the beleaguered Spanish Republic, by late 1936 the Medical Bureau was recruiting personnel to send to Spain as well.

On January 16, 1937 Martin embarked on the *S.S. Paris* as part of the first American medical unit to Spain. Under the leadership of surgeon Dr. Edward Barsky, Martin served as chief nurse and administrator of the American Hospital division. The first unit traveled

with four ambulances, 12 tons of medical supplies and all the necessary equipment to outfit a 50-bed hospital. During her period of service, Martin supervised the work of fifty-four nurses, aided in the organization of six American hospitals on four fronts, and helped set up a mobile operating unit. She also organized literacy classes and trained Spanish women to assume some of the nursing and hospital administration duties. Her commanding bearing (at nearly 5'9" she was a full head taller than most of her staff), authoritative mien, and maternal attention to both the patients in the ward and the nurses under her management, earned her the affectionate appellation of "Ma."

In February 1938 Martin returned to the United States to conduct a yearlong national speaking tour, recruiting personnel and raising funds to keep the medical volunteers in Spain supplied. During the West Coast stretch of her tour Martin shared the stage with a representative of the Catalan government, and writer Dorothy Parker. Following her tour, Martin enrolled in the Public Administration program at New York University. Her studies were cut short when, in April 1939, she was invited to establish and serve as superintendent of a hospital in Greenbelt, Maryland—a federally funded housing initiative created under the Resettlement Administration.

Martin's union with Cohen ended in an amicable divorce in the late 1930s and [in 1940] she married her second husband, Dr. Samuel Berenberg [a doctor at Greenbelt]. In 1941 Berenberg took a medical assignment on the Pribilof Islands 300 miles off the coast of Alaska in the Bering Sea. With Martin's assistance, Berenberg managed the Fish and Wildlife Hospital on St. Paul Island. Martin's work brought her into contact with the indigenous Aleut sealing community, non-citizen wards of the U.S. Department of the Interior. Stirred by their struggle for self-determination and freedom from decades of discrimination and exploitation (first under the Russians and later the American government), Martin spent the next ten years of her life advocating on behalf of the community. She came to be regarded as an expert on the Aleut, producing a series of articles and books including *The Hunting of the Silver Fleece* [1946], and *Sea Bears: the Story of the Fur Seal* [1960], editing an Aleut language dictionary, and translating numerous manuscripts and articles.

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Martin and Berenberg returned to Greenbelt with their newborn daughter Tobyanne (named for Toby Jensky and Anne Taft, two nursing colleagues who had served with Martin in Spain). They settled in New York City where Berenberg became the chief of the Department of Health's Child Health Services and Martin embarked on her career as a writer. Following the dissolution of their marriage, Martin moved with the 9-year-old Tobyanne in 1950 to Cuernavaca, Mexico. A cultural outpost for Spanish exiles and American expatriates, Cuernavaca proved to be a congenial home for Martin. For the next 40 years she supported herself as translator, a travel book writer, and an instructor at a Spanish language institute, working with her former Medical Bureau colleague and fellow expatriate Lini (Fuhr) de Vries.⁶⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

Fredericka Berenberg neé Martin accompanied her husband Samuel R. Berenberg, a specialist in childhood diseases, to St. Paul Island, where he worked at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service hospital. They arrived aboard the Fish and Wildlife supply vessel *Penguin* on June 24, 1941. "Freddie" was seven months pregnant at the time.

While preparing for the trip, Martin's curiosity about the Aleut people and concern for their welfare somehow connected her with linguist Richard Henry Geoghegan of Fairbanks, Alaska.⁶⁵ Martin and Geoghegan corresponded regularly; he supplied her with historical background material about the Aleuts and the Pribilof Islands, and she assisted him as editor and typist for his 1944 book *The Aleut Language: The Elements Of*

Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English.

The language and overall well-being of the people of St. Paul Island became a lifelong obsession for Fredericka Martin. In June 1942, the U.S. military evacuated the Natives and civilian government personnel from the Pribilof Islands in response to the Japanese aerial attack on Dutch Harbor.⁶⁶ The islands' Natives and some government personnel were relocated to Funter Bay, Alaska.⁶⁷ The Berenberg family also traveled to the Funter Bay Relocation Camp, but they did not debark from the transport *Delarof*. The family continued on to Seattle, Washington.⁶⁸ The traumatic relocation and the dismal sight of the relocation camps troubled Fredericka Martin. She immediately began sending off letters to government officials advocating better living conditions for the Pribilof Aleuts.⁶⁹ Government officials allegedly accused Fredericka Martin of being a communist to undermine her efforts to help the Pribilovians—accusations that eventually backfired as they were brought to light to discredit the government and to sustain Martin's heroic efforts to bring justice to the people of the Pribilofs (Jones, *A Century of Servitude*, 126).⁷⁰ Among her efforts, she proposed a plan to properly pay the Natives for work performed in government service. Martin's plan was finally implemented in 1951. While it lacked the same equities entitled to other workers in the United States, it served as the first step toward full compensation and benefits allowed under the Civil Service Act. The initial step provided "for a small annual wage with a gradual transition to a full one." It also allowed for annual wage increases "based on wage rates on the Alaska Peninsula and the consumer price index for a moderate income family in Seattle," and a continuation of, but at a reduced rate, the "seal bonus." The seal bonus was based on the number of sealskins taken by the Natives and the amount received from sales.⁷¹

A substantial part of Martin's work on behalf of the Aleuts materialized in her writings about the islands, in her own books, in magazine and newspaper editorials, and in translations of other writers' works.⁷²

In 1986, Fredericka Martin returned to Alaska—first to Fairbanks, where she received an honorary doctorate from the University of Alaska, and then to St. Paul, where she was made an honorary citizen of the island.⁷³



Fredericka Martin's gravesite, St. Paul Island. (Photo: John Lindsay, NOAA.)



USFWS Penguin anchored off St. George Island, circa 1938. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG39.)



Fredericka Berenberg neé Martin, baby daughter Tobyanne, and Aleut children, St. Paul Island, circa 1941. (Courtesy Tobyanne Berenberg.)

MAYNARD, RICHARD (1832–1907)

Photographer, British Commission to Pribilof Islands, 1892

Genealogy

Richard Maynard was born in Stratton, Cornwall, England, on February 22, 1832, to Thomas Maynard and Mary (Squires) Maynard. Richard married Hannah Hatherly (1834–1918) in England in 1852.⁷⁴

Biographical Sketch

Richard Maynard was apprenticed as a shoemaker and fashioner of leather goods, but he felt a connection to the sea, a calling he pursued in the coasting trade between England and Wales during the summer months. Eventually the Maynards moved to Brownville, Ontario, Canada. The Fraser River gold rush of 1859 brought Maynard further west, and he and his wife, Hannah, settled in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1862. Richard learned photographic techniques from his wife, who “having learned photography in Ontario, opened one of Victoria’s first portrait studios, Mrs. R. Maynard’s Photographic Gallery, on Johnson Street. Richard, a shoemaker by trade, opened an adjoining boot and shoe store, but he preferred photography. The Maynards traveled throughout the Pacific Northwest, creating an extensive collection of negatives. . . . Hannah and her husband Richard practiced landscape photography. . . . Hannah’s work in both landscape and por-

trait photography has made an important contribution to the documentation of British Columbia history.”⁷⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

The Canadian government appointed Richard Maynard as its official photographer to the British Commission investigating the fur-seal question posed before the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration. Maynard arrived at St. Paul Island on the afternoon of July 21, 1892, with James Macoun, Canada’s seal expert and botanist⁷⁶ (see James Macoun’s biography). Maynard documented his daily experiences in letters to Hannah. The following three lengthy missives found in the British Columbia Archives were handwritten and have been transcribed exactly as composed, leaving intact Maynard’s colorful spellings—in which the reader occasionally can almost hear his British accent coming through—as well as his colorful descriptions. It’s easy to imagine the pleasure that the letters from “your loving husband,” written after exhausting days on the island, brought to his family.

Letter 1

R. MAYNARD
PHOTOGRAPHER,
DEALER IN
PHOTOGRAPHIC + SUPPLIES,
Boots and Shoes,
LEATHER AND SHOE FINDINGS
P. O. Box 75
41 Pandora Street
Victoria, B.C . . . 189 . . .

St. Paul Alaska
July 22, 1892

Dear Wife we arrived here all right & you must excuse me for not writing more a letter from Oonalaska for I was only given one hour notice when leavin thair & did not know than that the Danube was goin back to Victoria until one of the men told me just as we were starting so I put one of the little books in an envelope & gave it to him to take to the waiter that had my packing of clothes & plates to take to you, it is very foggy at present 6 in the morning but we are goin about 12 miles to a rookery today.

July 23, 1892

Well we have been to [North] east Point & got back & have seen something that no one would believe unless he seen it for himself in the shape of seals, we also seen lots of blue foxes & all kinds of birds, but only one little snow bunting. I would like to get some of them but no one is allowed to fire a gun on the Island & no one allowed to walk about without some one with him for fear he would disturb the seals we seen lots of them dead laying around killed by fighting with one another & in tumbing about in the fight the kill lots of than pups, it is very foggy today so I have nothing to do by walk around & write, to day I saw several Snow Buntings & lots of other birds that I would like to get but expect to get some on St. George Island as that is the Island for birds, I wish I had more plates Mr. McGowen wants the plates I fetched for myself I ought to have brought double what I did.

Sunday 24

Still very foggy & cold the mail steamer is supposed to leave here today so I had better close this letter & if she dose not go I may get something else to put in so good by for the present from your loving husband

R Maynard

Monday July 25, 1892

It was cold & thick fogg all day yesterday they could not work at discharging coal, so the steamer left with the mail & what coal she had on board & she took some passengers from here, it is still foggy, we have had only ½ a day that we could do photography work since we arrived, thair is one good thing here that is thair are no house flies or mosquitoes that I see, we went out to the Haule that is the Drive & then they commenced to kill I took a few photos off it 5x8 & then went to Ketovie Point with shif & took some 8x10, 1x2 & 3x4 at Middle Ketovie, then went to Lukannon & took 5 6x7 one looking east one looking West with this & one out to Sea with seals in the water, went back & got diner & then sent to Reef Rookery & got a lot of photos of seals

Tuesday 26

After such a fine afternoon yesterday & doin so much work this morning it is as foggy as ever, I wish I had lots of plates to take some photes for myself you would think to see the sea & rocks there that you where back in Carnival with the heavy surf coming in on the beach, I lost my locket yesterday out at Ketovie Point & one of the officers on the American ship found it & gave it to Mr. Murry so I got it again I had offered 5 dollars for the one that would find it but they would not take it so I gave him ½ doz of them hancherfs to give to 6 of the best behaved children on the Island

Wednesday 27, 1892

Got up this morning this is the first clear day we have had in the morning so I took the photo of the Church at ½ pas 5 in the morning than after breakfast went to Tolstoir & Zependie & took 8, 8x10 & 6 5x8 & got back well used up

St. Georges Island**Thursday 28**

Started for St. Georges Island on the *Daphnie*, got thair about noon it is only about 40 miles went to work in the afternoon, the names off the places here are the same as on St. Pauls took a photo of Great Zapadnie looking S.E. this following is account of St. Pauls Zapendnie when we got to our journeys end we had lunch & we sat down by a large drift of snow & we cut an orange in halves & made a cup than caught the drippings of the snow & had a good drink & it was good, as the water here & on St. Pauls is very bad, I have got this thing mixed up on account of the names been alike

Friday 29

Went across the Island I took a lot of photos all the photos we take on this Island are 5x8 got back well tired although it is far better walking here than on St. Pauls

Saturday 30

Could not sleep last night had to get up & walk about, got better in the morning have the reason why in my packet now it is easyarr to carry that way, took 2 5x8 photoes of birds & one of the city from across on the Hill have only one 5x8 photo left, the mail leaves to day

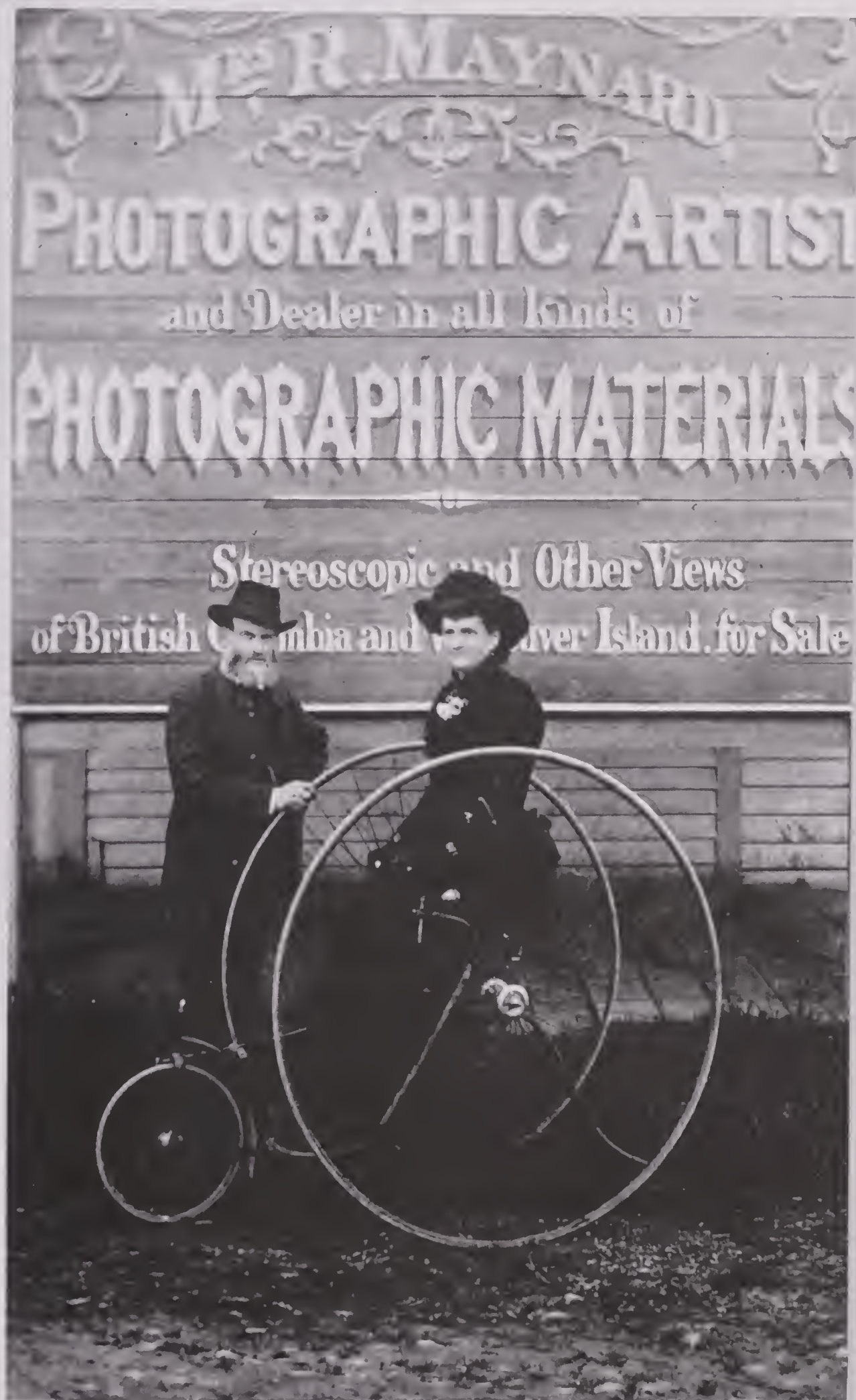
Sunday 31

So good by for the present from your loving husband

R Maynard

P.S. we expect the *Melpomenie* here to day to take us back to St. Pauls Island to take all the photos over again I do not know what time we will leave for home

R M



*Richard and Hannah Maynard in front of their portrait studio, Victoria, British Columbia.
(BCA, HP056736/C-08673.)*

Letter 2

Bering Sea, St. Georges Island

Aug 2, 1892 Tuesday

Dear Wife

We have been waiting since Sunday for the *Melphamene* but it as been foggy ever since & no sight of her yet, they are goin to have a killing of seals this morning but I have no plates here but what are exposed, Captain Lavender sent one of his men out with a net & caught a sea parrot for me & I have skinned it also 2 or 3 chutchies or lesser Awk

Wednesday Aug 3

Ship arrived got on board 7 started for St. Pauls again got thair about 5 o'clock, it is still foggy,

Thursday 4

They had a killing to day at 5 o'clock in the morning but too foggy to photo, toward evening we went out & took a photo of a native in his *Bidarkie* I also took a rock at Signal Hill, the fog cleared up a little but now it is raining I am left here alone Mr McCowan is gone on a cruse in the *Melphamene* for 5 or 6 days, when I was leaving St. George I gave Capt Lavender the 2 fancy hancherfs for his wife & 2 of the others for his 2 little boys as they were very kind to me, I have also given one to the steward here for his little girl,

Friday 5

It is raining now & cold the Corwin as just arrived & is goin to take a mial so will finish this & send by her, I do not know what time I will get home but hope to get down on the Danube that will leave about the 19th or 20th of this month so no more at present hoping you are all well I remain yours

Truly loving husband

R Maynard

Letter 3

St. Pauls, Bering Sea

Aug 5, 1892

Dear Wife & Children

Since sending my letter this morning I have been to North East Point again & it as been a clear day but no sun I took 6 photoes, we got 3 Day 8x10 plates from Oonalaska & we had one day here so we are set up again,

Aug. 6

Sunshine and rain also foggy but have done very well today went to Katavia than on to Lukannan than back to dinner then went to the reef Rookery & back

Sunday Aug 7

Very dull weather & cold they have a chime of bells here also a clock in the church I can see the time from my bedroom window, as well as our own I was in the church today to see a wedding went with Col Murray the government Agent here he is a pretty good man thair as been two weddings here to day pretty good for a place like this,

Monday Aug 8, 1892

Thick & foggy to day, cleared up at noon & went to Bogusloff Mountain & went about 103 yards in the crater it was a sight I cannot describe, than went to Tolstoie on our way back & took a panorama of seal rookery got back tired out,



St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island, 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-01285.)

Tuesday morning

Very thick & foggy they men are off to the killing of seals, cleared up again alittle & I started off to the killing & took a view of it, sat up last night until 10 o'clock skinning birds, and at it again this morning

Wednesday 10 Aug

Been away getting more birds

Thursday 11

Got the birds last evening skinned 2 & got up at 4 this morning & skinned one more Mr McCowen at back last night, I do not think I will be back on the *Danube* may be a week or 10 days after the *Danube* arrives

Aug 12

Got up at ½ past 4 & went to work skinning birds thick & foggy all day done nothing else Friday 12 Mr McCowan & Mr. [Joseph Stanley-]Brown are gone to Zapedndiny to day left me home it is nice weather about the best we have had since we came here so I have been & got the photo of the shore line from R,R, looking towards Zapedney, I thought that I would be goin down with Mr. Brown he is the Agent for the American Government but I find I cannot so will try & send this by him let him have all the photos he may want he is going to send me some of his & he is a very good man he has helped me many a time with my camera carrying it for me when I was tired, at the present I have a bad finger got the arsine in it from skinning birds

Saturday

We have been out & took photos of the flowers that are growing on the ground & Mr McC has gone to collect some to make a bouquet to photo, we have the photo of bouquet & developed all right by Mr. Brown, he is goin to leave here to night or tomorrow morning so he as consented to take this letter to you, & I hope to be home in two weeks at the outside after you receive this hoping you are all well I remain your loving husband

R Maynard

Sunday Aug 14, 1892

Cold & raw in the morning & fine in the afternoon went out to the cliff & got a young sea quail & skinned it



Sealing crew on St. Paul Island, July 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-07754.)



The Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paul Island, 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., A-04771.)

Monday 15

Finest morning we have had & started off to photograph, but it clouded all over took 3 photoes & came back again

Tuesday 16

Very thick & foggy done nothing all day

Wednesday 17

Still thick & foggy cleared up alittle towards noon & went to Lukannon & took 2 photoes

Thursday 18

The raughie day we have had got keep in doors all day raining all the time

Friday 19

Still rough & very thick cannot see if the Daphnie is outside or not she should have been here yesterday the weather cleared up alittle at noon & we started off for Tolstoie but it clouded up again we took 4 photographs they will not be good, we found a lot of pups dead hundred of them so we had to photo them I took one without a stop no. 80 & 81 with large stop the light was so bad then we went home but got pretty wet so I changed everything & am now comfortable

Saturday Aug 20

Started for North East Point this A,M, that is the 3rd time I have been thair & the firths that we go about 12 or 15 miles & take the same views over again, Mr McCowen left me to come back with the natives & buck board Y he walked the North Shore, we took the 8 photoes & got back by ½ pas 5 in the evening, when I got back the mail had arrived by the Daphnie & I got your letter but was sorry you did not get mine & the plates, as I expected Proups? Sent back al then I had not time to tell you at the time I sent them but never mind maybe it is all for the best, we have two more places to go to than we leve for home

Sunday Aug 21, 1892

The Daphnie is goin to call here on Wednesday to take us back, it is a nice morning now at 5 o'clock we intend to go over to where we say the dead pups & take tat over again the light was not good the last time we were there, got back from Tolstoie after taking the dead pups, got dinner than went to Reef Rookery & took 3 more 2 of them we had taken before



Aleut in iqya or "bidarkie" (kayak). The man is wearing a traditional waterproof kamleika made from sea-lion intestine sewn with sea-lion sinews. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-02871.)



Aleut men and women in fur-seal killing field, gathering skins and meat. St. Paul Island, 1892. (BCA, Richard Maynard Coll., F-01284.)

Monday Aug 22

It is raining today still I think it will clear up after a while, I am just goin to skin some birds I got last Saturday, it did not clear up all day so did nothing, only one day more that is if it clears up so as the ship can find the Island,

Tuesday 23

We can see quite a distance but it raining & as been all night, it cleared up & we went to R,R, took one view than we got a whale boat & eight of us went to Zappendie this is our last for this Island I have packed up my things & waiting for the Daphnie to arrive.⁷⁷

Many of Richard and Emma Maynard's photographs are conserved by the British Columbia Archives in Victoria, B.C. The Archives cataloged Richard Maynard's photographs in a notebook that is kept separate from his photo collection. In 1985, Author David Mattison said of Richard Maynard's work:

Mr. Maynard's photographic work has been of the highest order of excellence, and all the photography bearing the Maynard imprint represents the best in that art. He has done a great deal of work along this line for the government. He was in the Behring Sea and took the photographs of the seals, which were sent to Paris to be used for evidence in the famous arbitration case concerning the seal fisheries.⁷⁸

MCINTYRE, BENJAMIN GRISWOLD (1846–1886)

Assistant Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1874–1876

General Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, Kodiak, Alaska, 1876–1886

Genealogy

Benjamin Griswold McIntyre was the youngest child of James and Charlotte (Blodgett) McIntyre. Benjamin was born in Randolph, Vermont on August 22, 1846. On January 6, 1874, Benjamin McIntyre married Rosabelle Bradford of Barre, Vermont. Benjamin

and Rosabelle had three children: Mary, born October 10, 1874; Bradford, born August 12, 1880, and Alice, born August 23, 1885.⁷⁹ Benjamin McIntyre's brothers were Hugh H. and Hamden, who also worked at the Pribilof Islands.

Biographical Sketch

Benjamin McIntyre spent his early life in Randolph, Vermont, on his father's farm and in the local public schools. "Ben was much more than a passing good fellow. He was not only a most successful, energetic, enterprising business manager, and the most trusted of all the numerous agents of his employers, but a large-hearted, generous, free-handed man, whose friends loved him with surpassing affection and whose enemies respected him because they could not do otherwise."⁸⁰ During 1869–1870, Benjamin was engaged in the manufacture of paper boxes in Boston.



BENJAMIN G. MCINTYRE.

Benjamin McIntyre. (Nickerson and Cox. 1895.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Probably under the influence of his brother Hugh McIntyre, Benjamin traveled to Alaska and went to work for the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC). His brother Hugh had first worked for the federal government as a special agent in Alaska, including the Seal Islands (1868 through early 1870; see Hugh H. McIntyre biography). Benjamin McIntyre rapidly rose to the position of general agent for the ACC at Kodiak and continued therein until his violent and untimely death on November 1, 1886. "On that day, the evening of his departure for home while entertaining his friends at dinner at his headquarters station on Kodiak Island, Alaska, an assassin ["Peter Andresoff, A Russian from the River Don" area of Russia⁸¹], in revenge for some fancied wrong done him by the company, shot through the window, killing him instantly and wounding others at the table. The miscreant perished from cold and hunger in the Kodiak Mountains in attempting to escape."⁸²

One of the people sitting at the table when Benjamin McIntyre was shot was the English explorer Heywood Walter Seton Karr, on a *New York Times* expedition to Alaska. Karr recounted the incident as follows:

St. Paul, Kodiak Island, Alaska
November 3d, 1886

The night before last I was the eye-witness to a shocking murder—none other than that of the general agent, whose corpse is on board. We start at noon for California, nearly two thousand miles distant.

We were seated at supper at six o'clock in the evening—McIntyre at the head of the table, and Woche, a storekeeper, at the foot. Ivan Petroff [Customs and Signal Service Officer]

was by my side. The meal was nearly over, and McIntyre had half-turned to get up from his chair, when a terrible explosion suddenly occurred, filling the room with smoke and covering the table with fragments of plates and glasses.

McIntyre never moved, for he was killed stone-dead in a moment. Woche fell under the table, and then rushed out streaming with blood in torrents, for he was shot through the lower part of the head. The double glass window was smashed to atoms, for a cowardly fellow had fired through it, from just outside, with a spreading charge of slugs, presumably aiming at McIntyre, who received the main part of it in his back. Meantime the murderer who had thus shot into a group of unarmed and unsuspecting persons had time to escape.

I succeeded in stopping the bleeding from Woche's wounds, every one appearing paralysed!

The suspected man, Peter Sanderson, a Cossack of the Don, cannot be found. He had, we found, attempted to fire his sloop, lying at anchor near the wharf; and had refused employment at cod-fishing, in order, as he said, to be present at the departure of the schooner. He had also been seen loitering with a gun behind the house. He owed money to McIntyre, who had twice fitted him out for sea-otter hunting, but both times he was unsuccessful. We have been scouring the woods with rifles, but the natives are frightened to death. Not a light can be seen in any house after dark for fear of its being shot into by this madman, who is still at large if he has not committed suicide. Nor can any of them be got to stir out at night, or to keep watch like sentries over the sloop, in case he should return, unless a white man is with them.⁸³

MCINTYRE, EMMA JANE (1848–1944)

Lived on St. George Island, May 1874–July 1875 and June 1876–September 30, 1876

Lived on St. Paul Island, August 1, 1875–May 28, 1876

Genealogy

Emma Jane Baker was born on August 13, 1848, to Ashford Baker and Julia A. Baker, in Weymouth, Massachusetts. Emma Baker married William J. McIntyre, a native of New York, born in July 1845 to Scottish immigrant parents (see biography of William McIntyre). The wedding took place sometime before their departure in 1874 to the Pribilof Islands, where William J. McIntyre was appointed Assistant Special Agent to the U.S. Treasury Department.⁸⁴

Pribilof Islands Experience

Emma was seven months pregnant when the McIntyres arrived at St. George Island in 1874. She dedicated some time to writing a “little book,” recording her observations of the Pribilof Islands.⁸⁵ Her writings, sent to her mother, recorded important details about life on the Seal Islands during the early 1870s.

Mrs. Ashford Baker
Weymouth Landing,
Massachusetts
St. Georges Island, Alaska
July 1874

My Dear Mother,

I have from time to time written in this little book matter with reference to this island, its inhabitants, etc, which I thought might be of interest to you. I send it in this shape for your perusal. It will be more conveniently read than if scattered over several sheets of paper. You can do with it whatever you please—

Your devoted daughter
Emma

The island of St. George embraces an area of twenty-seven square miles, showing everywhere traces of volcanic origins. It seems to be a huge pile of rocks partially covered with cinders and decomposed vegetable matter. Some of the Aleutian islands still have active volcanoes, but St. George has none.

On some portions of the island cliffs rise almost perpendicular from the sea, to the height of 900 feet and more; other portions of the sea-margin are rocky and more gently sloping inland. There are only three very small sandy beaches on the island, one of these is not far from the village and is a pleasant walk at low tide.

Fresh water ponds supply drinking water for the natives. A well has been dug for the use of the white people on the island, but it is shallow and sometimes becomes dry, and is consequently not always to be relied upon. There are no trees or shrubs growing, the only vegetation is tall coarse grass, the wild celery, a small plant bearing a berry similar in appearance to the huckleberry and a few plants bearing blossoms quite pretty to look at but devoid of fragrance. The grass furnishes good grazing for the cattle, sheep, goats, etc, which have been brought here by the A. C. Co. The celery root is considered by the natives as good eating. The brown berry is used by them in brewing their "quass" a vile intoxicating drink. I have commenced making a collection of the plants and flowers of the island. I have written instructions as to the best manner of pressing them, obtained from Mrs. H.H. McIntyre. They were furnished to her by a lady botanical friend. At a certain season in the Fall, quite pretty sea mosses are washed up on the South shore of the island. If possible I shall obtain some of these.

Temperature of the Island

Very erroneous ideas are entertained in regard to the temperature of this island. Most persons suppose it to be intensely cold in winter and nearly as much so in summer. It would be so, but for the warm ocean currents from Japan, which reach both St. George and St. Paul. On the mainland in the same latitude the mercury falls as low as 50 & 60 degrees below zero while here it is seldom if ever as low as zero. St. Paul is a little colder than St. George. The temperature varies so little throughout the year that the climate is very healthy where persons live in comfortable houses and observe the rules of health. There is very much fog and dampness during the summer and Fall, these being the conditions under which the seals make their rookeries here in preference to any other islands. They cannot bear much sunshine.

There are many bright pleasant days during the year, however, particularly in the spring & early summer before the seals commence to come ashore. This month of May has been very pleasant. Occasionally there have been showers of rain and flurries of snow but no storms of severe winds. On a very clear day & from a high point, St. Paul can be seen. St. Paul is much lower than St. George so that they can oftener see us than we them. Distance between the islands is 40 miles. The coldest weather on St. George the past winter was 26 degrees above zero. How does this compare with winters in the Eastern states?

The average temperature for the year 1871 was 28 degrees +

1872 was 28 degrees +

1873 was 29 degrees +

The lowest at any time was 14.85 degrees, this was the average for the month of March 1871. After reading this, you will not fear of our freezing up here, and when you also know that we have ten tons of coal brought every year for the Government House.

The natives burn the blubber of the seal for fuel, except when the Company furnishes them with coal or they find drift wood on the beaches and rocks. In speaking of the vegetation of the Island, I neglected to mention the mosses. So moist is the atmosphere that they grow wherever there is a rock for them to grow upon. They are great in variety and beauty. Mac obtained some on the highest point of the island that are the loveliest I ever saw; indeed I did not know that mosses ever grew so pretty, I can scarcely describe them to you, but will try.

Some are a thick bed of bright green with a frosting of light drab; and growing thick all over the moss are small flowers in pink, French blue and violet with different colored centers. Another kind is light brown in two or three shades with a small little green blossom surrounded with brown. Another has a growth on it of bright coral color. There are many other varieties, but these are the finest.

The Natives

Number about one hundred & twenty. They are a mixture of Russian and Aleut. Some are full-blooded Aleuts. The children all speak the Aleutian language & the parents speak both Aleut & Russian. The most intelligent speak the most & the best Russian. Only a very few speak any English. There are two brothers named Rezanzoff who understand it very well & speak some. The Chief does not speak it at all. When the Islands came into possession of the United States, he was an old man & did not feel ambition to learn it on that account. Under the Russian dominion, the condition of these people was fearful. They lived like savages and were dealt with in the most severe manner by the Russians. In fact, the Russians themselves who spent their time here had not sufficient ambition to live much better than the natives themselves. The agents describe the condition of things three or four years ago, when they first came here, as most deplorable. Only one small miserable wooden building on the island besides the church and very little to eat. The natives were obliged to depend upon the resources of the island mainly for food.

Fancy the difference of things then and now. The Government has a fine house with every convenience for the agents who live there. The Alaska Commercial Company have put up a large dwelling house containing sleeping, round sitting-room, dining-room, wash-room, store-room & a very fine kitchen; also a building, a portion of which is a stable and the remainder a work shop, a nice large store, two stories high, well built and stocked with goods of every description; a ware-house also full of goods; a salt-house for the salt and skins and a nice building for the pigs and poultry. As fast as they can, they are putting up good houses for the natives and intend in another year to take down all the turf houses and give them all wooden dwellings. They charge the natives nothing for these, and require them to pay no rent. This is also being done at St. Paul, where a great many more will be required than here. The Company are not compelled to do any of this. Everything is done in a generous spirit, and their treatment of the natives is always just and kind. Any services rendered them by the natives are always repaid in coin and they are often paid more than they deserve, for they work very slowly at everything but sealing, at which they are from long practice, very expert.

The white people on the island all mess together at the Company's house, having more excellent living. They hire good cooks from San Francisco. The fare consists of fresh fish (cod and halibut caught by the natives near the shore of the island), fresh meat occasionally chickens, eggs, milk, everything in the way of canned fruits and vegetables, nice bread, splendid butter & coffee, etc, etc. The tea is poor and that is the only thing. They have had plenty of fresh milk all the past winter on St. George, and would have had at St. Paul if the cow had been properly taken care of. On St. George there are now ten cows and two heifers, several goats, two sheep, hogs & chickens in abundance; so that when meat is wanted, you see they have only to kill & eat.



East Landing, St. Paul Is., Alaska.
Baidarra going off.

21

Men launching a baidarra, East Landing, St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1466600.)



34915

A two-man iqyaq. The men are wearing traditional kamleikas made from sea-lion intestine, Pribilof Islands. (AMNH, Special Collections, H. D. Chichester, HDC244, neg. 34915.)

One, of course, misses fresh strawberries, melons, peaches & such as that, but there is nothing in the way of substantial to be desired. Whenever the Steamer or vessel comes up from San Francisco she always brings such fruit as will keep on the voyage. The natives eat fish, sea-lion & seal meat both fresh and dried, birds and eggs and groceries from the store, which are always sold to them at reasonable rates. Many of them have chickens of their own and the Company buy the eggs of them. A few have pigs. The Company build for most of their dwellings a good sized building apart for a hen house, wood house, etc. they are paying the natives now to paint all of the buildings and in another year, this will be a very pretty little village. The houses of the Gov. & Company agents are to have a fence around to keep the animals at a respectful distance.

The natives are generally shorter of stature than Americans. Their color is much that of the Chinese, some are darker. They are generally very healthy some of them living to a good old age. Their faces are not at all repulsive and a few of the children are absolutely pretty. As regards cleanliness they are improving very much, as they get wooden houses and see how the white people live. Some of their houses are kept tolerably clean. Formerly they had not much idea of neatness. The government agent has authority to compel them to keep cleared up outside their buildings and Mr. Falconer, who has been here, now for four years, has improved their habits & condition very much, through his unfailing industry and good judgment. He has had a nice road made over the hill from the shore up to the village; has had good dry soil or cinders (for such is the character of the soil) placed all around the government buildings and the brow of the hill and has kept things in good condition. In this particular St. George is far ahead of St. Paul.



Aleut wearing a traditional kamleika made from sea-lion intestine. This garment was worn by those traveling in traditional ocean-going craft, but it was also worn on land as protection against the rain and mist. The man in the photo is armed with a club used to kill fur seals and a knife used to remove the flippers and skin from the seal carcass. St. Paul Island, 1890s. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-004.)

The natives dress in good comfortable clothes. Some of them are quite well off, having several hundred dollars. This they mostly earn during the sealing season. Some of them make coats & blankets of the pup skins and sell them. One thing they are not allowed to buy in as great quantities as they would like, and that is sugar; for with this they would be constantly brewing "Quass" and be all the time beastly intoxicated. They get all of it they can, however, and use many things as a substitute; and it is necessary for the gov. & Co's agents to work together to prevent their brewing. They are very shrewd in concealing this and it requires a vigilant eye to detect them in the act. If they are found intoxicated they should afterwards be reprimanded and their allowance of sugar shortened for a while as a punishment. The women drink as well as the men. They do not dare to resist the "government," it is a magic work [sic] with them. So fond are they of liquor, that they will drink Bay Rum, Cologne and Florida Water. The Company had sent great quantities of these articles to St. George, but it soon disappeared and they have been advised to do so no more as the natives will employ any subterfuge to get it.

They are very respectful to all white people here, but are rather deficient in gratitude for favors done them. . . . They are good natured and cheerful and not at all revengeful. The women know little about laundry work. A flat iron was unknown among them a few years

ago. One or two girls from the Islands have been down to San Francisco and learned how to wash and iron and have taught some of the others. We have a woman here now who does our washing quite well, but she is very slow about it. Any kind of housework they, of course, know how to do only indifferently if at all.

The Chief was appointed by the A.C.Co. when they took possession here. He is quite intelligent and a man of good sense. He rings a bell whenever work is to be done, thus calling the men together and appoints such as he chooses for particular kinds of work. The agents always consult with him when they wish to make a drive of seal or wish assistance from either the men or women in the house or outside. He can read and write Russian and keeps account of the labor of each man. Still he has no absolute authority among them. There is always a second chief to take his place in case of sickness or death.

These people are all members of the Greek Church and are very devout as well as superstitious. The service is read by one of the men as they cannot afford to keep a priest for so small a church. They all stand during service. They formerly went in boats to St. Paul to attend service, but finding this tiresome & dangerous, they resolved to build for themselves a church of such drift-wood as they could pick up from time to time. With great credit to themselves for patience & perseverance, they accomplished this end and the little old-fashioned building stands now, soon however, to be replaced by a new & larger church. The new building will be placed farther up on the hill & the old one torn down. The spot where it stands will always be sacred ground to them and they will always cross themselves when passing it.

At St. Paul they have a new church nearly finished. There is also a building on that island which is a great curiosity. It is built in the native style of building, the rafters being entirely composed of the jaw bones of whales. It has stood there a great many years evidently and bids fair to last a century longer.

The Sea Lion

There is on the south side of the Island a small sea-lion rookery where these animals number about four thousand the greater portion of which remain around the Island all winter or until the ice drives them from it. During this time many are taken by the natives for food, the flesh being of a much finer flavor than that of the fur seal. The skin is of much value for the manufacture of their "Bidarkiee" and "Biderahs". The Bidarkies are long, narrow boats covered on the top and excepting one, two or three openings where men may sit. They can draw their water-proof coats made of the intestines of the sea-lion over these openings & tie themselves in, thus keeping the boat perfectly dry even if a wave should break over & give the men themselves a drenching. The Biderahs are large open boats with a capacity of three or four tons burden. These are mostly used in loading & reloading the Steamer. They are very light & so strong and smooth is the covering that they easily glide over rocks without injury. The natives used to use the sinews of the Sea-Lion for thread, the flipper for the soles of their boots & lining of the throat for the boot leg. They make very few now as the Company furnishes them with plenty of good leather boots and shoes.

Foxes

There are both blue and white foxes upon the island. The latter were very numerous when the Island was first discovered by the Russians. The white fox evidently made its way to the island on the ice from the Arctic or main land during some severe winter; but the appearance of the blue fox is unaccountable, as the Pribyloff islands and Attou in the extreme western end of the Aleutian chain, are the only places in America where they are known to exist.

Birds

The sides of the cliffs are the favorite resort of myriads of water fowl who come here every season to breed while others breed under the rocks in the centre of the Island. During the spring & summer months the natives very readily secure without incurring much danger, all the eggs they desire. Stationing themselves along the edges of the cliffs, they entrap a

great many of the birds by means of a net fastened over a hoop attached to the end of a long pole. One can see in one minute here, more birds than in a lifetime anywhere on the Continent. Mac is making a collection of the birds, their nests and eggs. He has learned to stuff the birds & hopes to secure two of each species before he leaves the island.

Flies

Are very numerous during the summer but they do not annoy one in the least. They have a growth of fur upon them and to me are a great curiosity. There are no other insects of any consequence, no reptiles & no cats or dogs.

Of the seal I shall write but little as there is so much to be said. When I return, I will tell you all you wish to know concerning them. Good sealing weather is such as we are having while I write this—a south wind, heavy fog & occasional showers of rain. From the first of April until the middle of June there was no rain of consequence and there was much fear the Co. would not be able to secure the desired number of skins. Two months & a half of bright sunshiny weather has been heretofore unknown on these islands. The seals will not haul up much on the rookeries unless it is foggy and cloudy & they cannot be skinned in the sunshine as a few minutes of the sun's rays upon them causes the fur to become loose. They are a very pretty animal and on our return we hope to be able to show you specimens of the pup and the one year old. Mac has already secured the former and skinned it. It makes a pretty specimen.

Our house has a large sitting-room with small office at one end separated by folding doors, two good-sized sleeping-rooms with closets, a front and back entry, back store-room and a good sized attic. For furniture we have a fine large lounge, plenty of cane-seat chairs, a nice little rocker for me, a fine writing-desk, table and chairs. Our chamber furniture is cheap, but the bedding is excellent. Hair mattress and springs, and plenty of blankets. The A.C. Co., sent up when I came a fine Wheeler and Wilson sewing-machine, which I am to have the use of while here. Shall endeavor to make good use of it for the benefit of their agents. I have done for myself and others a great deal of sewing of various kinds since I came. There having been none but gentlemen here to look after things, a lady's supervision and assistance was greatly needed. Mr. Falconer the gentleman who has been occupying our house, has kept it very neat however.

During the summer season at least we all are very busy. For the gentlemen, there is the sealing and egging, loading and unloading of the Steamer two or three times during the season, the store to look after, carpenter work to be done, etc, etc. For me, I have some little housework, sewing, reading, study of Russian, etc. I have a nice guitar. I am learning to play some of it. It is quite a comfort as I have no piano. Mac and I are making very fair progress in our study of Russian. We do not expect to ever speak it fluently or very correctly, but would like to be able to converse freely with the natives.

The women and children frequently call at the house. They will sit for a while, look about them, watch with much interest whatever I am doing & then go, no conversation having been carried on between us. They are always quiet and respectful.

This winter I am going to have put upon my sleeping-room a small stove with place on top to heat water, etc, so that when the weather is severe, we need not depend wholly upon the large sitting-room stove for warmth and comfort. I have no doubt that we shall pass a very comfortable winter, although we shall be looking forward with much anxiety for the steamer's arrival in the spring with news of our friends. May it be only good, cheering news after nine or ten long months of silence and expectation.⁸⁶

Emma Jane McIntyre, her husband, William, and baby Margarite arrived home in Weymouth Landing, Massachusetts, on November 14, 1876.⁸⁷

MCINTYRE, HAMDEN WALLACE (1834–1909)

Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1871–1881

Construction Foreman, St. Paul Island

Genealogy

Hamden Wallace McIntyre⁸⁸ was born at Randolph, Vermont, September 28, 1834. His father, James McIntyre, was a native of Vermont, as was his mother, Charlotte (Blodgett) McIntyre, whose ancestry can be traced to Connecticut. Hamden's paternal ancestors were Scots. Hamden spent his boyhood on his father's Randolph farm. Hamden's brothers were Benjamin and Hugh Henry, who also worked in the Pribilof Islands. "Mr. McIntyre was joined in marriage at Elmira, New York, in November 1859, with Miss Susan H. Johnson, a native of Maine. They had two children."⁸⁹ Hamden died at Randolph, Vermont, September 19, 1909.⁹⁰

Biographical Sketch

Captain Hamden W. McIntyre

The gentleman who is most concerned in this biographical sketch is a man whose modesty is scarcely less marked than his ability. He is in the prime of life, uncommonly tall and in bearing, a courteous gentleman . . .

He was educated in his native State, at an Orange County [Vermont] grammar school, working and teaching school between times to pay his tuition. At the age of twenty years, he learned the trade of piano and organ maker. In 1857, he went to Canada, where he became the superintendent of a lumber firm, near Ottawa, and remained three years in their employ. In 1860, he returned to Elmira, New York, and engaged in the manufacturing of machinery. . . . On the breaking out of the [Civil] war, he left his business under the management of his foreman and went to Washington, District of Columbia, where he was appointed as an engineer in the navy yard, remaining there employed in the adjustment of gunboat machinery until 1865, when he enlisted in the First New York Veteran Cavalry, and was discharged the same year near Charleston, South Carolina; then he returned to Elmira and conducted his manufacturing business [until 1870].

Mr. McIntyre's favorite studies have been chemistry and mathematics, the former being first in his regard. His bent of mind in this direction led him doubtless to the study of fermentation and practical wine-making at the cellars of the Pleasant Valley Wine Company in New York, simply as a pastime during a period of idleness enforced by ill-health[.] [Further]⁹¹ and broader reading and study of this and kindred subjects followed, during the long winter nights of a ten-years residence in Alaska, where he was agent at St. Paul's Island for the Alaska Commercial Company.

In 1881 he commenced wine making in California at Captain Niebaum's Inglenook Winery in Napa County, remaining there until 1887, when he came to Vina and took entire charge of the vineyard and winery of Leland Stanford. He is a master of civil and mechanical engineering. The winery building[s] at Vina, with the exception of the old fermenting house, were constructed from his designs and under his personal supervision, and many of the leading wineries of the State have also been constructed from his designs in whole or in part, or from his plans and drawings in full. Among them may be mentioned the Inglenook Winery at Rutherford, Bourne & Wise's at St. Helena, M.M. Estee's at Napa, Mrs. Collins' at Mountain View, John Burson's at Oakville, Goodman & Co.'s at Oak Knoll, near Napa City, C.P. Adamson's and Ewer & Atkinson's at Rutherford, Leland Stanford's at Menlo Park and the late John A. Paxton's at Santa Rosa.⁹²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Hamden McIntyre worked as an engineer for the Alaska Commercial Company on St. Paul Island. The Agent's Log credited him with engineering the construction of the following buildings on St. Paul from 1872 to 1880: 1872—Government House, store house, Point Warehouse, four Native dwellings; 1873—new church completed; 1875—twelve new Native homes built, six in progress; 1879—salt house; 1880—telephone line installation. Regarding the telephone line, Agent's Log entries read: "Telephone completed to N.E. Point at 4 p.m., and communication had a perfect success,"⁹³ and "The Company [ACC] has constructed a telephone line connecting St. Paul Village with the Northeast Point of the island, where the largest rookery is located."⁹⁴

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition:

Hamden McIntyre deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 16, 1892, before Notary Public R. Hilderbrandt in the County of Tehama, California. The following excerpts were taken from that deposition:

I am an American citizen, a native of the State of Vermont; my age is 57 years; I am a resident of Vina, Tehama County, California, and by occupation General Manager of Senator Leland Stanford's Vina ranch and Palo Alto Vineyard. In the year 1871, I entered the service of the Alaska Commercial Company, and was assigned to duty at the Pribilof group of islands in Bering Sea, first in the capacity of chief mechanic and later as resident Agent in charge of the island of St. Paul.

I left San Francisco for Alaska early in April of 1871, and arrived at St. Paul Island about the beginning of May the same year, on which island I resided continuously until the close of the sealing season of the year 1881, leaving there in the month of August, except that I was absent on leave during a portion of the winter season in 1874, 1877, and 1880. . . .

Under personal instruction from the late Senator John F. Miller, then president of the Alaska Commercial Company, I made a series of observations in order to determine as nearly as practicable the area of ground occupied by the seals, and incidentally their number, approximately, during the season of 1871 for the purpose of noting the changes which might occur from year to year.

I was enabled from the observations so made to make a chart or map having upon it bearing and distances, the whole of which were verified by Lieut. Washburn Maynard, of the U.S. Navy,⁹⁵ slight differences in our measurements and observations only being noted."

The erection of "salt houses" at suitable places for curing the sealskins was one of the earliest works undertaken, and several were erected at points convenient to the largest "hauling grounds." In addition to this, teams were furnished and skins hauled to the salting places or, in other instances, they were taken by boats as most convenient.

In this manner the necessity for long drives was obviated and the work made easier in all respects.

I have also no doubt as to the final result of this indiscriminate [pelagic] sealing. The dense fogs which prevail over Bering Sea in summer render the drawing of an imaginary line of protection about the seal islands absolutely futile and inoperative for such purpose; and unless full protection is afforded the animals, their extermination must follow as surely as in the case of the seals at the South Shetland Islands, or the buffalo on the plains on North America.⁹⁶

MCINTYRE, HUGH HENRY (1844–1906)

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, 1868–1869

General Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1869–1870

Superintendent, Alaska Commercial Company, Pribilof Islands, 1870–1889

Genealogy

Hugh Henry McIntyre was born on August 10, 1844, in Randolph, Vermont. Hugh was the fourth child of James and Charlotte (Blodgett) McIntyre. On January 31, 1871, Hugh McIntyre married Emma Lucy Miller, the youngest daughter of Orpha (Hewitt) Miller and the Honorable Crosby Miller of Pomfret, Vermont. Hugh and Emma had two children: Marion, born October 31, 1875, and Henry Blodgett, born May 26, 1877.⁹⁷ Hugh H. McIntyre died in Barnard, Vermont, on August 13, 1906.⁹⁸ His brothers included Benjamin and Hamden, who also worked at the Pribilof Islands (see Hamden McIntyre and Benjamin McIntyre biographies).

Biographical Sketch

The following biographic material for Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre is taken from the 1895 *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph, Vermont*, by Nickerson and Cox.

Hugh H. McIntyre was reared on his father's farm and educated at Edward Conant's school at Randolph Center. He enlisted in the 10th Vt. Vols. in August, 1862, before he was eighteen years old, served one year with his regiment, and was then transferred to the U.S. regular army Signal Corps, where he continued with the Army of the Potomac until the close of the war. He was employed as clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury from 1866 to 1868, and as Special Treasury Agent for Alaska from 1868–1870. He installed the first Collector of Customs in that territory and reported on the seal fisheries of Bering Sea in 1869. He left the Treasury Department in 1870 to accept the position of superintendent of the seal fisheries for the lessees, and had active charge and management of them from this time until 1890; and was again employed by the government as agent of the State Department in 1892, in preparing evidence concerning the same to be used before the international board of arbitration in Paris in 1893. Dr. McIntyre studied medicine and graduated from the medical department of Georgetown College in 1868, and studied law in the Boston University in 1875–1876.⁹⁹

In 1899, Hugh McIntyre graduated from the American School of Osteopathy, Kirksville, Missouri, and in 1900, he studied at the Post Graduate Medical College, New York City.¹⁰⁰

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Dr. Hugh McIntyre deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration at least seven times in 1892 (March 31, April 5, May 6, May 12, July 28, and twice on August 1),¹⁰¹ providing his perspective on sealing at the Pribilof Islands. In his sworn testimony on March 31, 1892, he stated:

I went to that Territory in 1868 as special Treasury agent . . . to report what action was necessary to be taken by the Government for preserving the seal rookeries and securing a revenue therefrom. I arrived at Sitka in November 1868, remained there a few days and went thence to Victoria, British Columbia, touching at all principal points between Sitka and Victoria, spending the entire winter of 1868 and 1869 among the Indians and fur

traders, learning their traditions and customs, and noting their catches of furs and manner of doing business. It came to my knowledge at that time that a considerable number of fur-seals were being killed by the Indians, mostly by the use of spears, in the waters adjacent to Vancouver's and Queen Charlotte's islands [sic]. The total catch obtained in this way amounted at this time . . . to 3,000 to 5,000 skins per annum. . . . In the spring of 1869, I joined the United States revenue steamer *Lincoln*, and made the summer's cruise in her of about four months, touching at many points along the Alaska coast between Sitka and the most westerly island of the Aleutian Archipelago, visiting the Pribilof group twice during the season.¹⁰²

On May 12, 1892, Dr. McIntyre offered additional comments to his testimony:

I returned to Washington, D.C., in November 1869, and was placed in charge of work during the following winter and spring pertaining to Alaska and the sealeries, in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury.

In June, 1869,¹⁰³ I accepted the position of general agent of the Alaska Commercial Company, and in the following August, when the lease of the right to take seals was executed, I became superintendent of seal fisheries for the lessees, and remained in this position until the spring of 1890.

And on July 28, 1892:

As superintendent of the seal fisheries [for the Alaska Commercial Company] I visited the seal islands twice in the summer of 1870; remained constantly thereon from April, 1871, until September, 1872, and thereafter went to the islands every summer from 1873 until 1889, inclusive, excepting 1883, 1884 and 1885. I usually remained on the islands about four months, from May until August, in each season, supervising the annual seal



Left to right: Hugh H. McIntyre (Alaska Commercial Company); Captain Melville C. Erskine (Alaska Commercial Company); George Davidson (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey); and Gustave Niebaum (Alaska Commercial Company) at the Alaska Commercial Company office in San Francisco. (Samuel P. Johnston, *Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940*, 1940).

catch, examining the conditions of seal life, studying the habits of the seals, and, in brief, doing such work as the interests of the lessees seemed to demand. I also went twice to London, first in 1872, and again in 1886, to attend the fur seal trade sales with a view to becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the demands of the sealskin market. My duties as such special Treasury agent and superintendent demanded and received my attention to every detail of seal life and its relation to commerce. In the execution of these duties I was constantly aided by able, intelligent assistants and native seal hunters, whose daily observations and reports were from time to time communicated to me.¹⁰⁴

The work of seal killing is done by the Aleutian inhabitants of the seal islands under the immediate supervision of the superintendent for the lessees and his assistants. The natives are directed by their chiefs, who are either chosen by themselves or appointed by the Treasury agent in charge. The force of natives is divided into gangs of 20 to 30 men, each gang being led by an assistant superintendent and native chief, and comprise the proper number of "clubbers," "rippers," and "skinners."¹⁰⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

David Starr Jordan, and others as a consequence, erroneously characterized Dr. Hugh McIntyre's journey to and role at the Pribilof Islands as a special Treasury agent in 1869. Dr. McIntyre's testimonies above should clarify the record. Jordan wrote:

In the spring of 1869, Dr. H.H. McIntyre, the representative of the United States Government, landed upon the island, establishing the authority of the Government, and taking the necessary steps for the protection of the rookeries.

The period of lawlessness which marked the season of 1868 was thus terminated in 1869 by Dr. McIntyre. He was appointed in 1868 and endeavored to reach his destination in the fall of that year, but on account of the lateness of the season he was forced to winter at Sitka.¹⁰⁶

On the contrary, according to McIntyre's testimony to the Tribunal of Arbitration presented previously, McIntyre worked in Washington, D.C. for the Secretary of the Treasury. Then in June 1869, McIntyre took a position as a general agent for the ACC. It was Captain Charles Bryant, also a special Treasury agent, rather than Dr. McIntyre, who served with principal civil authority over the Pribilof Islands beginning in 1869 (see Charles Bryant and Henry Wood Elliott biographies).

Beginning in 1871 and, as best known, ending in 1872, Hugh McIntyre took the first known stereographic photographs on the Pribilof Islands.¹⁰⁷ "Could you but know the difficulties under which they [photographs] were produced," he wrote, "you would pronounce them good however bad they may be. The weather does not allow me to work more than one day in two weeks." About taking pictures of fur seals, which is no less challenging today, he recalled, "In 1872, I carried a photographer's camera near the . . . rookery on St. Paul Island, and while focusing the instrument with my head under the black cloth, and the attention of my attendant was diverted, two old bulls made a savage attack upon me, which I avoided by dodging and running. The camera was left where I had placed it and could not be recovered until seal clubs had been sent for and one of the bulls killed and the other knocked down and stunned."¹⁰⁸

Emma McIntyre wrote several letters to family members in Vermont during her residence on St. Paul Island. These personal writings offer interesting vignettes into life and notable personages on the island at the time. The following was collected for a presentation by Alaska historian Robert E. King:

Mr. [Henry Wood] Elliott is quite a young man and exceedingly free in his manners. Was at his ease the moment he entered the house. As far as we can judge by one day's acquaintance he will be a very pleasant addition. He is quite a genius. He has been sketching on his trip out. He made a few sketches at Ounalaska and this morning was making duplicates on small cards to send back. He painted in water colors three of them in an hour or two. Splendidly done too. I was surprised. They are very nicely executed and so natural that I recognized everything. He is a naturalist and will get all sorts of specimens here. Is stirring early in the morning he says. In fact seems to be a wide-awake jovial Yankee. [April 26, 1871]¹⁰⁹

Emma McIntyre wrote less kindly about Captain Charles Bryant, St. Paul Island Treasury Agent-in-Charge, with whom they shared a residence. She referred to him as "the conceited old goose," and "such a boor we have to curb personal dislike in order to be very sweet for him, but he brings his wife which I think will in great measure abate our trouble with him." She followed that statement with, "She keeps him decently tidy and orders him around a little I think."¹¹⁰

H. H. McIntyre took excerpts from the log book of Captain Alfred N. Tulles, of the schooner *Angel Dolly*, and presented them as a witness before "the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Fiftieth Congress, second session, report No. 3883." Treasury Agent George R. Tingle had seized the vessel for violation of the revenue laws on July 28, 1887, near Otter Island. Capt. Tulles was reportedly accidentally killed by his own hand on that day. The following excerpts represent most but not all of McIntyre's presentation:

July 4, 1887.—Hove to 30 miles southwest of St. George island. At 1.30 out boats. Got 5 seals.

July 5, 1887.—Out boats at 6.30 a.m. Returned at 11.15 p.m. with 11 seals, one boat getting 6.

July 9, 1887.—I am not on the hunting ground, but keep sail on the vessel as we may pick up a sleeping seal.

July 11, 1887.—Caught 7 seals.

July 13, 1887.—Caught 12 seals; they were around the vessel as thick as bees (the seal). Had it been clear we would have caught 100 easy.

July 16, 1887.—Saw 3 sleeping seals from the vessel. Got boat over and got them. I have not seen the sun for nine days, therefore I have had no observations, yet I know that I am not over 14 miles from St. George Island.

July 17, 1887.—Out boats at 10.30. a.m. the seals around the vessel in hundreds. The boats would not go any distance from the vessel. Had they gone away they could have caught 200 or 300 seals. They were afraid of the fog, yet I told them that it would clear up, which it did at 3.30 p. m., and continued thus all the rest of the day. They are the hardest set of hunters that were ever in Bering Sea, who caught 20 seals and used 250 rounds of ammunition. They get 1 out of 10 they fire at. Well, I will never be caught with such a crowd again. The head hunter fired 100 shells and got 6 seals. The vessel is lying between the islands of St. Paul and St. George. Just as soon as the fog clears off the land I will have to move, as I might have the cutter after me. I came here to get a load of seals, and by God, if I had any men with me, I would get them, too. They are all a set of curs, genuine one, too.

July 21, 1887.—Out boats at 6.30 a.m., coming back to vessel at 9 p.m. One boat returned at 7 p.m. This was the head hunter. He is out last and first back as always. Caught 30 seals; one boat got 14. This is the best day's work we have done yet. From the amount of growling among the boat pullers I conclude that they fired at and missed nearly 200 seals. They had 100 loaded shells each when they left the ship, and when they came back all were emptied, so they did some tall firing.

July 23, 1887.—To-day I asked Daniel McCue, boat puller for Charles Loderstrom, how it was that his boat got only 9 seals. I told him that I had seen 40 sleeping seals from the vessel, and that he must have seen more as he was pulling about. His answer was that if he had a man that knew how to shoot, that the boat could not carry all the seals that were missed. “Why, Captain,” he said, “it is enough to discourage a man. You pull up to a sleeping seal to within 10 feet, fire at him and see the shot go 6 feet the other side of him.” I then asked J. Linquist, puller for boat two. He said: “Captain, don’t ask me how many we have seen, but ask me how many we missed, and I will tell you.” I asked him the above question; he said 100. I now asked Joe Spooner the same questions as above; his answer was, “We only want hunters, and we would be going home now with 1,500 skins at the very least.”

July 24, 1887.—As fine a day as was ever in San Francisco. A flat calm with the sea smooth as glass. Got out the boats at 6.30 p.m., coming back at 7.30 with 14 seals. Why, one boat with an ordinary hunter could get that many without going 100 yards from the ship. I killed 2 inside of ten minutes, and it was then nearly dark.

July 25, 1887.—Nice weather. Out boats at 7 p.m. Came back with 4 seals. Big catch.

July 26, 1887.—There were thousands of seals around the vessel. I shot and killed 7 from the vessel, but only got 1, through the tardiness of the hunters. At 4.30 I put the boats out; came back at 7.30 with 1 seal. The water was fairly covered with seals, yet they only caught 1.

The log closes on the 28th of July, 1887, on which day the captain was killed and his vessel seized for violation of revenue laws.

His signals were: (1) come back to the vessel; (2) want a boat for dead seals; (3) keep near the vessel; bad weather or fog; (4) cutter in sight.

This paper is a transcript of the log book of the schooner Angel Dolly, captured by Mr. Tingle in July 1887.¹¹¹

MCINTYRE, WILLIAM J. (1845–1919)

Assistant Special Agent, Department of the Treasury

St. George Island, May 1874–July 1875 and June 1876–September 30, 1876

St. Paul Island, August 1, 1875–May 28, 1876

Genealogy

William J. McIntyre was born in New York in July 1845, to Scottish immigrant parents. Shortly before venturing to the Pribilof Islands, William McIntyre married Emma Jane Baker, born on August 13, 1848, to Ashford Baker and Julia A. (Holmes) Baker, in Weymouth, Massachusetts (see biography of Emma Jane McIntyre). William and Emma Jane had three children: Margarite, Edward, and Julia. Margarite was born on St. George Island in August 1874.¹¹² William McIntyre died in March of 1919.¹¹³ Emma Jane McIntyre died November 22, 1944, at Los Angeles, California.¹¹⁴

Biographical Sketch

While living at Centralia, Marion County, Illinois, sixteen-year-old William McIntyre enlisted as a private in the Union Army, Company F, 11th Infantry, Regiment Illinois. He mustered out on July 14, 1865, as a full lieutenant and became a lawyer in 1874. By 1892, he had built a home on Olivewood Avenue in Riverside, California. He became prominent as a lawyer in California.

Pribilof Islands Experience

William McIntyre arrived at St. George Island on May 11, 1874, with his wife, Emma, who was seven months pregnant.

In the absence of Agent Samuel Falconer, McIntyre assumed charge of St. George Island during the winter months of 1874–1875. A month after the birth of Margarite, William McIntyre dealt with pelagic sealers working from the schooner *Cygnets* sailing out of Santa Barbara, California. He reported the incident March 15, 1875, to the Secretary of the Treasury as part of his 1874 yearly report.

Sir: On the 1st of September last, the natives reported that the crew of the otter-hunting schooner *Cygnets* were shooting seals from the deck of the vessel, as she lay at anchor in Zapadne Bay, five miles from the village. When a seal was killed they would lower a boat, take it on board, and, after skinning it, would throw the carcass overboard. I immediately sent a party of natives to watch the *Cygnets*, and ascertain, if possible, how many seals were killed, and also sent a letter to the captain of the vessel, informing him that his actions were illegal and that he must leave these shores at once. As there were no boats on the south side of the island, signals were made for a boat from the *Cygnets* to come ashore.

The next day the natives informed me that the signals were unanswered and that no communication was had with the vessel; that the crew had lowered two boats, and were killing seals in the water, under the cliff near the rookery, and that the seals were evidently much alarmed, as they were leaving the breeding and hauling grounds, and were taking to the water in great numbers. A heavy sea was running on the north side of the island, and the breakers rendered it extremely hazardous to launch the whale-boat and sail around the island to South-west Bay, and, as the natives are poor sailors, I did not deem it prudent to make the attempt. Still, I wished to give the captain of the vessel timely warning before proceeding to any harsh measures. (I had armed the natives, with the intention of repelling by force any attempts to kill seals on the rookeries or within rifle-shot of the shore, if the crew still persisted in doing so after the receipt of my letter by the captain.) I had the natives carry one of their bydarkies across the island to Zapadne and sent the letter before referred to, and also requested an interview with the captain on the beach, which he at once granted.

Captain Kimberly was very much astonished when informed that he was violating the laws of the United States; acknowledged that he had been killing seals, but maintained that the jurisdiction of the Government did not extend to the waters of Behring Sea, but only over the Pribyloff Islands. I informed him that the phraseology of the act approved July 1, 1870, was quite plain and there was no mistaking its meaning; that the second section of said act provides *** “that it shall be unlawful to kill any seal in the water adjacent to said islands, or on the beaches, cliffs, or rocks where they haul up from the sea to remain; and any person who shall violate either of the provisions of this or the first section of this act shall be punished, on conviction thereof, for each offense by a fine of not less than two hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by such fine and imprisonment both, at the discretion of the court having jurisdiction and taking cognizance of the offense; and all vessels, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, whose crew shall be found engaged in the violation of any of the provisions of this act, shall be forfeited to the United States.”

He replied that, if that was the law, of course he had violated it, but had done so innocently; that he was engaged in otter-hunting, and had at that time two hundred skins on board; that he was looking for a kelp-patch to the west of the island, where he expected to find otter in abundance, and was only waiting for calm weather, so that he could hunt them in small boats, and that he had not fitted out for any purpose other than otter-hunting. In reply to the inquiry as to why he had not answered my signals and sent a boat ashore, he replied that he supposed they were made by the natives, prompted either by motives of

trade or curiosity, and therefore paid no attention to them; had he known that they were made by white men he should have sent a boat ashore at once.

I informed Captain Kimberly that he must return to me the skins of all the seals he had killed and leave the shores of this island at once. The natives reported that he had killed thirty-four seals, but Captain Kimberly said that he had killed thirty-five, and would bring them ashore at once, which he did. These skins I salted and stored in the company's magazine at Zapadne, where I supposed they would be perfectly safe; but the foxes effected an entrance into the salt-house by digging under the floor and destroyed every one of them. It may be proper, however, to state that these skins were deemed stagey by the company's agent, or I should have turned them in to the company, to be included in this year's quota. The Cygnet left that same afternoon, September 2, 1874, and has not been seen in these waters since. The captain's full name is Samuel Kimberly, and the second officer's Cannon; the latter was engaged in sealing on this island in 1868.

I am, very respectfully, yours,
WM. J. MCINTYRE
Assistant Treasury Agent, St. George, Alaska Ter.¹¹⁵

In addition to his statement about pelagic sealers, McIntyre wrote about general conditions on St. George during 1874–1875:

There has been a great deal of sickness on the island during the past winter. At one time it seemed as if every one on the village was down with sickness. From the 8th of August up to the date of this report [March 1875] there have been nine deaths and only four births. Among the deaths three were grown people and the remainder were children. Only one accident occurred during the winter, and that was occasioned through carelessness in handling a gun, the charge of which passed through the native's hand, necessitating amputation at the wrist. . . . The school has been kept open in accordance with law; the average daily attendance was eleven, and the progress of the scholars has been very flattering. . . . I have had the Government house thoroughly, cleaned, papered, and painted both inside and out with two coats; the inside I painted white and the outside a very pretty brown, with white trimmings. I have also painted the fence a light brown. In the fall I banked the foundations up to the woodwork. A new floor is necessary for the office and large rooms; the old floor is badly worn, and has shrunk a great deal, and I have to request that you authorize me to put down a new floor during the fall or winter; a new stove is also wanted, and a new carpet and double bedstead; these are the only additional improvements necessary at present. I considered the repairs made this spring absolutely necessary for the proper preservation of the property. The following is the meteorological record for the twelve months ending April, 1875:

[Authors' note: the average monthly temperatures are very likely juxtaposed, as the summer temperatures as given are lower than the winter temperatures.]

Months	Average Monthly Temperature	Months	Average Monthly Temperature
May	40.22 above zero	November	42.20 above zero
June	33.2 above zero	December	47.9 above zero
July	36.11 above zero	January	49.7 above zero
August	37.3 above zero	February	52.9 above zero
September	32.25 above zero	March	49 above zero
October	32.26 above zero	April	40 above zero

. . . I respectfully request to be furnished with a copy of the lease and all acts of Congress pertaining to the seal-islands, and any other information pertinent thereto.¹¹⁶

Agent Charles Bryant objected to Assistant Agent William McIntyre's renovations to the Treasury agent's house and fence on St. George Island, since he had not been authorized to spend funds for that purpose. Although Bryant was satisfied with McIntyre's overall management of St. George Island, he had received complaints about McIntyre's treatment of a Native's eight-year-old son who failed to attend the English school. The boy's father wanted to instruct his son in Russian at home rather than sending him to the English school.¹¹⁷

Assistant Agent William McIntyre was assigned to St. Paul Island for the winter months of 1875–76 and worked with Agent George Marston, who stepped in when Charles Bryant suddenly departed the island, with some minor adversarial incidents (see Marston's biography). McIntyre returned to St. George Island during the spring of 1876, and resigned from service effective that fall, September 30, 1876.¹¹⁸ He was replaced by George Marston.

MCMILLIN, LEE CARROLL (1895–1945)

Storekeeper, St. Paul Island, 1924–1928

Agent, U.S. Department of Commerce, St. George Island, 1935–1939 and St. Paul Island, Agent, 1939–1943

Genealogy

Lee Carroll McMillin was born in Seattle, Washington, on January 31, 1895, and was educated in the local schools. By 1920, Lee McMillin had married a local woman named Dorothy (family name unknown; born 1898, died 1978), who accompanied him to the Pribilof Islands. Lee McMillin died in Seattle on September 5, 1945.¹¹⁹

Biographical Sketch

When the World War I draft registration took place in 1917, Lee McMillin was living in Kent, Washington, working as a shipping clerk for the American Paper Company. Since the death of his parents, he had assumed responsibility for raising his two younger siblings.

Pribilof Islands Experience

The McMillins were listed in the 1929 census of St. Paul Island, where Lee McMillin was working as a storekeeper.



Left to right: Lee McMillin, George Merculief, and Purl Manderville with octopus. Pribilof Islands, circa 1939. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG179.)



Wives of agents: Dorothy McMillin (left) and Esther Manderville (right), Pribilof Islands, circa 1939. (Courtesy William Manderville, SG140.)

MEILBRONNER, MAX

Secretary, Alaska Commercial Company, 1873–1889

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Max Meilbronner's deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 6, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California, is excerpted here:

I am secretary of the Alaska Commercial Company, and as such have in my custody all record books of the Company; and among them the daily records or "log book" kept by the agents of the Company on St. George Island from 1873 to 1889, inclusive, and on St. Paul Island from 1876 to 1889, inclusive. . . . The reports of the superintendent for the lessees show that it was the custom of the Company's agents on the islands to frequently patrol the rookeries whenever the weather was such that a landing could be effected on them, and to keep watchmen at points distant from the villages, whose special duty it was to report every unusual or suspicious occurrence. For this purpose the northeast point of St. Paul Island was connected with the village by telephone in 1880, a distance of 12 miles, and the natives instructed in the use of the instrument.¹²⁰

MENDENHALL, THOMAS CORWIN (1841–1924)

Naturalist

Bering Sea Commissioner, Fur-Seal Investigation, 1891–1892

Genealogy

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall was born October 4, 1841, at Hanoverton, Ohio, the son of Stephan and Mary (Thomas) Mendenhall.¹²¹

Biographical Sketch

Thomas C. Mendenhall grew up in Ohio. At the age of sixteen he began to teach school and in 1873 became a professor of physics and mechanics at Ohio State University. In 1878, he was a professor at the Imperial University of Japan and Director of the Observatory; he returned in 1881 to Ohio State as a professor of physics. In 1884, he joined the Weather Bureau, then within the Army Signal Corps, as a professor of electricity. In 1888, President Benjamin Harrison named Mendenhall Superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Mendenhall became president of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1894.¹²²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Thomas C. Mendenhall investigated the biology and ecology of the northern fur seal as one of several commissioners appointed to the Bering Sea Commission by President Benjamin Harrison. See the biography of Clinton Hart Merriam for additional information regarding Mendenhall's Pribilof Islands experience.

MERCULOFF (MERCULIOFF), EVAN (B. 1876)

Resident, St. George Island

Genealogy

Evan Merculoff (aka Merculioff) was born on January 31, 1876 to Sevestian Merculoff (aka Sebastian) and Wasilisia (aka Valissia, unknown surname),¹²³ who were born on St. George Island in 1834 and 1851, respectively.¹²⁴ Sevestian Merculoff died at St. George Island, September 15, 1889.¹²⁵ Sevestian and Wasilisia Merculoff had five children: Evan, Alexandra, Nicoli, Evdokia, and Helena.¹²⁶ Evan Merculoff married Natilia Ladoshnikoff (born September 7, 1880, St. Paul Island, Alaska) on August 28, 1898, at St. Paul Island.¹²⁷

Biographical Sketch

From the 1893 St. George Island Agent's Log: "Evan Merculoff, son of Sovestian (deceased) and mother Wassaliesa Merculoff, shall be recognized as the head of his mother's family, and orders for supplies for the family shall be issued to him."¹²⁸

MERCULOFF, JOSEPH (B. 1872)

Resident, St. George Island

Biographical Sketch

Also from the 1893 St. George Island Agent's Log: "Joseph Merculoff, a son of Feorania [Fevronia] Merculoff, shall be recognized as the head of his mother's family, and orders for supplies for the family shall be issued to him. The mother who serves as laundress at the house of the N.A.C. Company must be given a passbook by the Company, and her compensation must be entered therein as a credit and not be drawn upon except upon written order of the Government Agent in charge."¹²⁹

MERKUL'IEV, VASILII PETROVICH (D. 1828)

Manager of Pribilof Islands Russian-American Company, 1799–1828 (?)

Genealogy

Vasilii Petrovich Merkul'iev, a burgher from Tomsk, Russia, married Ekaterina, an Aleut woman possibly from Umnak, on July 5, 1790. Ekaterina's name had been bestowed during a lay baptism. The marriage took place at a small settlement, Shettaq (or Sheshtaq), on Kodiak Island. Vasilii and Ekaterina had two sons, Dmitrii and Iakov.¹³⁰ "Vasilii Merkul'iev perished with other men in 1828 when their baidara sank in the perilous strait off of Akutan Island."¹³¹ Professor Lydia T. Black suggested that Vasilii Merkul'iev was the ancestor to "several prominent Aleut families on both St. George and St. Paul Islands."¹³²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Beginning in 1799, Vasilii Merkul'iev served as the Russian-American Company's first Pribilof Islands manager. He was partly responsible for bringing Natives from the Aleutian chain to live and work on the Pribilof Islands.¹³³ Russian historian Kiril T. Khlebnikov wrote about Vasilii Merkul'iev:

An interesting event occurred with one detachment of Merkul'ev's [sic] artel in 1799. They were planning on sailing from Georgii Island to Pavel Island to hunt in a large baidara with 42 men on board. Soon after they left the shore they were covered by a thick fog followed by strong wind from the northwest which turned into a bitter storm. To lighten the baidara they threw all their property into the sea, and with great effort, without food or water, were barely able to hold on during the storm, which lasted eight days. Finally they saw the coast of North America and landed there. The Aglegmuts [sic] who inhabited that place not only did not want to give them food, but seeing that they were exhausted and weak wanted to attack and kill them. Under the pretext of promising them food, they called them to come to their settlement, but the Russians understood their intention and decided not to give in to their false promise, which would lead them to painful death, deciding it would be better to drown at sea. . . . The large baidara under sail quickly drew away from the shore, thereby saving the travelers from death. Next day, weak and desperate, they reached Unga Island where there were Russian artels of Shelikhov's company.¹³⁴

MERRIAM, DR. CLINTON HART (1856–1942)

*Naturalist, Founder of U.S. Biological Survey**Bering Sea Commissioner, Fur-Seal Investigation, 1891–1892*

Clinton Hart Merriam. (Library of Congress, Ruthven Deane Coll., LC-USZ62-986.)

Genealogy

Clinton Hart Merriam was born December 5, 1855, in New York City to Clinton Levi and Caroline (Hart) Merriam. Clinton Hart Merriam married Virginia Elizabeth Gosnel of West Virginia at Berkeley, California, on October 15, 1886.¹³⁵ Virginia Merriam died in 1937; Clinton Hart Merriam died March 19, 1942, at Berkeley, California.

Virginia and Clinton Hart Merriam had two daughters. One became Mrs. Talbot, whose husband served as director of the research branch of the United States Forestry and Range Experiment Station in California. The other daughter married Henry Abbott of Washington, D.C., the assistant to the head of the Soil Conservation Service.¹³⁶

Biographical Sketch

Dr. Clinton Hart Merriam's remarkable career as a scientist began when he was a twelve-year-old collecting insects and birds. He soon graduated to "reptiles, marine invertebrates and plants."¹³⁷ Ultimately, his exploration and collecting trips took him to "every state in the Union, Alaska and Bermuda."¹³⁸ Like artist Henry Wood Elliott, Merriam participated in a Hayden Expedition to Yellowstone—Merriam in 1872 at the age of sixteen, Elliott in 1870. Both men went on to play important roles on the Pribilof Islands.

After graduating from Sheffield Scientific School at Yale in 1877, Merriam earned a degree from Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons. He practiced medicine for six years, until 1885, when his irrepressible scientific interests led him to Europe. A summons to head the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Division of Ornithology and Mammalogy (which became the U.S. Biological Survey, and is now the Fish and Wildlife Service) brought him back to the states. After resigning from the Biological Survey in 1910, he became a research associate at the Smithsonian Institution. In 1917, while still working at the Smithsonian, Merriam became the chairman of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names, and he also embarked on an ethnographic study of Pacific Coast Indians.¹³⁹ Merriam produced an exceptional amount of written work and is credited with developing the "life zones" concept of mapping the distribution of plants and animals—a significant contribution to the budding science of ecology.¹⁴⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

As head of the U.S. Biological Survey, C. Hart Merriam was part of a scientific team assigned to investigate the fur-seal question in preparation for the U.S. position before the 1893 *International Tribunal of Arbitration* convened at Paris, France. Other team members included Joseph Stanley-Brown and Thomas C. Mendenhall. They sailed aboard the U.S. Fish Commission's *Albatross* and visited the Pribilof Islands in July and August 1891; Merriman also studied the plants of the islands.¹⁴¹

Merriman's record stands as a great individual accomplishment, but he and fellow commission member Thomas Mendenhall were criticized for the quality of their assistance to the U.S. case before the Tribunal of Arbitration. An article by Henry W. Elliott in *The Globe* is a lengthy condemnation of the U.S. role in the

failure on the part of the Bering Sea tribunal of arbitration to prescribe adequate rules and regulations for the protection and preservation of the fur-seal herd of Alaska on the islands and in the sea.¹⁴² [Merriam and Mendenhall are] two utterly inexperienced men as commissioners. . . . These commissioners did not get into the islands until one week after the breeding season had ended (July 29, 1891); they remained there just nine days, and then returned direct to Washington; they prepared a report, which erroneously declared that all injury to the life of the fur-seal herd was due entirely to the result of pelagic sealing. . . . Then as scientists they stultified themselves. They allowed themselves to be quoted by our [U.S.] counsel . . . as saying in the name of science that the fur seal was not a wild animal; that it comported itself in the Pribylov Islands precisely as cattle, swine or sheep do on our farms, and that we bear the same relation to it as master and owner.¹⁴³

Although fur-seal expert Victor Scheffer praised Merriam's and Mendenhall's efforts many years later,¹⁴⁴ their inadequate participation and that of the U.S. legal team compelled Treasury Secretary J. W. Foster to order another, more intensive investigation in the Territory of Alaska in 1892. Despite the Secretary's extra effort, the *Tribunal of Arbitration* issued an award lacking both adequate protective measures and enforcement authority, a decision that hastened the diminution of the fur-seal herd. Whether anyone in 1891 could have prevailed despite the political intrigues of the period is a question yet to be explored (see Blaine and Elkins biographies for additional insights).

Dr. Merriam returned to the islands July 9, 1899, as part of the Edward Henry Harriman expedition exploring Alaskan coastal villages.¹⁴⁵

MILLER, JOHN FRANKLIN (1831–1886)

Customs Collector, U.S. Department of the Treasury, San Francisco, 1865–1869

Republican U.S. Senator, 1881–1886

President, Alaska Commercial Company, 1870–1881

Genealogy

John Franklin Miller was born November 21, 1831, in South Bend, Indiana, to William and Mary Miller. In 1857, John Miller married Mary Wickerham Chess at South Bend; the couple had two children. John Miller died on March 8, 1886, in Washington, D.C. John and Mary Miller are buried in Arlington Cemetery, Virginia.¹⁴⁶

Biographical Sketch

From John Franklin Miller's obituary in the *New York Times*:

General Miller was in his fifty-fifth year and a native of Indiana, his parents being Virginians by birth. He received an academic education at South Bend and began the study of law in 1849, graduating from the New York Law School three years later. He then returned to South Bend and began to practice, but in 1863 he left Indiana and went to California, where he opened a law office in Napa, practicing there and in San Francisco. He remained on the Pacific slope only three years when he returned to his native State and resumed the practice of his profession. He was a member of the Indiana State Senate in 1860, but resigned his seat on the outbreak of the war to take a position on Gov. Morton's staff, with the rank of Colonel . . . he was brevetted Major General [1865]. At the close of the war he was offered a commission in the regular army, but declined a reappointment and devoted himself to building up a commercial business [Alaska Commercial Company] in which he made a large fortune. He was a Republican candidate for Presidential Elector in 1872, 1878, 1880, a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1879, and was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican to succeed Newton Booth, taking his seat March 4, 1881.¹⁴⁷



JOHN F. MILLER

President 1870-1881

General in United States Army, serving with Grant during the Rebellion; elected U. S. Senator, and died in office.

John F. Miller, President of the Alaska Commercial Company (1870-1881). (Samuel P. Johnston, 1940.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

When John Franklin Miller agreed to the presidency of the newly formed Alaska Commercial Company in 1870, he was already a successful lawyer with a distinguished military record. His legal expertise and four years experience as a customs collector in San Francisco equipped him to head a company destined to become one of the world's leading suppliers of furs. By the time he left the ACC for the U.S. Senate in 1881, he and those invested in the company had become wealthy men.

Miller aggressively pursued control of the Pribilof Islands fur industry. As a result, the ACC wound up paying twice as much into the federal treasury coffers as expected under their lease with the government.¹⁴⁸ The following were officers and stockholders of the Alaska Commercial Company in 1870:

Officers:-John F. Miller, president; Richard H. Chapell, vice-president; H.M. Hutchinson, secretary.

Trustees:-Henry P. Haven, Louis Sloss, H.M. Hutchinson, John F. Miller, Richard H. Chapell

Stockholders:-John Parrott, H.P. Haven, H.M. Hutchinson, R.H. Chapell, Thomas Hood, C.A. Williams, G. Niebaum, Louis Sloss, August Wassermann, Lewis Gerstle, John F. Miller, L. Roscowitz, William Kohl, S.J. Field.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is an accurate list of the officers and stockholders of the Alaska Commercial Company on the 28th day of July, 1870.

John F. Miller, President Alaska Commercial Company¹⁴⁹

MILLER, NORMAN BRISCOE "N. B." (1849–1897)

Assistant Naturalist and Photographer and U.S. Fish Commission steamer Albatross, 1882–1897

Genealogy

Norman Briscoe Miller was born in 1849 in the Shenandoah Valley's Berkeley County, Virginia (now West Virginia). Norman Briscoe was the firstborn son of Norman Miller, a local Martinsburg lawyer, and Juliet Baker (Briscoe) Miller, the daughter of Major Thomas Briscoe and Juliet Wood (Hite) Briscoe. Norman Miller died in San Diego, California, on April 2, 1897 and was buried at San Diego's Mt. Hope Cemetery.¹⁵⁰

Biographical Sketch

Norman Miller studied science as a young man and became a druggist in Washington, D.C., in 1880. At that time, he resided in Washington with his wife, Annie, and their one-year-old daughter, Juliet. He later made his home in Oakland, California, while working with the U.S. Fish Commission.¹⁵¹ "Mr. Miller had been with the fish commission fifteen years, and joined the *Albatross* when she was first commissioned fourteen years ago. He came around the Horn on the *Albatross* and was a zealous worker in his chosen field, making many important discoveries in marine life on all the coasts of the Pacific."¹⁵²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Norman Briscoe Miller is best known for his photographs of the Pribilof Islands —landscapes, seal rookeries, and pelagic sealers. His photographs bearing the "NBM" signature were shot during the 1890s while he was working as laboratory assistant to Charles Townsend aboard the research steamer *Albatross*.



St. George Village, St. George Island, circa 1890. (Univ of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. Photo: N. B. Miller. PH Coll. NA3046.)



St. Paul Village with shallow lake in foreground. During this time period and earlier, the lake was used to cool off fur seals following long drives from various rookeries before the seals were killed on a nearby killing ground. St. Paul Island, circa 1890. (Univ of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. Photo: N. B. Miller. PH Coll. 595.4.)



Village. St Paul Island. Pribilof group.

St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island, circa 1895. (Univ of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. Photo: N. B. Miller. PH Coll. 595.2.)

MILOTTE, ALFRED GEORGE AND ELMA MOORE JOLLY (1904–1989 AND 1907–1989)

Award-Winning Cinematographers, Disney film Seal Island

Genealogy

Alfred George Milotte was born November 24, 1904, in Appleton, Wisconsin, son of Alphonse E. and Ivy P. Milotte. Alfred Milotte and Elma Moore Jolly were married on June 15, 1934, in Ketchikan, Alaska. Elma was born in Seattle July 1, 1907, daughter of Elmer and Eva Jolly of Puyallup, Washington.¹⁵³ Alfred and Elma died five days apart, she on April 19, 1989, in Puyallup, Washington, and he on April 24 at Gig Harbor, Washington.¹⁵⁴

Biographical Sketch

Alfred Milotte received his education in Seattle and attended the University of Washington and Cornish Art School (Cornish College of Arts). He also studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. Elma graduated from the University of Washington in 1930 with a degree in education. The two began their film career in Alaska during the 1930s, working out of their photographic studio in Ketchikan, Alaska. Alfred “worked as a commercial artist and lecturer in Alaska and produced war and educational films during the late 1930’s and early 1940’s.”¹⁵⁵ The couple “lectured and showed films on Alaska for many years until Walt Disney happened to see some of their work. Without any specific projects in mind, Disney hired them to film the Alaska wilderness.”¹⁵⁶ Alfred and

Elma maintained an eleven-year association with Disney, shooting wilderness locations in Alaska, Florida, Africa, and Australia. Their first film, *Seal Island*, won an Academy Award in 1948 for best short subject documentary (Film; Winston Hibler, producer, and James Algar, director; Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Studios, 1948). That success, along with the couple's subsequent Academy Award-winning *Alaskan Eskimo*, led Disney to send the Milotte film team to Africa and Australia, trips that resulted in "the theatrical motion pictures *The African Lion and Nature's Strangest Creatures*, as well as several television productions. *Cameras in Africa* was the personal story of the Milottes with an introduction by Walt Disney."¹⁵⁷ In all, the Millotes won six Academy Awards for documentary and short subject nature films. Alfred Milotte also illustrated a number of Disney nature books and wrote several children's books.¹⁵⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

In August of 1947, "Alfred and Elma shot more than 15,000 feet of 16mm Kodachrome, which Walt is thinking of editing into a two-reeler now tentatively titled, 'Seal Island'"¹⁵⁹ *Seal Island* was filmed on location in the Pribilofs and depicted the life cycle of the northern fur seal in its natural habitat, along with the islands' abundant bird and plant life. The two-reel, twenty-seven-minute documentary was produced and narrated by Winston Hibler (1910–1976), animated by James N. Algar (1912–1998), written by Jack Jungmeyer (1883–1961), and edited by Anthony Gerard (1895–1987). *Seal Island* was Disney's first true-life nature film and the first in his television series "True Life Adventures," which ran circa 1950–1960.¹⁶⁰ As previously noted, *Seal Island* won an Oscar in 1948.

MILOVIDOV, ALEXANDER (1821–1870)

Russian-American Company, Manager, ca. 1860–1867

Chief, St. Paul Island, 1867–1870

An expanded genealogy and biographical sketch of the Milovidov (Melovidov) family, including Anton and Simeon as well as Alexander is presented in the "First Three Managers" section of this volume.

MISIKIN, JOHN (B. 1889)

Cook, Church Custodian and Leader of the Civil Rights Movement on St. Paul Island

Genealogy

John Misikin was born on September 26, 1889 on St. Paul Island, Alaska. He married Natalia, born September 9, 1886, Unalaska, Alaska. John and Natalia Misikin had two children, Victor, born September 29, 1908, and Anna, born February 9, 1910, both born on St. Paul Island, Alaska.



John Misikin among a group of men gathered in front of the Carpenter's Shop in the village on St. Paul Island. The group includes (1) John Misikin, (2) Elary Gromoff, (3) Paul Tetoff, (4) Alfey Melovidov, (5) Zachar Tetoff, (6) Joe Melovidov, (7) Simeon Nozekoff, (8) Metrofan Krukof, (9) Ted Kochutin, (10) Dmitri Oustigoff, (11) Vasily Stepetin, (12) Innokenty Kochutin, (13) Karp Buterin, (14) Edward Johnston, (15) Father Gregory Prozorov, and (16) Jacob Kuchutin. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-184, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

Biographical Sketch¹⁶¹

John Misikin was one of several Aleut leaders on the Pribilof Islands from the 1920s until the 1950s who were involved in the effort to gain the Natives' inherent civil rights as citizens of the United States. Misikin participated in surreptitious meetings during the late forties to plan the strategy for the Pribilovians' quest for freedom. The islanders looked up to Misikin and other leaders for their knowledge, intelligence, and leadership abilities. Misikin is one of five men portrayed in a painting now hanging in the St. Paul City Council chambers. The portrait was commissioned by former St. Paul City Mayor Larry Merculieff.

John Misikin served as the custodian of St. Paul Island Orthodox Church for decades and was the cook for government personnel staying at the Company House, as it was known locally. The Company House became the King Eider Hotel after the government withdrew from administration of the islands in 1983.¹⁶²

John Misikin's son, Victor, became the local government foreman and was notorious among many of the local people for being a hard driver.¹⁶³

MORGAN, NORMAN DANIEL (1885–1955)

Physician, St. Paul Island, 1910–1911

DR. NORMAN D. MORGAN

Norman Daniel Morgan. (Lewis Francis Byington, ed., The History of San Francisco, 461.)

Genealogy

Norman D. Morgan was born in San Francisco on December 9, 1885, the son of Daniel Morgan, a native of Guysborough County, Nova Scotia, Canada, who had immigrated to San Francisco in 1870. However, Norman was raised by William M. Morgan and Elizabeth E. (Herlihy) Morgan, who became known as his parents. Norman Morgan first married in 1917, to Elizabeth Gertrude Blanchard, who was born in Hanford, California, on August 12, 1879. After her death in 1930, Norman married Margaret Ahern, daughter of Thomas and Ann Ahern.¹⁶⁴

Biographical Sketch and Pribilof IslandsExperience

Norman Morgan attended San Francisco's public schools. In 1910, he received the degree of doctor of medicine from Cooper Medical College, now part of Stanford University.

Dr. Morgan entered the United States Army as a contract surgeon, in which capacity he served for one year. This led to an advancement to the position of surgeon in the army, with an assignment to the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea off Alaska, where he remained during the year 1912 [sic; 1910–1911]. He then returned to San Francisco, having been honorably discharged from the military service, and here took up his private practice, specializing in surgical work. . . . During the period when the United States was engaged in the World war [World War I], Dr. Morgan was overseas for eighteen months in the French war zone, and at the time of his honorable discharge he held the rank of major in the medical corps. After the close of the war, he received a special degree from the London Hospital in recognition of his valuable services in surgery. He is also a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons. Dr. Morgan is now a member of the veterans' medical board of the Spanish-American War Veterans.¹⁶⁵

MORGAN, THOMAS F. (B. 1848)

*Sealer, Captain, and Ship Owner*Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

The only information acquired for Thomas F. Morgan came from his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration in 1892. Morgan deposed at least twice before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C., both times on April 5, 1892:

I am 44 years of age and reside in the town of Groton, Conn. In 1886, I shipped as second mate of the bark *Peru*, owned by the firm of William[s] & Haven, of the city of New London, Conn., which vessel was commanded by my father, Capt. Ebenezer Morgan, and sailed on that bark from Honolulu about the 27th day of February, 1868, for the purpose of catching seals on the islands in Bering Sea, Williams & Haven having for many years been engaged in seal fisheries, and being, so far as I know, the largest firm in the United States engaged in that business. We sailed to the port of Sitka and there supplied to the commander, Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, for permission to land the cargo of the bark on the Pribilof Islands and take seals on those islands. At the end of the season I remained on the island of St. Paul, one of the said Pribilof Islands, until August, 1869, as a representative of Williams & Haven's interest in and about said island. In the last mentioned year I returned to this country, and, at the request of the Alaska Commercial Company, of which Williams & Haven were stockholders, I was employed in the year 1874 to return to the Pribilof Islands as a representative of said Alaska Commercial Company.

In pursuance of such request I returned to the island as agent of said last-mentioned company in charge of the island of St. George, which with the islands of St. Paul, Otter, and Walrus, constitute the group known as the Pribilof Islands. I arrived at said island some time in May, 1874; took up my residence there, and remained in my capacity of agent in and about that island during each sealing season thereafter until the year 1887. At the expiration of the sealing season of 1887, I returned to the United States, and in 1891, was engaged by the Russian Sealskin Company, of St. Petersburg, as chief agent of that company, to proceed to the islands of Komandorski, consisting of Copper and Bering Islands, commonly called the Commander Islands. . . .

On my first arrival in the Pribilof Islands in 1868, several other vessels, representatives of different interests, were there for the purpose of killing seals; and the natives of these islands, called Aleuts, were nearly all employed by one or other of the vessels in the business of killing seals. I noticed that the natives always remonstrated whenever any female was killed and stated that that was forbidden, and I am informed that it always had been forbidden by the Russian Government. . . . My knowledge of the catch of 1868 enables me to state that the destruction of seals from all sources in that year was about 240,000.¹⁶⁶

MORTON, JOHN M. (1846–1900)

Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1869–1876

*Agent-in-Charge, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1877–1878*¹⁶⁷

Special Agent, St. Paul Island, 1881–1884, summers 1890–1900

Genealogy

The St. Paul Island Agent's Log offered the following obituary for Agent-in-Charge John M. Morton.

Death of special agent in charge of the seal fisheries of Alaska, July 15, 1900. Mr. John M. Morton, born in Indiana, son of Oliver P. Morton the famous War Governor of that state. His mother still lives and a wife and two children. Mr. Morton 1st came here in the early seventies. As an agent in charge he has had few peers on these Islands and no supervisors. Buried near Dr. Voss and Edward Hughes. . . . Mrs. Morton arrived August 25, 1900, Morton's remains to be shipped to Indianapolis.¹⁶⁸

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

John Morton deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 11, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is from his deposition.

I am United States shipping commissioner at San Francisco. The Alaska Commercial Company obtained the lease of the seal islands in 1869 [1870]. In the fall of that year I went to Alaska on the steamer *Constantine* as an agent of said company, arriving at St. Paul Island in October, where I remained until the close of the sealing season in the following year. During the summer of 1872, I visited all of the trading posts of the company, both on the mainland of Alaska and the various islands, thus spending the entire summer in Bering Sea. This trip was extended to Copper and Bering islands, belonging to the Russians, and of which members of the Alaska Commercial Company had control at that time, and to Petropaulovski in Kamchatka. In the course of our voyage in 1872, we touched twice at the seal islands of Alaska, spending there altogether, perhaps, a week or ten days. During our stay at St. Paul this year, I visited (in July) most of the rookeries and hauling grounds of the fur-seals.

The summer of 1873 I spent on St. George, and while there my business called me frequently to the various portions of the island where the seals were accustomed to congregate. . . . In 1875 and again in 1876 I went north, spending both seasons on St. Paul Island. I resigned my position with the Alaska Commercial Company in the fall of 1876, but in the spring of 1877 I was appointed to the position of Treasury agent at the seal islands (in charge), and entered upon the discharge of my official duties in May of that year.¹⁶⁹

MOULTON, JACOB H. (B. 1836)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1877–1885

Assistant Agent, St. Paul Island, summers 1881–1884

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Jacob H. Moulton of Bowdoinham, Maine, stated as follows on April 16, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C., in his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration:

I am 56 years of age, and my occupation is farming. From 1877 to 1885, I was first, assistant Treasury agent on the seal islands. I arrived on St. George Island May 21, 1877, and left the islands in the fall of 1884. I spent four summers on St. George Island, and one winter, from 1877 to 1881, and four summers and four winters on St. Paul Island, from 1881 to 1884.¹⁷⁰

MUIR, JOHN (1838–1914)

Naturalist, Geologist, and Explorer

Genealogy

John Muir was born April 21, 1838, at Dunbar, Scotland, son of Daniel Muir and Ann (Gilrye) Muir. John Muir married Louisa Wanda Strentzel, daughter of John Theophile Strentzel and Louisiana (Erwin) Strentzel, on April 14, 1880, at Martinez, California. John

and Louisa Muir had two daughters, Annie Wanda Muir and Helen Lillian Muir. John Muir died on December 24, 1914, at Los Angeles, California.¹⁷¹

Biographical Sketch

[In 1849, the Muir family] immigrated to the United States and settled near the Fox River in Wisconsin. John helped to clear the land, worked on the farm and attended the University of Wisconsin, 1860–1864, paying his tuition with money earned by farming and school teaching. He made extended botanical and geological excursions in Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan and Canada and in the southern states . . . in 1868 visited the Yosemite Valley, California, exploring and examining its flora and fauna. He lived an isolated life in the Sierra Nevada mountains for ten years, exploring the glacial formations; was a member of an exploring expedition connected with the geodetic survey in the Great Basin, 1876–79; made several trips to the northwest region, and while in Alaska discovered the Glacier bay and the great Glacier which bears his name. He also made a trip to the headwaters of the Yukon and McKenzie rivers, and in 1881 was connected with one of the expeditions to search for the lost *Jeannette* expedition. The honorary degree of A.M. was conferred on him by Harvard in 1896 and that of LL.D. by the Wisconsin State University in 1897. He edited and contributed to *Picturesque California*, contributed many articles on geological and botanical subjects to the leading magazines and is the author of: *The Mountains of California* (1894), and *Our National Parks* (1901).¹⁷²

John Muir founded the Sierra Club.

Pribilof Islands Experience

United States Treasury Agent Harrison Gray Otis wrote about the arrival of the Revenue Cutter *Corwin*, which carried some esteemed guests to St. Paul Island on May 23, 1881.

About 1 p.m. the U.S. Revenue Cutter “Thomas Corwin,” from San Francisco May 4, and Unalaska May 22, arrived, anchored on the west side, and was boarded by the agents. Capt. Hooper, commanding, came ashore with several of his officers bringing newspaper files for April. After procuring from the A.C. Co. some 330 pup-seal skins (in blankets) for use in his expected Arctic expedition, he set sail from the East side about 7:30 p.m. and bore away to the northward.¹⁷³

Among the members of the *Corwin* expedition was naturalist John Muir, who gave his impressions of the Pribilof Islands in his book *Cruise of the Corwin*:

St. Paul, Alaska, May 23, 1881

About four o'clock yesterday morning the *Corwin* left Unalaska, and arrived at St. Paul shortly after noon to-day, the distance being about one hundred and ninety miles. This is the metropolis of the Fur Seal Islands, situated on the island of St. Paul—a handsome village of sixty-four neat frame cottages, with a large church, schoolhouse, and priest's residence, and a population of nearly three hundred Aleuts, and from twelve to twenty whites.

It is interesting to find here an isolated group of Alaskan natives wholly under white influence and control, and who have a great part abandoned their own pursuits, clothing, and mode of life in general, and adopted that of the whites. They are all employed by the Alaska Commercial Company as butchers, to kill and flay the hundred thousand seals that they take annually here and at the neighboring island of St. George. Their bloody work lasts about two months, and they earn in this time from three hundred to six hundred dollars apiece, being paid forty cents per skin.

The Company supplies them with a school, medical attendance, and comfortable dwellings, and looks after their welfare in general, its own interest being involved. They even have a

bank, and are encouraged to save their money, which many of them do, having accounts of from two hundred to three thousand dollars. Fortunately, the Aleuts of St. Paul and St. George are pretty effectively guarded against whiskey and to some extent against kvass also. Only limited quantities of sugar and other kvass material are sold to them. Nevertheless one of their number told one of our officers to-day that he had a bank account of eight hundred dollars and would give it all for five bottles of whiskey; and an agent of the Company gave it as his opinion that there were not six perfectly sober Aleuts on the whole island to-day.

The number of fur seals that resort to these two islands, St. Paul and St. George, during the breeding season, is estimated at from three to four million, and there seems to be no falling off in numbers since the Alaska Commercial Company began operations here. Only young males are killed by the Company, but many of both sexes are taken far from here among the Aleutian Islands and around the shores of Vancouver Island and the outermost of the Alexander Archipelago.

No one knows certainly whence they come or whither they go. But inasmuch as they make their appearance every year about the shores of the Aleutian Islands shortly after their disappearance from St. Paul and St. George, and then later to the southward, toward the coast to British Columbia, it is supposed that they are the same animals, and that they thus make journeys every year of a thousand miles or more, and return to their birthplaces like shoals of salmon. They begin to appear on the breeding-grounds about the first of June. These are old males, who at once take up their stations on high ground a short distance from the shore, and keep possession of their places while they await the coming of the pregnant females who arrive about a month later, accompanied by the younger members of the community. At the height of the season the ground is closely covered with them, and they seldom go back into the water or take any food until the young are well grown and all are ready to leave the islands in the fall.

In addition to the one hundred thousand taken here, the Company obtains about forty thousand by purchase from the Russians at Bering and Copper Islands, and from Indians and traders at different points south as far as Oregon. These skins are said to be worth fifteen dollars apiece in the London market, to which they are all sent. The government revenue derived from the one hundred thousand killed each year is \$317,000.

Next in importance among the fur animals of Alaska, is the sea-otter, of which about six thousand a year are taken, worth from eighty dollars to one hundred dollars apiece.

The Aleuts obtain from thirty to fifty dollars in goods or money, an alternative not due to the fact that the goods are sold for their money value, but to the fact that the traders sooner or later receive back whatever money they pay out instead of goods. Unlimited competition would, of course, run the price much higher, as, for example, it has done in south-eastern Alaska. Here the only competition lies between the Western Fur and Trading Company and the Alaska Commercial Company. The latter gets most of them. Each company seeks the good-will of the best hunters by every means in its power, by taking them to and from the hunting grounds in schooners, by advancing provisions and all sorts of supplies, by building cottages for them, and supplying them with the services of a physician and medicine free. Only Indians are allowed by law to take furs, and whites married to Indian women. This law had induced some fifteen white men to marry Indians for the privilege of taking sea-otter. They have settled at Unga Island, one of the Shumagin group, where there is a village of some hundred and eighty-five Indians.

Seen from the sea, all the Pribilof Islands--St. Paul, St. George, and Otter Island--appear as mere rocks, naked and desolate fragments of lava, wasted into bluffs where they touch the sea, and shorn off on top by the ice-sheet. The gray surfaces are roughened here and there by what, at a distance, seem to be degraded volcanic cones. Nevertheless, they are exceedingly interesting, not only because of the marvelous abundance of life about them--seals, water birds, and fishes--but because they tell so grand a story concerning the ice-sheet that swept over them all from the north.¹⁷⁴

John Muir wrote eloquently, but at least two of his statements were not factual. It is now known that glaciers never covered St. Paul Island; and the fur seals at the time of his visit very likely numbered fewer than two million, if not far fewer than two million, rather than “three to four million.”

MURRAY, JOSEPH (1843–1898)

Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, 1889–1890

Assistant Agent, St. Paul Island, 1891 and 1893

Special Treasury Agent, St. Paul Island, 1894–1898

Alaska Salmon Commissioner

Fur-Seal Commission, 1896–1897

Genealogy

Joseph Murray was born near Dublin in County Kildare, Ireland, April 10, 1843. In 1869, Joseph Murray married Margaret H. Jordan at Whipparly, New Jersey.¹⁷⁵ Joseph and Margaret Murray had four children; Annabelle, Jennifer, William, and Margaret. Joseph Murray died unexpectedly on October 4, 1898, shortly after arriving home from St. Paul Island. Anna Balakshin, an Aleut girl, had left St. Paul with him on August 23, 1898, to attend school in Fort Collins, Colorado, with his children. Anna returned to St. Paul Island on June 10, 1899, after spending the winter with the Murray family.¹⁷⁶

Biographical Sketch

[Joseph Murray] . . . came from a humble yet honest parentage and early developed those traits of character that made him a marked man throughout his eventful career. His leading characteristics were liveliness of temperament, enthusiasm, ready sympathy with the weak or suffering, and untiring energy. He was educated in the national schools of Ireland and at Salford College in England, but did not remain long enough at school to thoroughly perfect his education, but inspired by a love of adventure he enlisted at the age of sixteen years in the Foreign legion of the army of France and fought under Marshal McMahon in the campaign of 1859 against Austrians. . . . At the conclusion of hostilities, Murray then but about 18 years old, came to America in company with several other young compatriots with the express purpose of enlisting in the Union army. He landed in New York and joined the famous 69th New York Volunteers, which was attached to General Francis Meagher's Irish Brigade in consequence of his previous military experience. Murray was appointed drill master of the regiment. Entering the service in 1861. He attained the rank of second lieutenant before being mustered out.

After the war Mr. Murray went to New York City where he acted for a time as bookkeeper in a wholesale house. He then went to Paterson, N.J. and was employed as foreman in



Joseph Murray. (Fort Collins, CO, Public Library, Thomas L. Moore Coll.)

a factory there. . . . In 1870, being attracted by the novel and adventurous spirit of the Greeley colony then being organized in New York by the late N.C. Meeker, he joined that enterprise and came to Colorado and assisted materially in the establishment of the colony and the organization of the town of Greeley. For three years he followed the destinies of the newly organized colony, when he removed to Larimer County and taking up a ranch under the homestead laws near Fossil Creek, five miles south of this city, went into farming.¹⁷⁷

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Joseph Murray deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on March 19, 1892, before Notary Public Charles L. Hughes at Washington, D.C.:

I reside at Fort Collins, Colo.; I am 49 years of age, and I am the first assistant special agent at the seal islands in Bering Sea. That in pursuance of Department instructions to me, dated April 20, 1889, I proceeded to the seal islands and landed on St. George Island May 31, 1889. That I had charge of that island until July 1, 1890, and I was present during the whole of two sealing seasons on the island of St. George. . . . In pursuance of instructions from Agent Goff, I left St. George Island on the 19th of July, 1890, and landed on St. Paul Island on the 20th of the same month, and remained there until August, 1891.¹⁷⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

The circumstances that brought Joseph Murray to the Pribilof Islands began during President Benjamin Harrison's campaign in 1889:

Bankrupt and harassed by a thousand perplexities he did not know which way to turn when the Harrison campaign opened with its high tariff issues. Mr. Murray was always a high tariff man and offered his services to the republican managers as a stump speaker. He was readily accepted, as his fame as a forcible and witty public speaker was known far and wide. He was sent down into Indiana to deliver tariff speeches before the laboring classes and spoke night and day to immense crowds. The state was carried for Harrison and in recognition of services rendered, Mr. Murray was appointed special agent of the treasury department to take charge of the Alaskan seal fisheries which were being rapidly depleted by the incursions of the pelagic sealers. Here was a field that just suited his restless, energetic nature and he plunged into the discharge of his new duties with all his accustomed vim and it is stated that he said shortly before his death, that he never worked so hard as he had done in the ten years that he had been in charge of the seal fisheries, which was no doubt true to the letter and a fact to which his untimely death may be attributed. In the care of the seal rookeries and the supervision of the fish canneries he had an enormous territory to cover. From Sitka, the capital of the territory, to the western most island owned by the United States is nearly 5,000 miles.

Then, during all of his administration, the country has been engaged with Great Britain in the seal embargo which added much to the labor and perplexities of his position. He was appointed assistant commissioner to investigate the seal rookeries of Russia and Japan and sailed thousands of miles through arctic seas making these investigations. He inaugurated many new methods in caring for the seals and protecting them from the terrible inroads being made by the pelagic sealers. Among these were the branding of the female seals in order to destroy the commercial value of their skin and the protection from the rapacious marauders of open sea sealing, and the herding of male seals on the seal islands [sic] during the open season.

It was upon his recommendation that the joint high commission, composed of representatives of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan, was appointed to investigate the seal rookeries and report some more feasible code of regulations for their care and protection than have hitherto been in vogue, and it is expected that the commission will make their final report during the coming winter and



Joseph Murray (second from right) branding female pups and Chief Karp Buterin (second from left) heating coals, St. Paul Island, 1897 (Univ. of St. Andrews Special Collections, D'Arcy Thompson Coll., DT-039.)



Joseph Murray (left) and Charles Hamlin (right) riding in a mule-drawn wagon at Northeast Point, St. Paul Island. Webster House in background. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC261, neg. 034917.)

that their recommendations will result in the settlement of the vexed seal question between the United States and Great Britain for many years to come.¹⁷⁹

Government agents on the Pribilof Islands lived with the constant threat of clashes with pelagic sealers, many of whom possessed such bravado that they would invade the islands to kill seals or would ram the agents' small boats when in chase. Agents Joseph Crowley and Joseph Murray wrote in a joint letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, J. G. Carlisle:

On this all-important subject much has been said by the respective agents in charge of the Seal Islands, from the time that marauding schooners first appeared in the Bering Sea, and their reports were noticed by the British Sea commissioners when summing up their charges against our Government for dereliction of duty during the pendency of the Bering Sea arbitration matter. On page 32 of their report we find the following language:

"Some further evidences have been obtained in respect to the frequency of the raid upon the islands, and the facility with which in consequence of the wholly inadequate protection afforded by the U.S. Government, such illegal and highly injurious onslaughts on the seal life of the islands have been made. When it is shown on the sworn evidence of men who were concerned or took part in such raids that two schooners anchored to the northward off St. Paul for nearly the whole of the summer of 1881-'82, raiding the islands whenever the weather permitted a landing to be made, it can no longer be maintained by any impartial person that the protection of the breeding islands has been in any sense satisfactory."¹⁸⁰

Since the British commissioners were on the seal islands an improved method of protection has been adopted by the Department, part of which is to send revenue cutters to patrol the sea around the island until late in the fall, all of which we heartily approve.

In addition to this, however, and in order to give absolute protection to the rookeries, we ask for the erection of a system of telephonic communication between the Government house and the watchhouses [sic] on the rookeries.

By this means constant communication can be had between the agent in charge and the native guard on the islands. The natives are able and willing to perform the duty of guards, but heretofore their facilities to perform such duty have been very limited and of the most primitive type.¹⁸¹

Mr. Macoun had alleged in the counter case by Great Britain during the Fur-Seal Arbitration that "there is only one telephone line on the islands and that during a greater portion of the season this line is not in working condition."¹⁸²

Agents Murray and Crowley continued on in their letter to Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle:

[Macoun's] statement cannot be successfully denied, and, in fact, the only telephone line upon either of the islands is the one from the North American Commercial Company's house to the northeast point rookery (a distance of 12 miles) on St. Paul Island, and this line is owned by and kept under the exclusive management of the company.

With the present system of patrolling Bering Sea by armed vessels, and with telephonic communication on the islands as indicated by us, so that the agent in charge may be in constant touch with the guards on each rookery, we have no hesitation in saying that absolute protection can be given to the islands as against any future attempt of seal poachers. To accomplish this it will require 40 miles of wire and 9 telephones, at an expense, approximated at \$2,000.



U.S. Revenue Service Steamer Rush. (Charles S. Hamlin Papers, 728-179, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

A supply of 50 Winchester repeating rifles and sufficient ammunition for guarding purposes will cost \$1,000.

In this respect we find copied in the Counter-case of Great Britain Fur Seal Arbitration Case, p. 292, from the report of Agent A. W. Lavender, in 1890, as follows:

"I have again to request you to do your best to obtain arms and ammunition for these islands, and hope you will be able to secure them, for without them the rookeries can not be protected in a proper manner. The only rifles that answer for the protection of the rookeries belong to the natives and are of but little use.

"In addition to the few rifles owned by the natives the company has found four small Colt's rifles and one Sharp's, with very little ammunition for any of them."

Following which quotation we find the following allegation by the British commissioners.

"It will thus be seen that raiding on the Pribilof Islands has been carried on persistently, at least since 1868, and that from that date the authorities have known of the raids, and from the earliest time urgently demanded precautions in prevention. In short, under present regulations and arrangements there is no difficulty or danger whatever to vessels raiding along shore in the night or in any of the frequent fogs at several of the best rookeries, except when a revenue cutter chances to be close by, an occasional occurrence well known to every marauding schooner."¹⁸³

In 1892, the Native work crew constructed two new watch houses at Halfway Point (Polovina) and Zapadni to attempt to spot and ward off these pirates. On September 13, 1892, as Assistant Agent Murray readied to depart St. Paul Island, the steamer *Rush* landed 500 cartridges on St. Paul Island for government use, presumably in defense against marauders, along with six Springfield rifles, bringing the total on the island to

twelve Springfield rifles and 540 rounds.¹⁸⁴ When Murray returned in 1893, he spoke bluntly:

Put a Winchester rifle into the hands of every adult male on the island (they prefer 45–70 [caliber]) and then put agents in charge who are physically able to walk over the rough ground when it becomes necessary to do so, and it will be found that no outsiders are needed there to do guard duty.

I most earnestly call the attention of the Department to the fact that the fewer strangers, whether guards, visitors, or others, allowed to land or dwell upon the seal islands, the better it is for the native people, who are rarely benefited by contact with white men.

To send white men, as a reserve guard, to remain in the villages while the natives go out from 6 to 12 miles to guard the seals, is to insult and injure every native man on the island, and, if persisted in, will eventually end in blood. For the sake of peace—for the good of the native people—I suggest that no more white men, soldiers or sailors, be landed on the islands to do guard duty.¹⁸⁵

On June 12, 1894, Joseph Murray was appointed Special Treasury Agent and Alaska Salmon Commissioner, after being an assistant agent on St. Paul Island in 1891 and 1893. He was instructed by Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle to make a complete investigation of the Alaska fisheries and the fur-seal industry. The following excerpts from the St. Paul Island Agent's Log kept by Assistant Agent James Judge mention Salmon Commissioner Murray's presence on the island in the company of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury C. S. Hamlin:



Left to right: Joseph Stanley-Brown, Joseph Murray, Charles S. Hamlin, and members of an Unaaġin sealing crew on fur-seal killing grounds, Northeast Point, St. Paul Island. Webster House and telephone poles in the background. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC262, neg. 034956.)

August 3, 1894

Revenue cutter *Rush* came to anchor at East Landing, having on board Mr. C. S. Hamlin Assistant Secretary of Treasury, Mr. McGrath his private secretary and Col. Joseph Murray Salmon Commissioner.

August 4, 1894

Made a seal drive from the Reef, Sec. Hamlin attending both the drive and killing and afterwards visiting the Reef and intervening breeding grounds. . . . In the evening a dance was given which was attended by every man woman and child in the village in honor of the Hon. Secretary.

August 5, 1894

The Hon. Secty. of the U.S. Treasury Mr. Hamlin visited Katvie & Lukannon Rookeries and in the afternoon he visited Tolstoi, Middlehill [Polovina] and Zapadnie rookeries. At 5 o'clock in the evening Father Reseff [Rysev] held special services in the church in honor of the Secretary.

August 6, 1894

Hon. C.S. Hamlin came ashore from the *Rush* at 9:30. In accordance with the Russian custom of expressing allegiance and loyalty to the government under which they live; a committee of the natives headed by their chief, Nicoli Krukoff, waited upon Hon. C.S. Hamlin and presented him with a loaf of bread in which a crevice had been cut and the hole filled with salt. The distinguished gentleman accepted the token of esteem with becoming dignity and expressed his appreciation both of the present and the people on the Island.

August 7, 1894

At 9am Sec. Hamlin accompanied by Salmon Commissioner Murray went to N.E. Point in a buckboard, returning in the evening reporting that the weather was all that could be desired and that they had a splendid view of the point.

To Col. Murray belongs the credit of having originated the agitation which resulted in the procuring of an annual appropriations for the sustenance of the people and for the bringing of fuel in plenty to the Islands. Nor did he stop here, for on his departure last August he



Joseph Murray sleeping in a chair, St. Paul Island, circa 1890s. (NAA, Arctic: Aleut series, lot 24, 1463000.)

had a project on foot which it is hoped his successor will carry to completion of bringing water for domestic purposes to the village instead of having the people carry it one half mile as is the case at present.¹⁸⁶

- 1 Mary G. McGeown, ca. 1980, "John Macoun: Botanist and Explorer from Maralin," *Review, Journal of Craigavon Historical Society* 4 (2): 7–11.
- 2 Registrations of marriages, 1869–1922, MS932, reel 65, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.
- 3 Harlan I. Smith, "James M. Macoun," *Science*, new series 51, no. 1324 (1920): 478–9; and Theo. Holm, "Briefer Articles: James Macoun," *The Botanical Gazette* 70, no. 3 (1920): 240.
- 4 Smith, "James M. Macoun," 479.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Editorial, *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1897, 6.
- 9 G Dallas Hanna, "Random Comparisons of St. Paul Island as observed by Dr. G Dallas Hanna in 1960 after an absence of 40 years" (Belvedere Scientific Fund, 1960), 14. Hanna's recollections of events more than 45 years previous to his writing were understandably a bit hazy. He wrote that James Macoun was on the island in 1913 but should have said 1914. Hanna identified Dr. Hunter as the doctor attending to Macoun, but Dr. Hunter was not on St. Paul Island until 1915. Hanna also said he took a photograph of Macoun with Henry W. Elliott and Agent Walter Lembkey; the latter two were present in 1913 but not in 1914, when Macoun was there. Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780, 1984, 13, recounted Hanna's observation of Macoun as an old man, but they also recognized some of Hanna's memory lapses (Macoun's presence in 1914 and not 1913, for example).
- 10 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 22.
- 11 Smith, "James M. Macoun," 479. The C.M.G. stands for Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. It is a British medal presented to those who have performed "extraordinary or important non-military service in a foreign country," or provided "important or loyal service in relation to foreign and Commonwealth affairs." See <http://www.hopkirk.org/hopkirk/CMG.html> (accessed Mar. 18, 2009).
- 12 J. M. Macoun, "A List of the Plants of the Pribilof Islands, Bering Sea. With Notes on Their Distribution," in *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean*, ed. David Starr Jordan, U.S. Treasury Department, Doc. no. 2017 (Washington, DC: GPO), pt. 3, *Special Papers relating to the Fur Seal and to the Natural History of the Pribilof Islands*, 559–87 and plates 87–94.
- 13 J. M. Macoun, "The Fur Seal of the North Pacific," *Transactions of Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society* 1 (1897), 164. See also Macoun, "A List of the Plants."
- 14 Macoun, "The Fur Seal," 69.
- 15 Ibid., 71 and 73.
- 16 Ibid., 162 and 217.
- 17 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 12 and 168.
- 18 Ibid., 161.
- 19 Ibid., 330.
- 20 Ibid., 366.
- 21 Ibid., 14.
- 22 St. George Island Agent's Log, June 28, 1893, 290, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22.
- 23 Taken from the 1889 annual report by Agent Charles J. Goff in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), vol. 1, 216–7; also see the biography of Dr. Luman A. Noyes in this book for additional comments about Manchester.
- 24 Official Logs, St. George Island 1937–40; WWI registration card; and U.S. Federal Census, 1900–1930, Ancestry.com.

- 25 Gale Literary Databases, <http://galenet.galegroup.com> (accessed May 29, 2003); "Picture Story," at http://www.augusta.com/leaders/slideshow_national/slide32.html (accessed July 11, 2003); and University of Georgia Libraries, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Georgiana vertical file, Edison Marshall.
- 26 "Picture Story," http://www.augusta.com/leaders/slideshow_national/slide32.html (accessed July 11, 2003).
- 27 St. Paul Island Agent's Log passenger lists for Aug. 4 and 14, 1926, Pribilof Islands Logbooks, 1870–1961, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22.
- 28 Edison Marshall, *The Far Call* (New York: J. J. Little & Ives, 1928); cf 1st ed. (New York: Cosmopolitan, 1927).
- 29 "Filming Musical Comedy; Cinema Flashes," *New York Times*, Mar. 24, 1929, Amusements, 6.
- 30 Internet Movie Data Base, <http://www.imdb.com> (accessed Mar. 18, 2009). The authors have been unable to locate a copy of the film.
- 31 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, July 1, 1925; and Internet Movie Data Base, <http://www.imdb.com/find?s=nm&q=Merl+LaVoy> (accessed Mar. 18, 2009).
- 32 Nathan Washington Marston, *The Marston Genealogy* (Lubec, ME: 1888), 142 and 150.
- 33 "Death of Colonel Marston," *San Diego Union*, Aug. 17, 1888, 8; U.S. Census, 1850, Portsmouth, Rockingham County, NH, and Sandown, Rockingham County, NH; 1867 plat map, <http://www.sandown.us/historicalsociety> (accessed Jan. 17, 2007).
- 34 Library of Congress, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1859–1860*, vol. 56, 187–9, 1859 (While the date of publication on the title page of this book is 1859, it incorporates the proceedings through April 13, 1860.); "Gilman Marston, 1811–1890," Library of Congress, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000165> (accessed Jan. 23, 2007); and U.S. Census, 1860, Washington, DC, 4th Ward, 268, line 10.
- 35 Marston, *The Marston Genealogy*, 150; "Farmer's Cabinet," *The Portsmouth Chronicle*, 2, America's Historical Newspapers, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com> (accessed Jan 23, 2009); U.S. Census, 1880, Hampstead, NH, 189; and "Death of Colonel Marston," *San Diego Union*, Aug. 17, 1888, 8.
- 36 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 27, 1875, 329.
- 37 Ibid., Aug. 6, 1875, 345.
- 38 21st inst. (instant) meaning the 21st day of the current month.
- 39 Ibid., Sept. 24, 352.
- 40 Ibid., 353.
- 41 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1875, 357.
- 42 Ibid., Nov. 1, 358. The relative health and comfort of these wooden homes was challenged by numerous authors decades later as one of the great travesties levied upon the Pribilof Islands Native population: cf. Alison K. Hoagland, "Russian Churches, American Houses, Aleut People: Converging Cultures in the Pribilof Islands," in *Images of an American Land*, ed. Thomas Carter. (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press), 129–49; and Dorothy Knee Jones, *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule* (Washington, DC: Univ. Press of America, 1980), 20.
- 43 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Oct. 25, 1875, 357.
- 44 Ibid., Nov. 21, 1875, 365.
- 45 PM is the presumed intent; the handwritten letters are difficult to read.
- 46 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Nov. 22, 1875, 366.
- 47 Ibid., Sept. 22, 1876, 456–7.
- 48 Ibid., Jan. 6, 1876, 378.
- 49 Ibid., Jan. 9, 379–80.
- 50 Ibid., Jan. 18, 382–3.
- 51 Ibid., May 7, 408–9.
- 52 Ibid., July 16, 433. Father Kovrigin was apparently a visiting priest, possibly filling in for Fr. Paul Shaiashnikoff.
- 53 Ibid., July 27, 1876, 436. Father Nikolai was a highly respected member of the Russian Orthodox Church. His visit to St. Paul Island was especially welcomed by the community. The history of Fr. Nikolai and Bishop Paul Popov during the Russian–American transition provides some interesting perspective. "During the Holy Week of 1868, an Orthodox Priest was sent to the City [San Francisco] from Alaska to conduct the paschal services here. That priest, Father Nicholas Kovrigin,

became the first permanent Orthodox minister in San Francisco (until his return to Russia in 1879).
Source: Archpriest Victor Sokolov, A Brief History of Holy Trinity Cathedral, <http://www.holy-trinity.org/about/history.html>.

Bishop Paul (Popov) of Novoarkhangelsk (New Archangel) had assigned Fr. Nikolai to San Francisco in 1868. "Bishop [Bp.] Paul arrived in Alaska as it was being sold to the United States, and he was confronted with the transition from Russian to American rule. The incoming American sectarians were accompanied by the military, and life, particularly in New Archangel, became perilous. Sitka, as the New Archangel became known, was reduced to a population of only twenty families by 1877. With the multitude of changes that this transition caused, his rule was marked by great difficulties. It was also during this period that Bp. Paul initiated a move that heralded the coming transfer of the see to San Francisco. For a period of time Bp. Paul had assigned Priest Nikolai Kovrigin to San Francisco to serve the spiritual needs of the Slavic population in the San Francisco area. Fr. Nikolai arrived in late March of 1868. He served his first Divine Liturgy on Pascha in a residence on Mission Street. Fr. Nikolai also noted in his report to Bp. Paul that the Gospel was read in four languages; Greek, Slavonic, English, and Russian." Fr. Nikolai returned to Alaska in May 1868, and in 1876 he visited St. Paul Is. Source: C. J. Tarasar and John H. Erickson, eds., "Orthodox America 1794–1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America," (Syosett, NY: Orthodox Church in America, 1975).

- 54 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Jan. 24, 1876, 384.
- 55 Ibid., Oct. 15, 1875, 355.
- 56 Ibid., May 29, 1876, 415.
- 57 Ibid., June 8, 418.
- 58 Ibid., June 13, 419–20.
- 59 Ibid., Aug. 15, 1875, 346.
- 60 Ibid., Aug. 19, 347.
- 61 Ibid., Aug. 30, 348–9.
- 62 Samuel Berenberg's father, Joseph, was born at Podolsk, Russia, on May 25, 1881, and naturalized at the U.S. District Court, Boston (Roxbury) on June 12, 1923; Samuel's mother was Leah Righter (Jan. 15, 1889–Mar. 6, 1968), Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com.
- 63 Guide to the Fredericka Martin Papers, 1926–1990 (Bulk 1968–1984) including Historical/Biographical Note—Fredericka I. Martin prepared by Jessica Weglein, Dec. 2004, 4. Courtesy of Tamiment Library Archives & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives at the Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University.
- 64 Ibid., 2–4.
- 65 Personal correspondence between Simeon Melovidov and Fredericka Berenberg 1941–43, Pribilof Island Coll., Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Rasmuson Library Special Collections.
Richard H. Geoghegan (1906–1943), born in Dublin, Ireland, became a world recognized authority as a linguist who knew more than 200 languages and dialects, and a linguistics consultant. See his biography in this book; also Richard Henry Geoghegan and Fredericka Martin, *The Aleut Language: The Elements of Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1944), 4–6.
- 66 More details about the attack on Dutch Harbor can be read in Brian Garfield's *The Thousand-Mile War: World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, 1995).
- 67 Further details regarding the Aleut evacuation can be found in books such as Dean Kohlhoff's *When the Wind Was a River* (Seattle: Univ. Washington Press, 1995); John C. Kirtland and David Coffin Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II*, vols. 1–8, plus master index (Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Assoc., 1981); Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Assoc., *Making it Right: The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II* (Anchorage: Aleutian/Pribilof Island Assoc., 1993); Barbara Boyle Torrey, *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts* (St. Paul Island: Tanadgusix Corp., 1978); and *Umnak: The People Remember, An Aleutian History*, compiled by Tyler M. Schlung and students of Nikolski School, Umnak Island, Alaska (Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch, 2002).
- 68 Dr. Berenberg subsequently returned to serve the Funter Bay community until 1943.
- 69 James C. Curry papers, box 137–141, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, DC; St. Paul Island Official Agent's Log, 1942, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, box 29.
- 70 The historical record supports the government officials' accusations, although it doesn't justify their use. Especially during 1950–63, the suggestion that someone was a communist or communist sympathizer could ruin the individual's reputation and career. The use of unsubstantiated allegations to

that end, especially by government officials and certain fraternal organizations, is a hallmark of one of the nation's darkest periods.

In 1953, during interrogations as part of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's inquisition on un-American activities, archivist Sherrod East responded to Chief Counsel Roy Marcus Cohn's suggestion that Dr. Samuel Berenberg was a communist. The following statements are taken from U.S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations*, vol. 4, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 1953 (Washington, DC: GPO, 2003), 2878–82 (made public in Jan. 2003). Not all the questions and answers are included as they were either not related to the subject or only indirectly related, or superfluous. History has already judged Senator "Joe" McCarthy and his inquisition.

Mr. Cohn. Do you know a Dr. Samuel Berenberg?

Mr. East. Yes, sir. He is the doctor I referred to.

Mr. Cohn. What is his wife's name?

Mr. East. His wife's name, I believe, was Frederica [sic] Martin Berenberg.

Mr. Cohn. Was Dr. Berenberg a pretty well-known Communist sympathizer?

Mr. East. As I say, looking back I think he was.

Mr. Cohn. What was his connection with the health association?

Mr. East. He was one of three doctors hired by the association to practice medicine.

Mr. Cohn. Did you in your official capacity have anything to do with his employment?

Mr. East. Not originally. It does happen I was on the board. He was in Greenbelt [Health Association] two different times. It does happen I was on the board when he was hired the second time. He had left the first time to go to the Pribilof Islands to work for the Department of the Interior. When the war came on the Pribilofs were evacuated, I believe, and Greenbelt was without a physician. We were very anxious to get one doctor and they were very scarce. He was available and I was on the board that hired him back.

Mr. Cohn. Now, Mr. East, did you know at the time that Dr. Berenberg was a Communist?

Mr. East. I certainly did not.

Mr. Cohn. Had he ever said anything to lead you to believe he was?

Mr. East. Only to this extent. He left about 1939 and up until that time it had never entered my head that he was a Communist sympathizer. I observed later that his attitude towards the war was quite different after he came back from the Pribilofs.

Mr. Cohn. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact he was not as anxious to have the United States go in?

Mr. East. That is my distinct impression, yes, sir.

Mr. Cohn. Did you ever know he was circulating Communist literature?

Mr. East. He never circulated any to me. He would have known, I hope better.

Mr. Cohn. Did you have anything to do with his [Berenberg's] leaving?

Mr. East. . . . He resigned of his own free will, except we had one other physician at the time and they did not get along and I assume that is one of the reasons.

Mr. Cohn. Now, did you, yourself, ever give a lawn party for the benefit of the Spanish Loyalists?

Mr. East. No, I did not. I was living in a farm house . . . and I allowed my premises to be used by Mrs. Berenberg to hold such a benefit for Spanish refugees. She had been a nurse with the Spanish Loyalists.

Mr. Cohn. When was that?

Mr. East. . . . I think that it was sometime in 1949 or 1950, but I don't know for sure.

Mr. Cohn. Did you attend the party?

Mr. East. I did not know it was held under the auspices of any organization and still don't know if it was. She simply said she would like to do something, having been in Spain, she said she would like to do something for the Spanish refugees. As far as I knew it was a personal thing with her.

Mr. Cohn. Now, let me ask you this, Mr. East. Based on the facts we have gone over here in connection with your appointment of Dr. Berenberg and your associations with other people, would you have considered yourself a good security risk?

Mr. East. I most certainly would have then and I would now.

Mr. Cohn. In connection with some of the cases you passed on on the loyalty board—I am not asking you for any names or about any individuals, but in what percentage of cases you passed on where the allegation was Communist activities did you recommend suspension?

Mr. East. I don't know. I mean Communist activities is a very broad term. I have no idea but all I know is that I acted on some cases where we did recommend some suspensions. I acted on a greater number where I did not recommend suspension. When I say I acted, I acted as a member of the panel.

Mr. Cohn. Isn't it a matter of fact that you recommended against suspension in the vast majority of cases?

Mr. East. [To Mr. Adams—presumably East's counsel] Well is that legitimate?

Mr. Cohn. Mr. East, taking everything that you say here at face value today, I think it still might suggest that one who was as fooled as you were by Communists and Communist sympathizers might not be in a position to evaluate these cases with understanding and perspicacity. For instance, suppose the case of Dr. Berenberg and Mrs. Berenberg had come up. They apparently fooled you once, according to your own statement and you might have an unfortunate result if those and other people were in sensitive positions.

Mr. East. They did not fool me in the sense you are using the term. Secondly, Berenberg was hired as a doctor. He was a good one no matter what his political complexion was then, now or ever was, and I resent, if I may say so, the implication that I can't judge when a man's political complexion, if political is the right word, has a bearing on his duties.

Interestingly, several government officials characterized the Pribilofs as being in a "communistic" state of affairs long before Martin and her husband arrived in the islands—e.g., George Wardman, *A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative* (San Francisco: Samuel Carlson, 1884), 109, and G Dallas Hanna, *The Alaska Fur Seal Islands* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2008), 258.

The suggestion that the Pribilof Islands were communistic dates back at least to ca. 1879, when former Treasury Agent George Wardman (see biography) wrote of his experiences on the islands (*A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative*, 109). He discussed the relationship between the government and the commercial company monopoly and the Natives as one that portended a "communistic system." Walter Lembkey wrote the following: "The system involved in the foregoing arrangement for natives' support is one of almost pure communism. The main problem confronting those charged with its conduct was to support the people in such comfort and happiness as the resources would allow and at the same time to minimize those admitted evils of communal existence which, in this case, could easily result in reducing the island inhabitants to a mental condition of stolid apathy, and a physical condition of virtual peonage, if not slavery." (Barton W. Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1913*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Doc. no. 797, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1914), 141–8, under the subheading "Support of Natives, Problems in Communistic System"). Lembkey's statement was reproduced by Osgood et al. in their 1914 publication "The fur seals and other life of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, in 1914," *Bull. of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries* 34, 134–8.

Natural historian G Dallas Hanna, in *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*, 258, wrote: "A system of pure communism has been maintained upon the [Pribilof] islands since 1870. From 1870 to 1879, the village was paid 40 cents for each sealskin that was accepted by the leasing company. The gross proceeds were lumped at the end of the season and credited on the books of the company to the village. The division of this sum was made *pro rata* according to the skill of the individual. The individuals were then permitted to draw from the company's store the amount of their division in goods at invoice cost plus a profit varying from 25 to 75 percent."

The topic of communism is raised in this endnote to clarify the record and not to impugn Ms. Martin or Dr. Berenberg, who can be considered heroes for their courage and the strength of their efforts to better the lives of those less fortunate.

- 71 Jones, *A Century of Servitude*, 131; and Dennis Remick and Patricia Stanley, *Islands of Time*, film documentary, 58 min., Silky Way Productions.
- 72 For more on her life and work, see Lisa Marie Short, "Fredericka I. Martin," MA thesis, Alaska Pacific Univ., Anchorage, 1995.
- 73 Guide to the Fredericka Martin Papers, 4. Tamiment Library Archives & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives at the Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York Univ.
- 74 David Mattison, *Camera Workers: The British Columbia, Alaska & Yukon Photographic Directory, 1858–1950* (Victoria, BC: Camera Workers Press, 1985), 399–401, available online at http://collection.nlc-bnc.ca/100/200/300/david_mattison/camera_workers/index.html (accessed Mar. 31, 2004);

- and Richard Maynard notebooks, British Columbia Archives Visual Records Collection Guide, Richard and Hanna Maynard's descriptive notes to their collection, "Maynard Archives," http://www.slais.ubc.ca/COURSES/arst593b/03-04-wt2/Assignment1/Assign1_Lund_Sokolon/index.html (accessed Mar. 19, 2009). See also "Maynard's Photographic Gallery," <http://web.uvic.ca/vv/student/maynard/Galleries.htm> (accessed Mar. 19, 2009).
- 75 "Hannah Maynard, 1834–1918," Women in BC History—BC Archives Time Machine, <http://www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/exhibits/timemach/galler10/frames/maynard.htm> (accessed Mar. 19, 2009); see also Mattison, *Camera Workers*; a revised version of the book was turned into a website of the same name. See "Maynard, Hannah Hatherly," and "Maynard, Richard," at <http://www.members.shaw.ca/bchistorian/cw1858–1950.html> (accessed Mar. 19, 2009).
 - 76 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1892, 24.
 - 77 Richard Maynard Notebooks, Alaska, St. Paul Island July 1–Aug. 23, 1892, British Columbia Archives Index Guide Room, Victoria, BC. File 5 includes a photo notebook guide to images in the collection.
 - 78 Mattison, *Camera Workers*, 400. Available online at http://collection.nlc-bnc.ca/100/200/300/david_mattison/camera_workers/index.html (accessed Mar. 31, 2004).
 - 79 Robert Harry McIntire, *The MacINTYRE, McINTYRE and McINTIRE Clan of Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and New England* (Norfolk, VA: self-published, 1949), 19.
 - 80 Nickerson and Cox, *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph, Vermont* (Randolph, VT: Nickerson and Cox, 1895), 101.
 - 81 Kodiak Historical Society, "Murder in the Erskine House – notes wrung out of Dawn Black," Oct. 11, 1989. This one-page memorandum which summarized the sources for the identity of the murderer was sent to the authors by Alice [surname unknown] from the Society in 2004.
 - 82 Ibid., 101.
 - 83 Walter Heywood Karr, *Shores and Alps of Alaska* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, Rivington, 1887), 230–2. Additional accounts of the murder can be found in *The San Francisco Bulletin*, Nov. 17, 1886; and Robert E. King, "More than the Murder on Kodiak: The McIntyre Family in Alaska, 1868–1890's," paper presented to the Kodiak Historical Soc., Kodiak, AK, 1998.
 - 84 "American Civil War Soldiers," Ancestry.com.
 - 85 The "little book" was a 28-page journal. Emma sent it to her mother in July 1874 from St. George Island.
 - 86 Emma Jane McIntyre, "Life In The Pribilof Islands," original at Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA. Copy at Alaska State Library Archives, Juneau, Alaska, manuscript file MS 26.
 - 87 Correspondence, William J. McIntyre to Dr. W. H. Dall, Coast Survey, Washington, DC, SIA, RU 7073, box 13, folder 37.
 - 88 McIntire, *The MacINTYRE*, 18, cites the name as "Hambden," but it is commonly given as "Hamden."
 - 89 Lewis Publishing Co., *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago: Lewis, 1891), 744–5.
 - 90 McIntire, *The MacINTYRE*, 18.
 - 91 Lewis Publishing Co., *Memorial*, 744–5. The manuscript read "enforced by ill-health further and broader."
 - 92 Ibid., 744–5. Hamden McIntyre biographical sketch transcribed here from original text.
 - 93 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 15, 1880, 176.
 - 94 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1880, 176, Pribilof Islands Logbooks 1870–1961, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22; and U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: GPO), 135.
 - 95 Lt. Washburn Maynard's report was summarized in Elliott, *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or Seal-Islands of Alaska* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 102–8.
 - 96 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 134–8.
 - 97 Nickerson and Cox, *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir*, 100–101.
 - 98 McIntire, *The MacINTYRE*, 19.
 - 99 Nickerson and Cox, *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir*, 100–101.

- 100 McIntire, *The MacINTYRE*, 19.
- 101 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 40–44, 30, 44–47, 47–54, 54–59, 517–8, and 599–601.
- 102 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 40 and 47.
- 103 Given his other statements, the reference to June 1869 as the date he accepted a position with the Alaska Commercial Company is very probably an error and should have read 1870.
- 104 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 40. McIntyre submitted his December 1869 U.S. Treasury Special Agent Report to the *Vermont Watchman & State Journal*. McIntyre's Report was condensed in the 1871 issues of the *Watchman*, on May 3rd giving his account of the "Pribyloff" Islands and the west coast of Alaska followed on July 12th by his account of Alaska and its resources. *Vermont Watchman & State Journal*, Montpelier, Vermont, July 12, 1871, p. 3.
- 105 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 54.
- 106 David Starr Jordan and George Archibald Clark, "The History, Condition, and Needs of the Herd of Fur Seals Resorting to the Pribilof Islands" in *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), pt. 1, 28.
- 107 Alphonse Pinart may have taken the earliest photographs in 1870.
- 108 Robert E. King, "The Pribilof Islands in the 1870s: The Stereo-Photographs of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre," *Alaska History* 9, no. 1 (1994): 39 and 40.
- 109 Robert E. King, "The Pribilof Islands in 1871: The Story of Mrs. Hugh H. McIntyre and her Remarkable Letters," paper presented at the 21st annual meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association's Historical Anthropology Session, Juneau, AK, 1994, 13.
- 110 King, "The Pribilof Islands in the 1870s," 38–45.
- 111 The last three sentences to the transcription are presented herein as provided in the source. It seems likely that these sentences were provided by either Agent Tingle or Hugh McIntyre rather than as part of Capt. Tulles' log entries. Source: U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 3, 523–4.
- 112 U.S. Censuses, 1850–1930.
- 113 "American Civil War Soldiers," Ancestry.com.
- 114 California Death Index, 1940–1997, Ancestry.com.
- 115 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Letter by William J. McIntyre in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 76–7.
- 116 Ibid., 130.
- 117 Ibid., 132–3.
- 118 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 90.
- 119 U.S. Census; WWI Draft Registration Card; Washington State Death Index, Ancestry.com.
- 120 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 29–30.
- 121 Thomas A. Mendenhall, *History, Correspondence and Pedigrees of the Mendenhalls of England, The United States and Africa, Relative to Their Common Origin and Ancestry* (Greenville, OH: Chas. R. Kemble, 1912), 105.
- 122 Ibid., 105–6.
- 123 The Pribilof Islands census records show that Evan Merculoff was born on Jan. 31, 1876, but they also gave Feb. 8, 1877 as his birth date (Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 290).
- 124 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 124.
- 125 Ibid., 195.
- 126 Ibid., 284.
- 127 Ibid., 290, 297, and 301.
- 128 St. George Island Agent's Log, June 28, 1893, 289.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Lydia T. Black, *Russians in America: 1732–1867* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, 2004), 131.
- 131 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* (*Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla*), ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan, (Fairbanks, AK and Kingston, ON: Univ. of Alaska and Limestone Press, 1984), 178.
- 132 Black, *Russians in America*, 132.
- 133 Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands*, 256.
- 134 Kiril Timofeevich Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America, Parts II–V: Kad'iak, Unalashka, Atkha, The Pribylovs*, ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Marina Ramsay (Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press, 1994), 270–1. In a footnote to this passage, Khlebnikov stated that Vasili

- Zheleznov was the baidara's steersman; taken with this note and the passage's introduction, "occurred with one detachment of [emph. added] Merkul'ev's artel" suggests that Vasilii Merkul'iev was not present on the trip as stated by Black in *Russians in Alaska*, 131, and Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Fairbanks: Limestone Press), 355. The following is taken from Black, 131: "[In 1799, Merkul'iev] was sailing a baidara from St. George to St. Paul, with a large group of men, when they were carried by a storm to the Alaska mainland. Trying to land, they encountered hostile Yup'ik (Central Alaska Eskimo) warriors. After a brief encounter, in which the intruders were bested, Merkul'iev was forced to sail on, seeking shelter elsewhere."
- 135 Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen and Others Who Are Making American History* (Boston: Biographical Society, 1904), vol. 7, 349.
 - 136 "Gunboat Albatross," <http://www.navsource.org/archives> (accessed Apr. 3, 2009); "C. Hart Merriam Scientist, Dies 86," *New York Times*, Mar. 21, 1942, 17; "Clinton Hart Merriam," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/376310/Clinton-Hart-Merriam> (accessed May 24, 2009); and "C. Hart Merriam Biography," <http://www.mpcer.nau.edu/merriam.html> (accessed May 24, 2009).
 - 137 "C. Hart Merriam Scientist, Dies 86," *New York Times*.
 - 138 Ibid.
 - 139 Charles H. Smith, "Merriam, C(linton) Hart," <http://www.wku.edu/~smithch/chronob/MERR1855.htm> (accessed Apr. 3, 2009); and "Clinton Hart Merriam," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/376310/Clinton-Hart-Merriam> (accessed Apr. 3, 2009).
 - 140 "C. Hart Merriam and the Life Zones Concept," *Biotic Communities of the Colorado Plateau*, <http://cpluhna.nau.edu/Biota/merriam.htm> (accessed Apr. 3, 2009).
 - 141 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 1891, 377; and C. H. Merriam and J. N. Rose, "Plants of the Pribilof Islands, Bering Sea," *Biological Society of Washington, Proceedings*, 7: 133–50.
 - 142 "Fur Seal's Probable Fate; How It May Be Averted—Leading Expert on Seal Life States The Case—Both Nations Are At Fault—First Step In Remedy To Wipe Out Private Interests," *Congressional Globe*, Apr. 12, 1894, in U.S. Congress, House, *Seal Islands of Alaska*, 62nd Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 93, 558–63. The *Congressional Globe* ran from 1833 to 1873, when it was replaced by the *Congressional Record*.
 - 143 "Fur Seal's Probable Fate," *The Globe*, 559.
 - 144 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 12.
 - 145 Trevor Kincaid, "Harriman Alaska Expedition," *Mazama* 2 (Apr. 1901): 70–74.
 - 146 Johnson and Brown, *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, 490–91.
 - 147 "Senator John F. Miller" (obituary), *New York Times*, Mar. 9, 1886, 2.
 - 148 Robert Glass Cleland, Biography Resource Center, Galenet, 2003. For a complete outline history of the Alaska Commercial Company see the Molly Lee section of Nelson H. H. Graburn, Molly Lee, and Jean-Loup Rousselot, *Catalogue Raisonne of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1996), 19–38. The California Historical Society in San Francisco has the company minute books; other records are at the Green Library, Special Collections Department, Stanford University.
 - 149 U.S. Congress, House, *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. no. 83, 46.
 - 150 Certificate of Death no. 220, State of California, County of San Diego. The authors visited Mt. Hope Cemetery in Mar. 2009. Although the Cemetery's records show the approximate location of Miller's gravesite, the authors with the assistance of the cemetery personnel were unable to locate the specific gravesite of Norman B. Miller.
 - 151 Louise Pecquet du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, vol. 4 (Lynchburg, VA, 1907), 353–7; U.S. Censuses, 1850–80; and Berkely County Historical Society, Martinsburg, WV (President Don C. Wood provided documents regarding the Norman Briscoe Miller family, June 28 and Aug. 16, 2004); and Norman B. Miller and Juliet Baker Briscoe pedigree charts by Larry D. Rickertsen, http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/AF/pedigree_view.asp?recid=45349203&familyid (accessed June 15, 2004).
 - 152 "Naturalist Miller Dead," Death Notice Norman Briscoe Miller, *San Diego Union*, Apr. 3, 1897, 1.
 - 153 "Alfred and Elma Milotte; Cinematographers," *Los Angeles Times*, Apr. 28, 1989, 26.
 - 154 Ibid; and Washington State Death Index, Ancestry.com.
 - 155 "Alfred and Elma Milotte; Cinematographers," *Los Angeles Times*, Apr. 28, 1989, 26.

- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Internet Movie Data Base, [http://www.imdb.com/Seal Island](http://www.imdb.com/Seal_Island) (accessed May 24, 2009); and "About Us," Milotte Scholarship Fund, <http://www.milotte.org> (accessed May 24, 2009). The film *Seal Island* is available on VHS tape from Disney Educational Productions, Teacher's Store.
- 158 "Alfred G. Milotte," Biography Resource Center, Narrative Biographies, Galenet.
- 159 A. H. Weiler, "By Way of Report," *New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1948, 15.
- 160 *Seal Island*, film, 27 min., directed by James Algar, produced by Winston Hibler (Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Studios, 1948), http://www.dvdtalk.com/interviews/roy_disney_on_t.html (accessed May 24, 2009).
- 161 Biographical sketch provided by Larry Mercurieff via email to John Lindsay, Jan. 13, 2007.
- 162 The King Eider Hotel is located within the old village area on St. Paul Island. It was condemned in 2005/2006 and no longer serves a useful purpose, much to the dismay of some local community members who see this and other historic buildings disappearing in the Seal Islands National Historic Landmark District.
- 163 Biographical sketch provided by Larry Mercurieff via email to John Lindsay, Jan. 13, 2007.
- 164 U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications 1906–1925, NARA microfilm publication M1490, no. 450779, June 27, 1924; U.S. Census, 1900, San Francisco, CA, 9A; and "Norman Daniel Morgan," <http://trees.ancestry.com/owt/person.aspx?pid=154849089>.
- 165 Lewis Francis Byington, ed., *The History of San Francisco* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1931), 460–4.
- 166 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 60–63.
- 167 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 66. Morton's deposition stated that during 1877–78 he was both Agent-in-Charge and Special Treasury agent.
- 168 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 471–3 and 487–8.
- 169 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 66.
- 170 Ibid., 71.
- 171 John Muir National Historic Site, 4202 Alhambra Avenue, Martinez, CA, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/sontag/muir.htm (accessed May 24, 2009); and <http://www.nps.gov/history/museum/exhibits/jomu/family.html> (accessed May 24, 2009).
- 172 Johnson and Brown, ed., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 7, 527.
- 173 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, May 23, 1881, 216.
- 174 John Muir, *The Cruise of the Corwin* (Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 1917), 19–23. Transcribed from Muir's journal of his experiences upon the USRC *Corwin* while on an Arctic expedition in search of American naval officer George W. DeLong and the USS *Jeannette*, lost in 1877.
- 175 H. A. Crafts, "The Late Joseph Murray," *Ft. Collins Courier*, Oct. 13, 1898, 4, col. 3.
- 176 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1898, 325 and 375; and U.S. Census, 1880.
- 177 Crafts, "The Late Joseph Murray."
- 178 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 71.
- 179 Crafts, "The Late Joseph Murray."
- 180 The statement cited by Crowley and Murray from p. 32 of the British Commissioner's report (Her Majesty's Stationary Office. No. 3. Behring Sea Arbitration. Counter-Case Presented on the Part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to the Tribunal of Arbitration Constituted Under Article I of the Treaty Concluded at Washington on the 29th February, 1892, Between Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America. London: Harrison and Sons, Mar. 1893, 32.) was not found by the present authors.
- 181 Joseph B. Crowley and Joseph Murray, "Letter to Secretary of Treasury, J. G. Carlisle (May 3, 1894)," U.S. Congress, House, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., Ex. Doc. no. 207, 2–3, in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906).
- 182 Her Majesty's Stationary Office, Counter-Case Presented on the Part of the Government, 293.
- 183 Crowley and Murray, "Letter to Secretary of Treasury," 3.
- 184 "Report of Acting Special Agent D. J. Ainsworth, June 3, 1893," in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 416–7.
- 185 "Assistant Agent [Joseph] Murray, Report for 1893, Nov. 1, 1893," in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 425–6.
- 186 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1894, 258–61.

N

NETSVETOV, IAKOV (1804–1864)

Born and raised on St. George Island

First Native Alaskan Russian Orthodox Priest

Genealogy

The historical record provided sufficient circumstantial evidence to Russian-American historian Dr. Lydia Black to conclude that Iakov Netsvetov was born on St. George Island in 1804.¹ Iakov was the son of Egor (Georgii) Vasil'evhich Netsvetov and Mariia, his common-law wife, from Atkha. The couple legally wed on July 5, 1807.² Egor and Mariia had two daughters, Elena and Mariia, and three sons, Iakov, Osip, and Anton.³ Circa 1826,⁴ Iakov Netsvetov married Anna (Semeonovna?), a Russian from the Irkutsk area, born in 1808.⁵ Anna died March 19, 1836, in Sitka at age 28 of uterine cancer. Iakov died July 26, 1864, also in Sitka.⁶ The couple had no children.⁷

Biographical Sketch

Born and raised on St. George Island, Iakov Netsvetov was one of the most influential Creole contributors to the Unangan entry into New World culture. Iakov Netsvetov's father, Egor, was an employee of the Russian-American Company (RAC) who eventually rose in rank to become the RAC *baidarshchik* (the head of an iqyaḡ hunting party)⁸ on St. George Island. Iakov lived with his family on St. George until he was about nineteen. When his father retired and moved the family to Irkutsk, Russia, Iakov studied at the theological seminary there. Archbishop Mikhail of Irkutsk purportedly groomed the young Iakov; in 1826 he was made deacon at the Irkutsk Trinity St. Peter Church, and in 1828 he became the Atkha (Atka, among the Aleutian Islands) District parish priest.⁹ While in the Atkha District he was confronted by RAC District Manager Petr Egorovich Chistiakov, who opposed interracial marriages and presumably the elevated social status enjoyed by Creoles. RAC management dissuaded Chistiakov from pursuing his preju-

dice,¹⁰ and Father Netsvetov assumed jurisdiction over the RAC's school at Atkha. By 1841, Father Netsvetov had converted it to a church-run school. Among his students was Innokentii Shaiashnikov (Shaiashnikoff),¹¹ who in 1848 became the first full-time resident priest on St. Paul Island.

Father Netsvetov led an intellectually and physically active life. He collected and prepared fish and marine mammal specimens for the museums at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and he co-developed with Father Ioann (Ivan) Veniaminov, who served the church at Unalashka, an Aleut script that included the various Unangan dialects.¹² Netsvetov also contributed to Veniaminov's ethnography of the Aleuts. Separate from Father Veniaminov, Netsvetov translated into Aleut the Gospels and various sermons, among other writings. He also instructed the Aleut community in church music.¹³

After the death of his wife, Father Netsvetov took monastic vows. In December 1844, he accepted a missionary assignment to the Yukon, accompanied by Innokentii Shaiashnikov, Konstantin Lukin, and a nephew, Vasilii Netsvetov.¹⁴ Dr. Lydia Black wrote:

Thus Netsvetov, no longer young . . . learned new languages, created yet another script, built another Church, and another Orthodox community. For close to twenty years, until his health and eyesight failed him, he continued to build the foundation of Orthodoxy in Native Alaska. Finally, in 1863, he was relieved and brought back to Sitka.¹⁵

Father Iakov Netsvetov kept journals during his vocation in the Aleutians and the Yukon that are conserved within the Alaska Church Division, Library of Congress, in the archives of the Diocese of Sitka and Alaska, and at St. Herman's Theological Seminary, Kodiak.¹⁶

Father Netsvetov was buried at the entrance to Holy Trinity Church, a Tlingit church, at Sitka. This church no longer exists.¹⁷

NETTLETON, STILES RUST (1876–1942)

Special Agent, Treasury Department, 1889–1890

Treasury Agent, St. Paul Island, 1890–1891

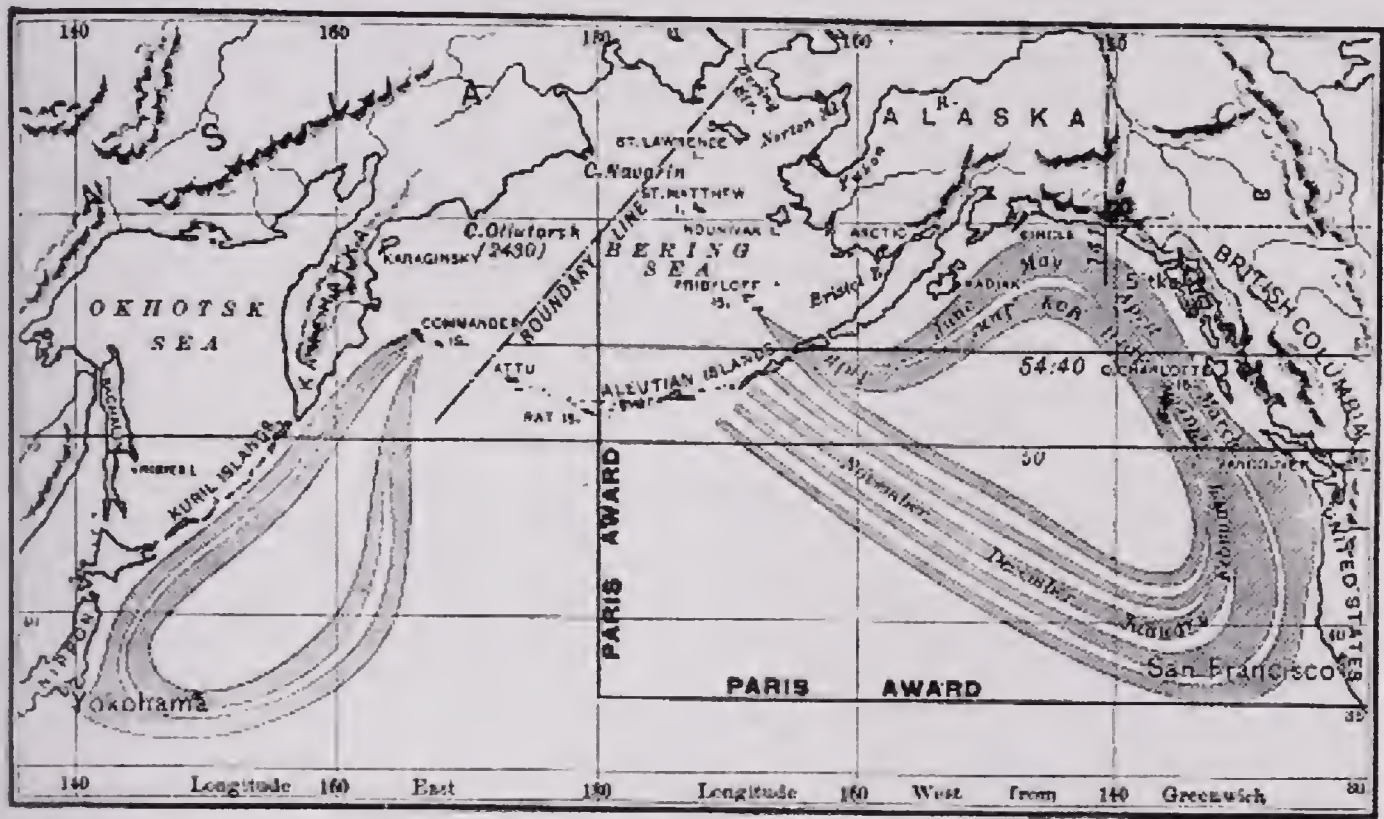
Treasury Agent, St. George Island, 1891–1892

Genealogy

Stiles Rust Nettleton was born on August 9, 1876, in Glyndon, Clay County, Minnesota, to Stiles Rust Nettleton and Almeda Online (Milles) Nettleton. The younger Stiles Nettleton married Dott Edith Edna Knowlton on November 22, 1908, in Tacoma, Washington. The couple had four children: John Stiles, Dott Edith, Leof Marie, and Katherine Online. Stiles Nettleton died May 18, 1942, at San de Fuca,¹⁸ Whidbey Island, Island County, Washington.¹⁹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Stiles Nettleton provided his deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on July 9, 1892, before Notary Public A. T. McCargar at Seattle, Washington. The following is an excerpt:



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE AMERICAN HERD DURING EVERY MONTH IN THE YEAR.

Map showing the Location of the American Seal Herd During Every Month of the Year. (Henry Loomis Nelson, "The Passing of the Fur-Seal," 463.)

My place of residence since May, 1891, has been Seattle, Washington. For a period of nineteen years prior to that date I was resident of the State of Minnesota. My occupation was that of a real estate and investment broker. In the autumn of 1889 I went to the island of St. Paul, one of the Pribilof group, as a special agent of the Treasury Department. In August, 1890, I returned to the States and stayed until the spring of 1891, when I returned to said island of St. Paul. I remained there during the months of June and July of that year, and was then transferred to the island of St. George, where I remained until June, 1892.²⁰

Newspaper Story

After Stiles Nettleton arrived home in July 1892, he was interviewed by the *New York Times* about the scarcity of seals on the Pribilof Islands and about his experiences as a Seal Islands agent.

Seattle, Washington, July 14 – S.R. Nettleton, who for two seasons has been special agent of the Treasury Department on the Pribilof Islands, has arrived in this city having come down from Bering Sea on the *Albatross*, the ship of the United States Fish Commission. Mr. Nettleton's knowledge of the sealing business, and of the situation at the two great rookeries, or breeding places, of the seal in the Bering Sea, is full and exact, for he spent one year as the Government's agent at St. Paul, and his second year as the agent at St. George. He left the islands on June 10, and he says that up to the time of his departure but few seals had made their appearance.

As a rule, the rookeries are pretty well occupied by the first week in June, but this year so few seals had come that the place was practically deserted. The winter, however, has been unusually backward, and everything is behind; so it may be that later the seals will come along as usual. The vessels of the Government fleet were instructed to take particular notice of the presence of seals in the waters of the Pacific Ocean between Cape Flattery and the Aleutian Islands. In making the cruise each vessel was assigned a certain route, so that

a large area of the North Pacific was covered, and without exception the reports from the vessels show that the seals are uncommonly scarce. None at all are seen west of Kadiak [sic] Island, a fact considered by seal experts as remarkable.

In speaking of the matter Mr. Nettleton says: There is no disguising the truth that the seals are rapidly disappearing. The Alaska Commercial Company, which once had the lease of the business on the islands, was allowed to kill 100,000 annually, but two years ago the North American Commercial Company, which secured the lease at that time, was restricted to 60,000. In that year, however, the company could find but 32,000 seals. Last year, according to an agreement with Great Britain, but 7,500 were to be killed as food for the natives. How many there will be this season I cannot tell, though, as I have said, the indications are not promising.

The only way I can account for the disappearance of the animals is their destruction by the sealers in the North Pacific and Bering Sea. During the last few years the raids on the rookeries have taken but few animals, but the sealing fleet, which now numbers 122 vessels, follows the seals along the coast of California, Oregon, and Washington, across from the Straits of Fuca to Unimak Pass and into Bering Sea killing thousands of them, the females heavy with young are slower and clumsier than the males and spend more time in resting on the surface of the water. Thus it happens that these are more likely than any others of the herd to fall a prey to the sealers, and each slaughter of a mother means the death of two seals.

When the pups are born at the rookeries the mothers leave them after a few days to go to the fishing grounds for food. The poachers watch for the mothers on these trips, and when the female is killed the little pup dies on the rocks of St. Paul or St. George.

If the sealers are put out of Bering Sea by the United States, they will yet remain in the North Pacific Ocean to carry on the work of destruction. The only way they can be put off the ocean is by an international agreement. Before such an arrangement as that is reached I fear that all the seals will be killed.

In speaking of the islands Mr. Nettleton said: The weather is unpleasant there because a heavy fog prevails nearly all the time. I suppose that we do not have more than thirty clear days in the course of a whole year. The climate is not severe, for during my first Winter, when I was at St. Paul Island, the thermometer only went to 9 degrees above zero on our coldest day, but last Winter, on St. George, the temperature fell to 11 degrees below.

There are now about 200 natives, Aleuts, on St. Paul and 100 on St. George. They are peaceful and inoffensive people. During my residence on the islands I was the sole representative of law and authority, and yet I had no difficulty whatever in maintaining order. The Aleuts there are not so debauched and diseased as the natives on the mainland of Alaska, and still they are very fond of a vile beer they brew. We have had to restrict the amount of sugar and molasses they buy, for they will use these materials for making their beer.²¹

Mrs. Nettleton taught school on St. George during her husband's tenure as an assistant agent.²²

NIEBAUM (NYBOM), GUSTAVE (GUSTAF) FERDINAND (1842–1908)

*Ship Captain and Owner**Vice-President, Alaska Commercial Company**President, Alaska Commercial Company, 1902–1908**President, Niebaum Vineyard**President, Alaska Packers Association*²³Genealogy

Gustave Ferdinand Nybom (Niebaum) was born on August 31, 1842, at Helsingfors (now Helsinki), Finland to Gustaf Nybom, “a police official of Swedish and Baltic-German stock,”²⁴ and Anna Johanna (Nyman) Nybom (b. circa 1909; m. November 18, 1838). Gustaf Nybom died August 24, 1846 of *lungsot* (tuberculosis).²⁵ According to biographer Wilson Fiske Erskine, Nybom changed the spelling of his name to the German “Niebaum” because he thought it appeared more American and German Jewish and would make a more positive impression upon businessmen Louis Sloss, Louis Gerstle, and August Wasserman, with whom Nybom negotiated his terms for what would become the Alaska Commercial Company.²⁶



*Gustaf F. Nybom. (Gun-Marie Wiis/
Swedish Finn Historical Society.)*

Biographer Erskine makes a telling observation about Niebaum’s rise from social ignorance:

Niebaum had been born in Helsingfors when Finland was a semi-independent Grand Duchy. He was a descendant of people known for their aggressiveness, hardihood, independence of spirit, and avoidance of Jews. When he discovered that a considerable portion of the financial district of San Francisco was peopled by Jews, he was at first skeptical about approaching any of them. In later years he laughed about this and admitted that he knew nothing about them aside from traditions from his home country.²⁷

Niebaum had one son, Alexander Alexis, or “Nick,” born in Alaska in April 1865. Gustave’s wife died while Nick was very young, so when Nick was about 15, his father “gave the youth into custody of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre [Superintendent, Alaska Commercial Company on St. Paul Island] to bring him to Vermont. Nick attended the local high school in Vermont, and later the University of Vermont and Princeton.”²⁸

In 1873 Niebaum was married a second time, to German-American Suzanne Shingleberger (aka Susan and Susie; died March 1936),²⁹ daughter of William Francis Shingleberger and Leah Frances (Stevens) Shingleberger of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Gustave Niebaum died August 5, 1908.³⁰ Gustave and Susan had no children; five years after Gustave’s death, Susan Niebaum assumed responsibility for her brother’s children.³¹

Biographical Sketch

After graduating in 1858 from a gymnasium, Europe's equivalent of an American high school, Gustave Nybom became a cabin boy on a Russian-American Company ship sailing to Alaska.³² He enrolled in Helsinki's Nautical Institute after returning home, and graduated from the institute at nineteen. He secured his master's papers and in 1864, at the age of twenty-two, commanded a ship also in the service of the Russian-American Company sailing to Alaska.³³ Nybom became a citizen of the United States under the provisions of Article III of the Treaty of Cession,³⁴ and during that time he changed the spelling of his name to "Niebaum."

Gustave Niebaum became a multimillionaire as a result of his Pribilof Islands business dealings. He applied this wealth and his business acumen to fulfilling his dreams. In 1880, for \$48,000, Gustave and Suzanne purchased the Inglenook, a marginally successful sanitarium and vineyard in Rutherford, California, in the Napa Valley, along with numerous adjacent parcels of land totaling 1,000 acres. Gustave's intention for the property was to own a world-class winery. He hired Hamden McIntyre, an engineer who built the Pribilof Islands sealing plant and who also had extensive viticulture experience. In 1881, McIntyre became Inglenook's first resident general manager; he proceeded to design and construct the estate's first winery and cellars. Within this outstanding physical plant, "Niebaum aged his wine more than his competitors, and he pioneered estate bottling. Instead of selling his wine to wholesalers in bulk (casks), as was the custom, he sold only 'in glass.' Every bottle bore his distinctive label and logo, plus a branded cork secured with wire."³⁵

In 1964, Niebaum's heirs sold the Inglenook estate to United Vintners, who subsequently sold to Alcoholic Beverages of Heublein, Inc. In 1975, filmmaker Francis Ford Coppola purchased the Niebaum home and a small portion of the vineyard, but the larger Inglenook vineyard remained with Heublein. Both Coppola and Heublein offered wine collections named after Gustave Niebaum.³⁶ By the 1990s, Francis Ford Coppola and his wife Eleanor had acquired the entire Niebaum estate and winery and formed the Niebaum-Coppola Estate Winery, Napa Valley, California. In 2008, under the Rubicon label, the Coppolas continue to follow Niebaum's dream of a world-class winery.

Because he treated the winery as a hobby and not a business, Niebaum never profited from it.³⁷

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Gustave Niebaum provided his deposition, excerpted below, to the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 13, 1892, before Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California.

I am 50 years old, a resident of San Francisco and a merchant and ship owner.

I was born in Helsingfors, Finland, and became an American citizen by the transfer of Alaska to the United States. I entered the service of the Russian-American Commercial [sic] Company in 1858, and was in command of one of their vessels from 1866 until the cession of Alaska to the United States. I am, and have been for several years past, vice-president and a director of the Alaska Commercial Company, and a member of the firm of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., the former lessees, respectively, of the Alaska and Siberian sealeries.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

State of District of Columbia
County of Washington

I, Gustave Niebaum, do swear that I was born in
Finland, on or about the 29th day
of Aug 1842, that I am a ~~NATURAL~~ AND LOYAL CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, and about to
travel abroad, becoming a citizen of the U. S. under the 3^d
Article of the Treaty of Mich. 30, 1867, between the U. S. & Russia.

Sworn to before me, this 3^d day
of Decr. 1870

G. Niebaum

Thos. C. Cox
Notary Public
Passport Clerk

I, H. H. McIntyre, do swear that I am acquainted
with the above-named Gustave Niebaum and with the facts stated by him, and
that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sworn to before me, this 3^d day
of Decr. 1870.

H. H. McIntyre

Thos. C. Cox
Notary Public

Description of Gustave Niebaum

Age: 28 years.
Stature: 6 feet, $\frac{1}{2}$ inches Eng.
Forehead: Medium
Eyes: grayish blue
Nose: Rather large

Mouth: Medium
Chin: bearded
Hair: light brown
Complexion: flourid
Face: full

I, Gustave Niebaum, do solemnly swear that I will support,
protect, and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic
or foreign; and that I will bear true faith, allegiance, and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution, or law
of any State, Convention, or Legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; and further, that I do this with a full
determination, pledge, and purpose, without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever; and further, that I will
well and faithfully perform all the duties which may be required of me by law. So help me God.

Sworn to before me, this 3^d day
of Decr. 1870

G. Niebaum

Thos. C. Cox

Five dollar tax, as imposed by law, will be required, in United States Currency, with each application.
When husband, wife, minor children, and servants expect to travel together, a single passport for the whole will suffice.
For any other person in the party a separate passport will be required.

In these various positions the care and management of seal rookeries and system and methods of killing seals and curing and transporting their skins to market has been my study. I visited the Pribilof Islands in 1867 and had charge of seal killing there in 1868 and 1869. When the Alaska Commercial Company obtained the lease in 1870, of the right to take seals for their skins, I instructed the superintendent and agents of the company in regard to the way in which the work should be done, and outlined to them the policy to be pursued in the future.³⁸

Pribilof Islands Experience

Gustave Nybom was in Victoria, British Columbia, during the winter of 1866, when news of the possible Alaska purchase first appeared in newspapers. He returned to Sitka the next spring and resigned his position with the Russian-American Company. With four of his old comrades he formed a business called Hansen, Nybom & Co. which included partners Alexander Hansen and O. Osche.³⁹ In 1885, he recalled:

We prepared ourselves for sea as soon as we could and left there in November sometime. Went to the westward for the purpose of landing on the Seal Islands. We landed on St. Pauls' [sic] Island after a good deal of trouble and marched ashore in a snow storm on Christmas Eve [1867].⁴⁰ Up to that date it had been considered impossible to sail there as late in the season as that. I had taken the trouble to inform myself on this point the year previous and found it was possible to reach there by that time. We made arrangements immediately on landing there to establish a trading post and leave a man in charge and commence sealing operations for the coming season. We succeeded in getting about 10,000 seal skins and left them and went to Ounalaska and established a trading post there. From there I went to Unga and from there San Francisco.⁴¹

"The documents on file in the Customs House of San Francisco report the entry of the brig *Constantine* of 122.57 register tons,⁴² on March 2, 1867 . . . Captain Gustave Ferdinand Nybom owner."⁴³ Nybom and the *Constantine* arrived at the docks of San Francisco on March 2, 1867, after first acquiring the sealskins from the Pribilof Islands prior to the formal acquisition of the territory by the Americans. The brig was laden with valuable cargo including "land and pelagic seal furs, pickled salmon, hides, etc. The cargo represented a cross section of the products that had attracted the Russians to North America one hundred years or more before. . . . Surviving records show the combined value of sea otter, seal, fox, ermine and other skins, and numerous casks of salted and pickled fish to be approximately \$600,000.00, an imposing sum and a sizeable sample."⁴⁴

Gustave Nybom returned to the Pribilofs in 1868 with great expectations for securing more windfall profits but learned that others had landed on the islands with the same intentions. The times must have been particularly stressful for the Aleuts who were expected to undertake the harvesting for these piratical entrepreneurs, although reportedly the Natives were paid for their labor (about 35 cents per sealskin). Nybom, at six feet two and a half inches and of Viking bearing,⁴⁵ proved himself a formidable adversary. He purchased 132,000 pelts on St. Paul and 65,000 on St. George.⁴⁶ The competition waned in 1869 through successful lobbying by Hayward Hutchinson to have the islands controlled by the U.S. Department of War and the Treasury Department. Niebaum, formerly Nybom, became a significant shareholder, along with Hayward Hutchinson, in the Alaska Commercial Company.⁴⁷

NOYES, DR. LUMAN A. (B. 1840)

Physician, Alaska Commercial Company, St. George Island, 1880–1883 and 1885–1889

Physician, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1883–1884

Acting Assistant Treasury Agent, St. George Island, 1886–1887

Physician, North American Commercial Company, St. George Island, 1890–1905

Genealogy

Luman A. Noyes was born on January 26, 1840, in Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, to Stephen Noyes and Julia A. (Gushia) Noyes. He enlisted as an assistant surgeon with the Union Army in April 1863 and served for one month. Luman Noyes and Louise R. Boyle were married in 1865, at Chelsea, Vermont, and settled in Randolph, Vermont. Luman and Louise had two daughters, Blanch and Anna, both born in Vermont.⁴⁸

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Luman Noyes deposed before the Tribunal of Arbitration on June 11, 1892, before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. George Island, Alaska. Excerpts follow:

I am a native American, and my home is in Randolph, VT. I am 52 years of age and a physician by profession.

In 1880 I entered the service of the lessees of the Pribilof Islands as resident physician at the seal islands, and I have resided here continuously ever since, excepting an occasional visit to my home, for a few months in winter, once or twice since 1880.

From June 1880 to August 1883, I was on St. George and from 1883 to 1884 I was on St. Paul Island. I then returned to St. George, where I have resided ever since. . . .

In addition to my services as physician, I have occasionally taught the school on St. George, and I have kept the books and accounts for many years for the lessees on the same island . . . and I acted as assistant special agent.

In winter the islands are sometimes surrounded by broken ice, which comes from the north, and it will come and go with the tide and currents, generally from January to April, but occasionally remaining later, and again not appearing at all.

The most experienced men do the skinning, and after them come the women and children who carry off the carcasses for food, and the fat or blubber for winter fuel.⁴⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

In 1883, Assistant Treasury Agent J. P. Manchester had hired on with the understanding of Acting Secretary of the Treasury Charles S. Fairchild that he could return home at the end of the sealing season on St. George Island. Likewise, Agent-in-Charge George Tingle and Assistant Agent-in-Charge T. F. Ryan, also on St. George, had intended to take leave at the end of the 1883 season, but Agent Tingle had not the authority to grant or deny leave.⁵⁰

In the dilemma and without any authority of law, but relying on the authority contained in your letter of April 30. . . . I appointed Dr. L.A. Noyes, a Democrat in politics, acting assistant Treasury agent, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and

placed him in charge of St. George Island. Dr. Noyes is the Alaska Commercial Company's physician on this island, and was an applicant for the vacant assistant Treasury agency at the time Mr. Manchester was appointed. His application, he informs me, was indorsed by, among others, Hon. B.B. Smalley and Hon. Hiram Atkins, of Vermont.

I regard it as a fortunate circumstance that a proper and available man was here whom I could secure to go to St. George and assume the duties of the office, as it will not do to leave the islands without someone whom the natives are accustomed to call "the Government." I therefore hope my action in the premises will be approved and that some authority of law will be found to pay Dr. Noyes for his services until he is relieved from duty by the return of the absent Treasury agents or the order of the Secretary of the Treasury.⁵¹

Congressman Foster of Vermont submitted consideration for Noyes' claim, which stated in part:

Dr. Noyes reluctantly accepted the appointment, for he had been eighteen months away from home. The appointment was made in due form and he took the oath of office. He removed from St Paul to St. George and performed duty from August 1, 1886, to June 1, 1887, a period of ten months, which at \$2,190 per annum (\$6 per day), the regular pay of Treasury agents at that time, would amount to \$1,819, no part of which sum he has ever received.⁵²

Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre sent several letters justifying and urging the government to make good on its agent's promise to pay Dr. Noyes for providing government oversight



Standing, left to right: Schoolmaster William D. J. Ainsworth; Joseph Crowley; (?); Joseph Murray; (?); Joseph Stanley-Brown; and Dr. Noyes, outside Government House, St. Paul Island. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC263, neg. 034957.)



Dr. Noyes (center) and Harry D. Chichester (right), playing cribbage with beautiful bone cribbage boards. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC265, neg. 034958.)

on St. George Island. McIntyre's letter also related Dr. Noyes' reluctance yet his sense of duty to accept Agent Tingle's call for help.

He accepted Mr. Tingle's offer very reluctantly, and did so only upon his [Tingle's] assurance that he would surely be paid by the Department for his service. In giving this assurance, Mr. Tingle relied upon the precedent established in 1870, when Special Treasury Agent Charles Bryant appointed Samuel Falconer acting assistant agent in the same place where Dr. Noyes was afterwards stationed and under similar circumstances. In this case the appointment of Mr. Falconer was recognized by the Department as a necessity, and he was duly paid for his services.⁵³

The issue of Dr. Noyes' pay received considerable attention, with supporters, detractors, and attorneys weighing in on the question over at least a five-year period. Legal counsel opined several times, as exemplified by Treasury Acting Solicitor F. A. Reeve:

The appointment, though irregular, could now be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury if, in the first instance, he had the authority of law to make the same. . . .

Section 1760, Revised Statutes, directs that "No money shall be paid from the Treasury to any person acting or assuming to act as an officer, civil, military, or existing law, unless such office is subsequently sanctioned by law."⁵⁴

Reeve, like others, regretfully concluded that Dr. Noyes could not be paid by the government.⁵⁵ The last correspondence the present authors examined on the matter, dated February 14, 1893, came from Acting Treasury Secretary O. L. Spaulding, who supported the introduction of legislation (H.R. 8756) to provide Dr. Noyes with his just due as Acting Assistant Treasury Agent during 1886–1887.⁵⁶

Following his temporary duty as Acting Assistant Agent on St. George Island, Dr. Noyes continued his position as physician on St. George with the Alaska Commercial Company. In 1890, he joined the new island lessee on St. George, the North American Commercial Company, which he served until his resignation in August 1905.⁵⁷

-
- 1 Iakov Netsvetov, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years, 1828–1844*, ed. Lydia T. Black (Kingston, ON: Brown & Martin, 1980), xvi.
 - 2 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 380.
 - 3 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xvi and xviii, and Pierce, *Russian America*, 380, disagree on the number of children born to the couple. The editor, Dr. Lydia Black concluded the couple had only four surviving children, including one daughter, Elena, whereas Pierce stated that they had two daughters, who were married and eventually resided at Sitka.
 - 4 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xix.
 - 5 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, 332.
 - 6 Ibid., 382.
 - 7 Ibid., xv–xix.
 - 8 Katerina G. Solovjova and Aleksandra A. Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush* (Anchorage: Phenix), 339, defined “*baidarshchik*” as the leader of a baidarka or iqyaʔ hunting party, whereas Pierce, *Russian America*, 380, suggested that a “*baidarshchik*” was the leader of a hunting party regardless of whether the hunting was conducted on land or on the water. The authors make the assumption that Netsvetov was referred to as a *baidarshchik* for his role in land-harvesting seals, as they did not find any reference to seal hunting from an iqyaʔ on the Pribilofs. Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, eds., *The End of Russian America: Captain P. N. Golovin’s Last Report, 1862* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1979), 231, defined the term as “owner or skilled steersman of a baidara; overseer of a crew or group of baidaras.”
 - 9 Pierce, *Russian America*, 381.
 - 10 Ibid.
 - 11 Ibid.
 - 12 Dr. Lydia Black, in Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xxi; and Pierce, *Russian America*, 382.
 - 13 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xxi–xxii.
 - 14 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xxiv; and Pierce, *Russian America*, 382.
 - 15 Netsvetov, *The Journals*, xxiv.
 - 16 Pierce, *Russian America*, 383.
 - 17 Ibid.
 - 18 San de Fuca was a small town on the shore of Penn’s Cove, Whidbey Island, Washington, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the town no longer exists. <http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/Wm3QXR> (accessed May 23, 2009).
 - 19 Bruce Kemp, “Kemp/Self lines,” Ancestry.com. A group of developers changed the name of Coveland at the head of Penn’s Cove, Whidbey Island, to San de Fuca in 1888, “because of its proximity to the Straits of Juan de Fuca.” “Island County—Thumbnail History,” http://historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=7523 (accessed Jan 26, 2009).
 - 20 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the*

- jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 74.
- 21 "Seals Becoming Scarce," *New York Times*, July 15, 1892, 9.
 - 22 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898) vol. 1, 270 and 271.
 - 23 Wilson Fiske Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," *Explorers Journal* 49, no. 3 (1962): 12, wrote "Pioneers in the salmon canning industry was one of Niebaum's ideas, an idea still going strong today." Niebaum wrote: "We expect to have 15,000 cans of salmon this year. Last year we had four thousand cans and the fish were very good indeed. . . . I employ Chinese labor. We took them up there from here [San Francisco]. We couldn't rely on the natives. . . . There are only two canneries up there one of which I happen to be the president of. It is located at Ecciluder" [sic; Excelsior, in Akutan Pass, NE of Unalaska]. Gustave Niebaum statement, "Sealing in Alaska," 1884, Bancroft Library, H. H. Bancroft Coll., Bancroft MSS (non-circulating), microfilm bneg 114: 7, P-K32, 50–2. [Note: bneg 114: 7, P-K32 is a handwritten citation provided by the Bancroft Library archivist. http://berkeley.worldcat.org/oclc/25912055&referer=brief_results (accessed Apr. 9, 2009) cited BANC MSS P-K, 32 positive microfilm, range box P-K, 23–32.]
 - 24 Richard H. Dillon, "American National Biography Online," <http://www.anb.org/update.html> (accessed Jan. 6, 2003).
 - 25 The Genealogical Society of Finland, HisKi project, <http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski/1tyy7p?en+0084+kastetut+20212> (accessed Aug. 10, 2009).
 - 26 Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," 7 and 11; but according to <http://www.niebaum-coppola.com/timeline> (accessed Apr. 7, 2009), Gustave Nybom changed his name to Niebaum in 1873, after formalizing his business relationships with the ACC. A similar perspective was offered by K-G Olin, "The Cabin Boy who became a Millionaire, Part Two," *The Swedish Finn Historical Society Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1998): 44.
 - 27 Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," 11.
 - 28 Luther B. Johnson, *Eighty Years of It 1869–1949* (Randolph, VT: Haggett, 1949), 135. Alexander Alexis Niebaum died Feb. 21, 1943 at Randolph, Vermont (Standard Certificate of Death, State of Vermont, State File no. 81 issued July 27, 2009, Assistant Town Clerk, Randolph, Vermont).
 - 29 Shingleberger's given name was Suzanne; <http://www.familysearch.org> cited Suzanne, although she was also called "Susie" (U.S. Census, 1880, Household Record). However, most popular accounts refer to her as "Susan."
 - 30 Pierce, *Russian America*, 386; and Olin, "The Cabin Boy, Part Two," 45, gave Aug. 5, 1908, as the date of Niebaum's death.
 - 31 Steven Kolpan, *A Sense of Place* (NY: Routledge, 1999), 26, wrote that Mrs. Niebaum's brother, John, put his children in his sister's care after he became a widower; whereas Olin, "The Cabin Boy, Part Two," 45, stated that both Mrs. Niebaum's brother and his wife died during an epidemic and that together, Gustave and Susan Niebaum adopted their children.
 - 32 Olin, "The Cabin Boy," 12; and Kolpan, *A Sense of Place*, 20–21.
 - 33 Kolpan, *A Sense of Place*, 21.
 - 34 U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925, NARA microfilm publication M1490), passport no. 9141 issued Dec. 3, 1870.
 - 35 Richard H. Dillon, "Gustave Ferdinand Niebaum," American National Biography, <http://www.anb.org> (accessed Apr. 7, 2009); and Kolpan, *A Sense of Place*, 17–48.
 - 36 Olin, "The Cabin Boy, Part Two," 46. Olin apparently misspelled Heublein as "Heiblein."
 - 37 Kolpan, *A Sense of Place*, 47.
 - 38 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 76–77.
 - 39 Olin, "The Cabin Boy," 13.
 - 40 Niebaum recalled the event differently in his statement of 1884: "We landed on St. Paul's Island on the 17th of December of the same year [1867]. We had considerable difficulty landing there because it was under Russian control, but being an old employee of the company I was allowed to land and we established ourselves . . . there and then . . . we established two agents up there." Gustave Niebaum Statement, "Sealing in Alaska," 1884.
 - 41 Gustave Niebaum autobiographical statement, Sept. 22, 1885, Bancroft Library, H. H. Bancroft Coll., microfilm bneg 114: 8, P-K38, 7–9.
 - 42 Naval Officer Pavel Golovin listed the Russian ships in Russian America in 1860, including the brig

Velikii Kniza Konstantin as 170 tonnes; Dmytryshyn et al., *The End of Russian America*, 146. The vessel was built in Boston and purchased in 1840 at Valparaiso, Chile. Presumably this was the same vessel that Nybom bought from the Russian-American Company.

43 Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," 6.

44 Ibid., 10.

45 Ibid., 7.

46 Olin, "The Cabin Boy," 13.

47 Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," 7; and Olin, "The Cabin Boy," 13.

48 U.S. Censuses, 1850–1900; "American Civil War Soldiers Military Records," Ancestry.com (accessed Feb. 27, 2006); "Thomas Pierce of Charlestown, MA," <http://www.familysearch.org/eng/default.asp> (accessed Feb. 27, 2006); and "Richard L. Pierce," Ancestry.com (accessed Feb. 27, 2006).

49 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 79–80 and 82.

50 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 189.

51 Ibid.

52 U.S. Congress, House, "Committee on Claims recommend payment of Dr. L.A. Noyes for services rendered in the capacity of a quasi-Treasury agent on St. George Island during the winter of 1886–87," 57th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. 3150, Jan. 14, 1903, 2, in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906).

53 Ibid., 3.

54 Ibid., 3.

55 Ibid., 5.

56 Ibid., 1–6.

57 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 4, 1905, 252; and U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 80.



THE VILLAGE. ST PAUL'S ISLAND.
Looking south over the Village cove—July 17, 1872.

The Village. St. Paul's Island. Looking South over the Village Cove—July 17, 1872. Henry Wood Elliott, published in his 1873 Report on the Pribilof Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska.

O

OSGOOD, WILFRED HUDSON (1875–1947)

Member, 1914 Commission to Study Fur-Seal Herds on Pribilof Islands

Curator of Birds and Mammals, Field Museum of Natural History

Genealogy

Wilfred H. Osgood was born on December 8, 1875, at Rochester, New Hampshire, to Marion Hudson Osgood, a watchmaker, and his wife, Harriet Amanda (Hacker) Osgood. Wilfred was one of five siblings. The others were Alice (became Mrs. Alice Gay), C. Sumner, Hattibel, and Marion (married Kenneth Dowie). Wilfred Osgood died “after a short illness” at the Billings Memorial Hospital, Chicago, Illinois, June 20, 1947.¹



*Wilfred H. Osgood,
1927. (Library of
Congress, DN-0084171.)*

Biographical Sketch

The Osgood family left New Hampshire for California in 1883, while Wilfred was still a young boy. He received his education at Stanford University, where he majored in fishery science under David Starr Jordan. He graduated in 1899 and earned a PhD from the University of Chicago in 1918.

Dr. Osgood was a biologist with the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Biological Survey from 1897 to 1909 and had charge of the United States biological investigation in Alaska from 1899 to 1909. He left that position to become assistant curator and within twelve years he was chief curator in the Department of Zoology with the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, Illinois.

He was recognized as one of the country's leading zoologists, specializing in the field of mammals and also was a lexicographer and contributor to encyclopedias.²

Osgood was the author of 205 publications. He died in 1947.³



Murre colony on Walrus Island, Pribilof Islands, 1914. (Photo: Wilfred Osgood. California Academy of Sciences, G Dallas Hanna Coll., 71.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Wilfred Osgood was appointed by Secretary of Commerce William C. Redfield as one of a three-member scientific team representing the United States in 1914 to study the northern fur-seal herds. The other U.S. team members were George H. Parker of Harvard University and Edward A. Preble, Bureau of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture. The three men were nominated by prestigious institutions and selected by the government foremost because they had not been “in any way concerned with fur seals or the fur-seal controversy.” These men were directed “to ascertain the actual state of the Alaskan seal herd in 1914, and to make that con-

dition known to the department, with recommendations touching all important administrative matters growing out of the international, economic, and biological relations of the seal herd.”⁴ They proceeded as temporary special assistants of the Bureau of Fisheries to the Pribilof Islands in the summer of 1914 and were joined by James Macoun and B. W. Harmon of Canada and Dr. T. Kitahara of Japan.⁵ Osgood, Preble, and Parker published their findings in “The Fur Seals and Other Life of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska in 1914.”

The majority of the U.S. team’s report focused on Pribilof Islands fur seals and other wildlife, but fifteen pages spoke of the Aleut population on the islands, as directed by the Secretary of Commerce:



Wilfred Osgood inspecting a seal carcass on a St. Paul Island killing ground. (USUAFV6-45, Pribilof Islands Photographs, 1914, 1976-0063-00113, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

So as your other duties permit, I am particularly desirous that you should give attention to the native inhabitants and determine what changes, if any, should be made in the relations of the Government to their social, educational, sanitary, business, and other interests.⁶

Following are the conclusions drawn from “The Natives” section of the team’s report.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the people of the Pribilof Islands, though not natives, have for so long made the islands their home that they know and recognize no other. They are a people still in a state of semicivilization, and considering their limited environment they seem to be as well able to embrace its advantages and as successful in combating its disadvantages as is usual among such peoples. They constitute a heritage acquired by the United States with the islands and their valuable wild inhabitants, and considerations of economy and of humanity demand that they be accepted as such and managed with all possible wisdom and fairness. Many of the details of the present system of dealing with them are survivals of the past, and the conditions under which they developed are no longer existent. Many changes and improvements have been recommended by the agents and other officials, but in most cases they have not been accomplished, either on account of controversy, sudden and radical changes of régime, or small appropriations. Many changes in the methods of dealing with the natives seem to be necessary. Such changes should be instituted gradually, and in such a way that the native will be able to perceive their fairness and expediency. In some respects they deserve more liberal treatment; in others they must be dealt with more firmly. In their management a great deal will depend on the personality of the officials in charge.

The changes in methods which seem desirable have been pointed out in the foregoing pages. It is believed that the work necessary to put the sealing plan on an efficient basis and the resumption in the near future of commercial sealing, accompanied by a better system of compensation, and the opportunity of exchanging the reward of their labor according to their desires will help to make the native self-respecting and gradually lead to their betterment in many directions. By such course the people of the islands may become an entirely self-supporting, efficient, and happy community.⁷

Osgood and his team accomplished what Secretary Redfield had requested, but Redfield did not necessarily care to carry out all of their recommendations. The former Commissioner of the Fur-Seal Commission, Dr. David Starr Jordan, put forward his thoughts on Redfield’s stance.

Their carefully prepared report agreed in every respect with the findings of previous commissions, but Redfield paid no attention to its recommendations. I need go no further into these details. They afford but one more example of the failure of a certain class of officials to take advantage of expert knowledge.⁸

OTIS, HARRISON GRAY (1837–1917)

Special Agent, Department of the Treasury, 1879–1881

Editor/Owner, Los Angeles Daily Times

Genealogy

Harrison Gray Otis was the son of Stephen and Sarah Otis.

Brevet Lieut. Col. Harrison Gray Otis is the son of Stephen and Sarah [Dyer⁹] Otis, who were pioneer citizens of Ohio, and was born near Marietta [Ohio] February 10, 1837. In the year 1800 his father, at the age of sixteen, emigrated to the far West from Vermont



Harrison Gray Otis. (Courtesy of Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. Otis, Harrison Gray: 1, Portrait Coll.)

28, 1871, died 1955); and Esther (died 1875). Eliza Otis died November 12, 1904, at Los Angeles, California. Harrison G. Otis Sr. died July 30, 1917, at the age of 80, at Hollywood, Los Angeles, California.¹⁴

Biographical Sketch

Harrison Gray Otis received a “log-schoolhouse” education up to the age of fourteen, when he became a printer’s apprentice.¹⁵ He worked at this trade in various places. Soon after the start of the Civil War (aka “War of the Rebellion”), young Otis enrolled in the Union Army as a private with the Twelfth Ohio Volunteers. In 1864, he transferred to the Twenty-third Ohio Veteran Volunteers. Twice wounded in battle, he became a brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel.¹⁶

In 1867, Otis moved to Washington, D.C., where he became a government official and then a correspondent, editor, and foreman (1869–70) at the Government Printing Office. In 1876, he again moved his family, this time to California, where he assumed control of the *Santa Barbara Daily Press*.¹⁷ From 1879 to 1882 he was special agent-in-charge in the Seal Islands.

In 1882, Harrison Gray Otis took a position as editor of the *Los Angeles Daily Times* and *Weekly Mirror*, which he eventually purchased and renamed, as the Times-Mirror Company. He assumed the roles of president, general manager, editor, and publisher,¹⁸ and became one of the most influential men of California.

Otis bequeathed his Wilshire Boulevard home to the City of Los Angeles for use in the advancement of the arts. Until 1997, the site housed the Otis Art Institute (of Parsons School of Design¹⁹), now re-located to West Los Angeles and known as the Otis College of Art and Design.²⁰

and settled in the "Ohio Company's Purchase" at Marietta, then just emerging from the condition of a frontier "blockhouse" post. His mother was a native of Nova Scotia. . . .¹⁰

Mrs. Otis, who is a leading member of the [Los Angeles] *Times*' staff, was Miss Eliza A. Wetherby [Eliza Ann Weatherbee¹¹]. She married Mr. Otis at Lowell, Ohio, September 11, 1859. They have three daughters living: Mrs. Lilian [sic] Otis McPherron, of Redlands; Miss Marian Otis, secretary of the Times-Mirror Company, and Mrs. Mabel Otis Booth, of Berkeley, Cal.¹²

Harrison's wife, Eliza Wetherby, was born to Nancy Hyde and Charles Thomas Weatherbee on August 16, 1833, in Walpole, Cheshire County, New Hampshire.¹³ Harrison and Eliza had five children: Harrison Gray (born May 1861; died December 1861); Beulah Lillian (born September 22, 1864; died 1925); Emma Marian (born July 1, 1866; died September 8, 1952); Mabel (born May

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Harrison Otis deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 25, 1892, before Notary Public Frederick Harkness at Los Angeles, California. Following is an excerpt:

I am resident of this, the city of Los Angeles, California; am president of the Times-Mirror Company, and editor and manager of the Los Angeles Daily Times. I was special agent of the Treasury Department, in charge of the fur-seal islands of Alaska during the years 1879, 1880, and 1881, and had three assistant special agents stationed at the islands, acting under my directions. During these years I was present at the islands throughout each sealing season, having my headquarters on the island of St. Paul, and visiting the smaller island of St. George each season, and with my assistants personally superintended the catch of seals and the count and shipment of skins in each instance . . . during my term of service at the island I made careful and elaborate reports each year to the Secretary of the Treasury.²¹

Pribilof Islands Experience

Harrison Otis arrived at the Pribilof Islands on May 27, 1879, to serve as the Special Agent-in-Charge. He arrived aboard the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) steamship *St. Paul*, with assistant agents B. F. Scribner and John W. Beaman, husband of Elizabeth “Libby” Beaman.²² Otis was the agent whom Libby Beaman refused to identify in her diary, published years later by granddaughter Betty John under the title *Libby*. One of Libby’s first diary entries regarding the agent-in-charge says so, but doesn’t say why:

“Well, Beaman,” he [Otis] said gruffly, “you did bring your wife after all. I should like to meet her.”

I could scarcely believe John when he introduced me to his immediate superior officer, the Treasury Department senior agent, the man to whom John will be junior agent on the Seal Islands, the man with whom we have to share our lives for the next two years. Though John introduced him by name, I never shall name him. He will remain the Senior Agent, SA, no matter what happens.²³

Within a day of Otis’ arrival at St. Paul Island he seized the schooner *Loleta*²⁴ for carrying illicit goods including “a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and distilled spirits.”²⁵ Otis sent the schooner to Unalaska with an officer to await the arrival of the cutter *Richard Rush*.²⁶ The threat of marauders must have plagued him, for his reports included numerous references of vigilance on the matter.

It will be necessary . . . in order to effectively watch Otter Island, to have the special agents furnished with a suitable boat and at least two men to man it. These might be supplied by the cutter, and can be returned to it when she touches at the island for the last time in the fall. I recommend this course, and ask that the necessary instructions be given.²⁷

Otis’ annual report dated July 30, 1880, stated that the ACC had installed telephone service between St. Paul village and the largest rookery at Northeast Point, where the islanders thought marauders would most likely launch an assault, but that no marauders had appeared around St. Paul Island during the reporting period.²⁸ However, while the islanders observed no pirates, at least one, Captain Adolphe F. Carlson of the schooner *Alexander*, stealthily claimed 300 sealskins from Otter Island.²⁹ On July 4, 1881, Agent Otis submitted a detailed report on “the movements and operations of suspected and marauding vessels.”³⁰ The motivation behind what would become an increasing surge of sealing piracy was the increasing value of landed seal pelts from \$3 to \$10 each.³¹

The omnipresent fear of marauder predations upon the Seal Islands apparently continued to weigh heavily on the mind of the agent-in-charge despite the apparent low incidence of such events. In 1882, during an off-island holiday celebrated at Santa Barbara, California, Otis wrote:

Sir: I have the honor to present for your consideration and action the following matters pertaining to the seal islands of Alaska, etc.:

I. Otter Island.—This island, lying about 6 miles off the southwest end of St. Paul Island, and not embraced within the terms of the Alaska Commercial Company's lease [a point presented many times in the past] is the resort, annually, from June to November, of some thousands of (non-breeding) fur seals, which haul up from the sea to rest and play upon its rocky shores. They appear to be simply the overplus [surplus] from the larger island, and are mainly males, both young and old. It is believed that from 5,000 to 10,000 marketable skins might be taken there annually, if there were any authority for doing so, and the tendency is for the seals to steadily increase in numbers there.³²

It was formerly the practice of certain subordinates of the Alaska Commercial Company to go to Otter Island in boats and drive the seals found there into the sea, the object being to discourage their coming to that island and force them to concentrate upon St. Paul Island, where the greater part of the fur-seal skins are taken.

The device, even if it were legitimate, of driving the seals from Otter Island for the pretended purpose of taking away the attraction for marauders to make descents upon the island, is a futile one, because the seals persistently return after a few hours and can not be kept away except by a degree of harassment which is warranted by neither law nor good policy.

I submit the whole subject to you, asking specific directions for the future, which shall be binding alike upon Treasury agents, the lessees, and all concerned.

II. Protection of the seal islands.—In this connection I have the honor to renew my recommendation that Congress be asked for an appropriation to build a suitable vessel to be used for the protection of Otter Island and the seal fisheries against lawless intruders. At present the revenue steamer, which cruises in Alaskan waters, is able to make no more than two or three brief calls at the islands during the entire season, covering a period of not less than five months, during which the sensitive seal rookeries are practically at the mercy of marauding vessels, so far as any means of repelling them on water are concerned, for the Government officers at the islands have no such means at [their] command, not even a whaleboat.

I think the policy of furnishing a small and inexpensive, though swift and effective, steam vessel for this purpose would be in the interest of true economy, for it would secure the complete protection of these priceless resorts of the fur seal, and at the same time relieve the revenue steamers entirely from the necessity of cruising in the immediate waters.³³

Agent Otis' military background might be seen to come through in his efforts to deal with the marauders. He also had to deal with island administrative matters. For example:

I am asked by the native chiefs of St. Paul Island to present to the Secretary of the Treasury the case of one Kassian Shaisnekoff, a temporary resident of the island, who has never been admitted to the privilege of participating in the work of sealing for the reason that, though a native of the island he was living away from it (at Unalaska) when the country came into the possession of the United States. He subsequently returned to the island as a temporary laborer, and at his own request (and being a brother to the local priests) was permitted to remain on sufferance, but was ruled out as a sealer by my predecessor, Mr. Morton, in common with other natives who had been permitted to come to the island simply as temporary laborers under authority of the Department. Shaisnekoff has been given miscellaneous employment by the Alaska Commercial Company, and at the close of

each sealing season has generally been presented with the sum of \$100 by the people, out of their sealing fund. I would recommend that the request made in his behalf be granted, were it not for the fact that it would constitute a precedent for the return of several natives of St. George Island who have never lived there since the transfer of the country, and whose advent at this late period, in the capacity of sealers, would doubtless be construed as an injustice to the people who have the prescriptive right to take seals, and who would be sure to strenuously object to the newcomers. I think this claim in behalf of Shaisnekoff would not have been urged were it not for his relationship to the local priests. I, however, report the case to you as it is, and await your decision thereon.³⁴

OUSTIGOFF, SIMEON

Guard, St. George Island

Pribilof Islands Experience

Simeon Oustigoff was one of the many Aleuts on St. George Island sent to guard the seal rookeries against marauders.

Simeon Oustigoff and Innokenty Rezanzoff, who were sent to Zapadnie Rookery June 21, as guards, returned today—the service of each being 8 days, which, at the \$1.50 per day, amounts to \$12.00, with which they have, respectively, been duly credited. They brought in pelts of two seals killed for food, which weighed 7 pounds each, and were accepted by the agent of the N.A.C. Company.³⁵

- 1 Colin Campbell Sanborn, "Wilfred Hudson Osgood: 1875–1947," *Journal of Mammalogy* 29, no. 2 (1948): 95 and 105.
- 2 "Dr. W. H. Osgood, 71, Zoologist, is Dead," *New York Times*, June 22, 1947, 52.
- 3 Sanborn, "Wilfred Hudson Osgood," 105–12; also see Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Geological Survey Paper 567 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1967), 25.
- 4 Wilfred H. Osgood, Edward A. Preble, and George H. Parker, "The Fur Seals and Other Life of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, in 1914," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries*, vol. 34 (1915): 14.
- 5 Ibid., 13–5. For additional perspective see Sanborn, "Wilfred Hudson Osgood," 102; and Karl Patterson Schmidt, "Wilfred Hudson Osgood, 1875–1947," *The Auk* 67, no. 2 (Apr. 1950): 183–9.
- 6 Osgood, et al., "The Fur Seals and Other Life," 15.
- 7 Ibid., 147.
- 8 David Starr Jordan, *The Days of A Man* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book, 1922), vol. 1, 611.
- 9 Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen and Others Who Are Making American History* (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904), vols. 1–10.
- 10 Mark J. Denger, "Californians and the Military, Major-General Harrison Gray Otis, U.S.V.," California Center for Military History, California Military Museum, <http://www.militarymuseum.org>; and Johnson and Brown, eds., *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, 548.
- 11 The "Weatherby" name was variously spelled; see "Weatherby, Weatherbee, Wetherbee, Wetherby lines of NJ/NY/PA/DE/MA," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (information provided by Eugene James Weatherby).
- 12 William Henry Powell, *Officers of the Army and Navy (Volunteer) Who Served in the Civil War* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly, 1893), 108.
- 13 "Weatherby, Weatherbee, Wetherbee, Wetherby lines of NJ/NY/PA/DE/MA."
- 14 Denger, "Californians and the Military;" Johnson and Brown, eds., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, 548; and "Weatherby, Weatherbee, Wetherbee, Wetherby lines of

- NJ/NY/PA/DE/MA.”
- 15 Denger, “Californians and the Military.”
- 16 “History of Los Angeles County,” 151, <http://www.heritagequestonline.com>; and Johnson and Brown, eds., *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, 548.
- 17 “Harrison Gray Otis Album of California Scenes, ca 1890–1910,” <http://www.oac.cdlib.org>.
- 18 Ibid.; and “History of Los Angeles County,” 151.
- 19 “Harrison Gray Otis Album of California Scenes.”
- 20 Denger, “Californians and the Military”; and Johnson and Brown, eds., *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, 548.
- 21 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 85.
- 22 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898) vol. 1, 114.
- 23 Betty John, Libby, *The Sketches, Letters & Journal of Libby Beaman, Recorded in the Pribilof Islands, 1879–1880* (Tulsa, OK: Council Oak Books, 1987), 12.
- 24 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 115.
- 25 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, May 28, 1880, 88.
- 26 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 118. In his annual report (Annual Report for 1879 by Agent H. G. Otis, Aug. 25, 1879), Special Agent Otis gave the date of May 27, whereas he cited May 28 in his Preliminary Report for 1879, June 1, 1879, *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 115.
- 27 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 126.
- 28 Ibid., 130–1 and 135.
- 29 Peter Murray, *The Vagabond Fleet* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis, 1988), 23.
- 30 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 144. The authors did not locate the actual report cited in the aforementioned document.
- 31 Truman R. Strobridge and Dennis L. Noble, *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 1867–1915* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999), 18.
- 32 A seemingly contrary perspective was given by Special Agent Henry Glidden, who stated in his 1882 annual report to Secretary of the Treasury, Charles J. Folger, “There have been but few seals on Otter Island during the season, and those are principally old, wounded, and played out, who require rest and hospital treatment,” U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 159.
- 33 Ibid., 152–3.
- 34 Ibid., 126–7.
- 35 St. George Island Agent’s Log, June 28, 1893, 290.

P

PARKER, GEORGE HOWARD (1864–1955)

Member, 1914 Commission to Study Fur-Seal Herds on Pribilof Islands

Professor of Zoology, Harvard University

Genealogy

George Howard Parker was born at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 23, 1864, to George Washington Parker and Martha (Taylor) Parker. George Parker married Louise M. Stabler (1868–1954), a Barnard College graduate, in 1895. They had no children. George Parker died on March 26, 1955, at Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹

Biographical Sketch

George Parker graduated from Harvard University in 1891 with a Doctor of Science degree. He rose from the rank of teacher to that of full professor of zoology, a post he held until 1935.

Professor Parker retired in 1935 but carried on his research work for another twelve years. In 1948 he published a major work on animal color changes. He was among the nation's first experimental zoologists. His work developed understanding of the nervous systems and sense organs of animals. . . . He was an associate of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole almost from its beginning and had spent his summers there in research.²

Pribilof Islands Experience

George H. Parker's reflections as a zoologist chronicled his experiences with the Pribilof Islands' fur seals (Parker, *The World Expands*, 1946). He pointedly targeted the "politics" of what otherwise should have been a purely scientific undertaking. Controversy between politics and science surfaced an untold number of times during the government management period. Parker arrived at St. Paul Island on June 21, 1914, and wrote about the experience years later:

It is a fact often forgotten that the National Academy of Sciences, which came into being in 1863 under President Lincoln, was established as a scientific advisory body to the United States government. In pursuance of this capacity I was nominated by the then president of the Academy, Dr. [William Henry] Welch, the year after I became a member [1914], to be one of three investigators to proceed to the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea to report to the federal authorities on the number and condition of the government fur seals on these islands. Thus my election to one of the most distinguished scientific bodies in the land brought me at once into a responsible position for counting seals.³

After the discovery of the breeding grounds of the Alaskan fur seals by the Russian navigators the herd from time to time suffered serious depletions from which, however, recovery was always made as a result of restrictive killing. A serious diminution in the size of the herd was reached under American management at the beginning of this century. On investigation it was declared that this diminution was due chiefly to pelagic sealing. This kind of sealing was carried on in the open sea in summer and far enough away from the Pribilof Islands to be legal. It resulted, however, in the killing of large numbers of cow seals, for these were the class of seal in the open sea at that season. The killing of a cow seal at that time of year was most destructive to the herd, for it meant not only her loss, but the loss of the unborn pup in her body and the death by starvation of her newly born pup temporarily left by her in the rookery on the beach. Those who practiced pelagic sealing were chiefly American, British, and Japanese sealers. After a conference of representatives of these three nations in Washington, D.C., it was agreed to make pelagic sealing illegal for the nationals of these countries and to give the herd a chance to recuperate if pelagic sealing was the cause of the reduction in numbers. The annual count of seals as made by the government agents on the two seal islands consequently came to be a matter of great moment. After this enumeration had been in force, it was claimed on the floor of Congress, by those who disbelieved that pelagic sealing was accountable for the diminution of the herd, that the reported numbers for the herd made by the island agents were falsified and that the favorable signs seen in the claimed increase of the herd on the cessation of pelagic sealing was fictitious. President Wilson was therefore authorized to send three investigators to the seal islands in 1914 to make an impartial count of the seals and to report back to Congress. The persons selected for this undertaking were Mr. W.O. Osgood, nominated by the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. E.A. Preble, nominated by the United States Department of Agriculture, and myself, nominated by the National Academy of Sciences. Shortly after the organization of the group, we met in Washington with Mr. [William] C. Redfield, secretary of the Department of Commerce, for a general conference. The outcome of this meeting was a request on the part of the secretary that he wished a report returned by us which we all could agree upon, and not a split report with each one expressing his own views. As our report was to turn mainly on an enumeration of seals it seemed to me that the secretary's admonition savored rather of politics than of scientific integrity, for we all three entertained no doubts about our ability to count and to tell the truth. Before we started on our way to the Pribilofs we learned that we were to have companion investigators from the other nations concerned: from Great Britain Mr. James M. Macoun of the Geological Survey of Canada and Mr. B.W. Harmon of the Dominion Department of Marine and Fisheries, and from Japan, Dr. T. Kitahara of the Imperial Japanese Fisheries Bureau. Thus the party totaled six, and while the three from the United States were the official reporting members it may be said here in anticipation that not only these three but all six of the party signed the enumerations of seals reported, a conclusion which marks the difference between what a politician may anticipate as the outcome of an effort and what reputable scientists may contribute to it.⁴

Professor Parker continued his story about the Pribilofs:

The island of St. Paul, like that of its brother island, St. George, is without a harbor. We and our belongings were landed at an open stone wharf and from there we walked the quarter of a mile or so into the native village. This consisted of about two or three wide lanes with rows of one story three room frame houses arranged in orderly sequence. The government house and the store toward which we went were double-decked frame constructions.

Not a soul was to be seen. We were somewhat surprised, but we at least found a man at the government house who told us that the whole village had gone to the carpenter shop, the largest building there, to see the first moving picture show which had ever come to the island. A few days before our arrival a United States naval vessel had put in to set in order the new radio station just then erected for the island. [The radio station was actually constructed in 1911.] This vessel carried a portable moving-picture outfit, and as a special and novel treat to the natives this outfit had been brought on the island and all in the village had been invited to come to the show. Hence the absence of life about the settlement. We dropped our bags at the government house and went in a body to the carpenter shop. The population of the village of St. Paul was then a little fewer than two hundred, and this whole congregation was crowded together into the carpenter shop to see the pictures. We were evidently in time to view most of the film, which consisted largely of views of New York with vessels in the harbor, skyscrapers, crowded street scenes, Central Park views, railroad trains on the elevated and on the surface, all of which seemed very familiar to us. At the end of the show the native chief [Elary Stepetin] was brought to us and introduced. He was an intelligent, well-dressed man of middle age who had been elected by the other natives on the island to his post and who spoke simple English. After having met us he returned to those in the shop, told them in the Aleut language who we were, and then asked us if we wished to speak to the villagers or ask anything of them. I was pushed forward and spoke a few words of greeting, which was translated by the chief into Aleut, and then I asked him what had been of most interest to the villagers in the movie which they had just looked at. There was much buzzing consultation, after which he said they were most interested to see that trees moved in the wind and that their branches were not stiff and rigid as they had heretofore thought. We then learned that there were no trees on the island, that, in fact, the nearest trees were at Dutch harbor some hundred miles away and that few or none of the natives had ever been off St. Paul. The only trees that they ever had seen were occasional trunks with a few stiff, leafless branches on them which had been washed from the Alaskan mainland to their island. Thus we began to learn the psychology of this isolated, Russian-Aleut, half-breed population.

The school teacher on the island⁵, a very intelligent American, who, with his wife, did what they could for the welfare of the natives, complained of the circumstances under which he had to work. He told us that the United States government sent him a stock of primers to use in his school in which a picture of an object was given and below it its name in English. There would be a picture of a dog, with the name dog spelled out below, a horse, a cow, and so on. "But what am I to do with such a book," asked he, "when not one of these things exists on the island? It is not surprising," he said, "to hear the natives complain of the English language as a very impractical one, because in learning it they are expected to remember so many things which they have never seen." I asked him what he regarded as the outcome of his three or four years of teaching, and he said sorrowfully that it amounted to bringing the pupil to the point of saying yes or no to very simple questions that might be asked of him. When I looked at the educational problem that this poor man had to face day in and day out I felt that my difficulties in trying to teach Harvard students, bad as the results commonly were, amounted to nothing compared with those of my distant colleague on the Pribilofs. . . .⁶

. . . we settled in the village of St. Paul at the government house and began to watch the coming of the bulls on Gorbach Rookery, the nearest rookery to the village. In all there were about a dozen rookeries on St. Paul [Island] but we could know what was occurring on all of them by watching Gorbach, the one nearest at hand. This occupied about half a mile of very stony beach and day by day more bulls took positions on it. Soon the cows began to appear, and shortly after that we saw the first pups born. Soon after the middle of July we assumed that all the breeding bulls had arrived and we began to count them. This was an easy undertaking for the bulls kept their places on the beach, were large, conspicuous creatures, and lifted themselves well above the other seals. It was like counting telegraph-poles as one walks along a telegraph line. All six of us walked together along the bluff above Gorbach and counted, one by one, the breeding bulls, agreeing on a total of 112. In about a week we had thus counted all the breeding bulls in the twelve rookeries on

St. Paul and in the six on St. George and obtained a grand total of 1,559, an enumeration probably accurate to within one or two percent. A week or so later we essayed counting the pups. At this time in the summer, about the end of July, the cows can be easily driven into the sea, the bulls will remain at their old locations, and the pups are strong enough to be herded to one end of a given rookery. From this region they can then be allowed to return to the rookery in narrow files and can be counted as they pass a pair of enumerators for each file. This count cannot be so accurate as the count of bulls, but it must be very close. Gorbach Rookery yielded 6,152 pups, and the count for both St. Paul and St. George gave a grand total of 93,250. . . . So the enumeration of the fur-seal herd, which might seem at first sight an insoluble problem, was at last accomplished and with a grand total of about 294,000 individuals. This total figure confirmed the enumerations of the keepers on the islands for previous years and showed that, contrary to what had been said from the floor of Congress, the herd, now that pelagic sealing had almost entirely been eliminated, was increasing and that the increase was such as to warrant the expectation of a rapid recovery. This expectation has been fully realized, for the total herd of fur seals which numbered somewhat over a quarter of a million in 1914 is now, in 1943, estimated as some two and three-quarter millions. The enumeration of the Pribilof fur seals for 1914 having been completed, I left the islands on the revenue cutter *Tahoma* which picked me up at St. Paul on August 6 and started me on my return trip home by way of California.⁷



Men including George Parker, Wilfred Osgood, and Ezra Thompson inspecting seals on a killing ground, St. Paul Island, circa 1914. (USUAFV6-45, Pribilof Islands Photographs, 1914, 1976-0063-00009, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

PARTCH, PAUL CHILDERS

U.S. Navy Radioman on St. Paul and St. George Islands, 1916–1919

Genealogy

Paul Childers Partch, son of missionary Virgil Partch, was born July 4, 1890, in Ningpo, China. Paul married Anna Povloff (1898–1942), daughter of Nicolas and Anna Povloff, at Kodiak, Alaska. The Partches had two sons: Virgil was born in 1916 on St. Paul Island and James was born on November 12, 1919 on St. George Island. Virgil died in 1984 in an automobile accident.⁸

Biographical Sketch

Paul Partch's father served as a Presbyterian missionary in China during the years 1888–93. The family remained in China until 1901, when they resettled at Oakland, California. Paul joined the Navy, which brought him to Wood [now Woody] Island, near Kodiak, Alaska, where he married Anna. Their son Virgil became known by his pen name "VIP." He was one of this country's "most prominent American gag cartoonists of the postwar era. After a brief period working for Disney studios, he began selling gag cartoons to large circulation magazines, including *Collier's* and *True*. He also had a successful syndicated comic strip, *Big George* (1960–1979), and illustrated a number of children's books."⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

Paul Partch served as a U.S. Navy radioman on St. Paul Island from 1916 to 1919, when he and his family moved to St. George Island, where they remained until 1920.

PHELPS, EDWARD JOHN (1822–1900)

U.S. Senior Counsel at International Fur-Seal Arbitration Tribunal, 1893

American Lawyer and Diplomat

Genealogy

Edward Phelps was born on July 11, 1822,¹⁰ at Middlebury, Vermont, to Samuel Shethar Phelps (born May 13, 1793, Litchfield, Connecticut) and Frances (Shurtleff) Phelps (born September 17, 1792, Litchfield). Edward married Mary S. Haight (born July 26, 1827, Monkton, Vermont) on August 13, 1845, in Burlington, Vermont. The couple had four children: Charles, Mary, Edward Haight, and Francis Shurtleff.¹¹ Edward Phelps died March 9, 1900, at New Haven, Connecticut.¹²

Biographical Sketch

Edward John Phelps graduated from Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1840 at age eighteen, studied law at Yale University, was admitted to the bar in 1843, and contributed to the founding of the American Bar Association.¹³



Edward John Phelps. (J. G. McCullough, ed., *Orations and Essays of Edward John Phelps, Diplomat and Statesman.*)

During President Fillmore's administration, he was the second Comptroller of the Currency. From that time until 1885, though active in public life as an orator and a lawyer, he held no public office, but devoted himself to law. . . . In 1880 he was president of the American Bar Association. . . . In 1881 he became Kent Professor of Law at Yale.¹⁴

Phelps held this position at Yale until his death.

Fur-Seal Arbitration

Edward John Phelps served as senior counsel to the United States in 1893 in the Bering Sea controversy with Great Britain,¹⁵ better known as the Fur-Seal Arbitration (1892–93). Under appointment by President Benjamin Harrison, Phelps supported the U.S. representatives, Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan, and Senator John

T. Morgan. Phelps presented the eleven-day closing argument,¹⁶ which included an exhaustive review of the U.S. case for jurisdiction over the Bering Sea and a call for protection of the seal herd from pelagic sealing. Phelps was not new to the international scene. President Grover Cleveland had appointed him as U.S. minister to Great Britain's Court of St. James¹⁷ from 1885 to 1889. Before the hearings in Paris, Phelps wrote an essay titled "The Behring Sea Controversy," which appeared in the April 1891 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and later in a collection of Phelps' orations and essays.¹⁸ The following are excerpts from the essay that served as his summary argument:

The question involved in what is called the Behring Sea controversy may be stated in few words. The Alaskan fur-seal fishery is the most important in the world. It was a material element in the value of that province when purchased by the United States from Russia, at a heavy cost, and one of the principal inducements upon which the purchase was made.¹⁹ Since Alaska became the property of the United States, this fishery has afforded a very considerable revenue to the government by the lease of its privilege, has engaged a large amount of American capital, and the industry of many American people. . . .

The Secretary of State in his last (published) communication to the British government on this subject makes the following statement: "From 1870 to 1890, the seal fisheries carefully guarded and preserved, yielded 100,000 skins each year. The Canadian intrusions began in 1886 and so great has been the damage resulting from their destruction of seal life in the open sea surrounding the Pribyloff [sic] Islands, that in 1890 the government of the United States limited the Alaska Company to 60,000 skins, but the company was able to secure only 21,000 seals."²⁰

The Secretary of State, in his correspondence with the British government . . . has undertaken to maintain that these waters are not . . . a part of the high or open sea . . .²¹

There are three methods by which the Behring Sea question can be settled, and by one or other of which it must soon be disposed of: first, by putting a stop without further debate to the depredations of individual foreigners upon the breeding seals; second, by conceding to these foreigners the right to destroy the fishery, and withdrawing further remonstrance; third, by continuing the discussion with Great Britain of the abstract questions supposed to



*The Bering Sea Tribunal in Paris. 1. Sir Charles Russell. 2. Sir Richard Webster. 3. Christopher Robinson. 4. Mr. Pigott. 5. Mr. Coudret. 6. Mr. Blodgett. 7. Sir J. S. Thompson. 8. Gregers Gram. 9. Lord Hannen. 10. Alphonse de Coureel. 11. Mr. Harlan. 12. E. Viconti Venosta. 13. John T. Morgan. 14. Joseph Pope. In center between 10 and 11, the young-looking man is Sir Charles H. Tupper. The three men on Tupper's right are John W. Foster (the man with sideburns), next Edward J. Phelps, and to his right, J. E. Carter. Between Foster and Phelps is James Macoun. (F. W. Howay, *British Columbia From the Earliest Times to the Present*, vol. 2, chap. 27, "The Sealing Industry and the Fur-Seal Arbitration," 463.)*

be involved, until the extermination of the seal is completed and the subject of the dispute thereby exhausted, for which we shall not have long to wait. If the last course is taken, the credit of it will be due less to the administration charged with the conduct of our foreign relations than to the public sentiment which it represents and by which it must be guided.²²

Despite scores of testimonies against pelagic sealing and the volumes presented before the Tribunal regarding seals, sealing, and the history of the Pribilof Islands, the U.S. arguments failed to sway the Tribunal. For example, and not surprisingly, the United States lost its contest for exclusive control, i.e. *mare clausum* (closed sea) of the Bering Sea. More disappointingly, pelagic sealers retained their right to hunt the seal within the Bering Sea, although they were restricted from sealing closer than sixty nautical miles of the Pribilof Islands. Regardless, enforcement efforts were marginal, the northern fur-seal herd continued to decline, and some sealers continued to raid the islands.

PHILEMONOF, ANTHONY (1952–2009)

*President, Tanadgusix Corporation*Biographical Sketch

Anthony Philemonof was born July 14, 1952, on St. Paul Island to Terenty and Alexandra Philemonoff. He graduated from Mt. Edgecombe High School in 1971 and furthered his education at Alaska Methodist University (now Alaska Pacific University). In 1977, Anthony met Rebecca Melovidov. In the summer of 2008, with their five children, they celebrated their thirtieth wedding anniversary.

Anthony was a true born leader, like his father before him. He was a defender and advocate for the legal and economic rights of the Aleut people. After a brief stint at college, Anthony joined the Native Land claims movement. While working first for the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) and then later with the Aleut League, he traveled to all the Aleut Villages to help them to be legally recorded as official Alaska Native Village Corporations. Anthony then moved back home to St. Paul Island to help incorporate his own village. There he served as a Board of Director for Tanadgusix (TDX) Corporation for 33 years, and went on to serve as its President for 24 continuous years until his death in 2009. During that time Anthony helped start the commercial fisheries enterprise on the island as one of the first captains of a commercial halibut boat out of St. Paul. He and other leaders of St. Paul fought and lobbied for equal access to the abundant fishing resources around Bering Sea communities. His actions helped lead to securing rights to fish quotas for Bering Sea Villages, now known as the CDQ [Community Development Quota] program. Anthony continued his drive to help his people by also serving on the Council for the St. Paul Tribe and the City Council, and he worked for the Pribilof Islands School District. Of all of his efforts, Anthony was most proud of his leadership at the Village Corporation, TDX. He never varied from being the defender of his home land and his fight for economic and legal independence for his people. Along with his board and his management team he helped take TDX from a little Village Corporation doing just \$70,000 in revenue to a diversified business doing over \$70,000,000 in revenue; with hotels in Anchorage, Seattle and Portland, an office building in Hawaii, power plants in Dead Horse, Sand Point and the biggest wind-diesel power plant in Alaska on St Paul Island. One project that was dear to Anthony was TDX's private dock in the St. Paul harbor. The dock led to the construction of the biggest crab processing plant built and operated in the Bering Sea. Everyone that got to know Anthony grew to love him for his intelligence, sense of humor, and dedication to his family and the people of St. Paul Island.²³

PHILEMONOF, TARENTY SR. (1921–1969)

*Community Store Owner, St. Paul Island*Genealogy

Terenty Philemonof was born November 10, 1921 on St. Paul Island, Alaska. Terenty was the son of Leonty (b. May 6, 1894, St. George Island; d. June 1969, St. Paul Island) and Xenia Philemonoff (b. February 6, 1899, St. Paul Island).²⁴ Terenty had one sister, Serafina, born August 5, 1920, on St. Paul Island, Alaska.

Biographical Sketch

Terenty Philemonof Sr. opened the St. Paul Island Aleut Community Store in 1948. The store continues as the only food store on the island, but it is now under the management of the AC Value Center.

PRIBYLOV, GAVRIIL (GABRIEL) LOGINOVICH (D. 1796)

Russian Navy Navigator; Russian Discoverer of St. George Island, 1786

Genealogy

Gavriil Loginovich Pribylov was the son of Loginovich Prybilov, a Cossack from Okhotsk.²⁵ Some claim that Gavriil Pribylov died in Sitka,²⁶ and others believe he died at Okhotsk.²⁷ “Our veteran skipper Pribylov died in March, 1796. Prior to his death he took a vessel with a transport of settlers and hunters to Yakutat (Bering) Bay, but got only as far as Chugach Bay and turned back.”²⁸ Prybilov was buried on Kodiak Island, Alaska.²⁹

The name Gavriil Loginovich Pribylov is variously spelled in the literature: Pribüloff (Martin Sauer³⁰ and Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff³¹); Gehrman Pribylov (Henry Wood Elliott³²); Gavril [Gabriel] Pribylov (Katerina G. Solovjova and Aleksandra A. Vovnyanko³³); Gavriil Pribylov (Lydia Black³⁴); Gerasim Gavrilovich Pribilof (Scheffer et al.³⁵). His given name, as noted, received a variety of spellings. Gerasim (sometimes Gerassim) commonly appears in popular writings. The name Gerasim assigned to Pribylov may have its earliest origin with Vasilii N. Berkh.³⁶ In 1979, Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly emphatically stated that Pribylov’s given name is “not Gerasim Loginovich” but rather “Gavrilo Loginovich,”³⁷ a name applied by Kiril Khlebnikov.³⁸ In 1990, Pierce contradicted his 1979 interpretation by referring to Pribylov as “Gavriil” in *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*.³⁹ Pribylov was also referred to as Gavriil by Basil Dmytryshyn, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Thomas Vaughan,⁴⁰ and by the late Russian-American historian, Dr. Lydia T. Black. Gavriil is the name accepted herein.⁴¹

Although the current spelling for the islands, “Pribilof,” was used in this book, Gavriil’s surname remains “Pribylov,” unless the name is given within quotations from outside sources.

Biographical Sketch

One of the first mentions of Gavriil Pribylov is in connection with the Russian fur-merchant company of Lebedev-Lastochkin, owned by Grigorii Shelikhov and Pavel S. Lebedev-Lastochkin. The two owners intended to monopolize the fur trapping and trading business in eastern Siberia and Russian America, and initiate fur-trade relations with Japan. In 1780, a tsunami that followed an earthquake “washed Lebedev’s vessel, *Sv. Natal’ia*, onto Urup Island in the Kurile Islands where existed large numbers of sea otters. The following year, F. N. Klichka, the Irkutsk governor, gave Lebedev the government-owned *Sv. Georgii Pobedonosets* [St. George the Victorious] so he could retrieve the vessel *Sv. Natal’ia*.”⁴² The man instructed to return the damaged vessel was Gavriil Loginovich

Pribylov, described as a former Russian navy master and navigator who had joined the company at the direction of his navy superiors. While in command of the *Sv. Georgii*, Pribylov chose to sail to the Aleutian Islands and gather valuable furs before retrieving the *Sv. Natal'ia*. (He never did recover the damaged *Sv. Natal'ia*.)⁴³

After his discovery of the Seal Islands, discussed below, Pribylov served as pilot-navigator on the vessel *Slava Rossii* during the Billings-Sarychev Expedition in 1790. He has been credited with mapping *Mednyi* (Copper) Island.⁴⁴ In 1794, Pribylov began working for the Northeastern Company and commanded the *Sv. Ekaterina* to Kodiak Island, Yakutat Bay, and Sitka Sound. Later in 1794, he commanded the *Three Saints* "to Yakutat (Bering) Bay, and in 1795 . . . he attempted to deliver, at the orders of Alexander Baranov manager of the Russian-American Company, the first party of Russian settlers at Yakutat,"⁴⁵ but he apparently died before completing the endeavor.⁴⁶

Russian Discovery of the Seal Islands

The Seal Islands of the Bering Sea, also romantically referred to as the "Mist Islands," were a safe haven for numerous marine mammal and bird species long before mankind's relatively recent intervention, approximately 220 years ago. One wondrous example is the recent revelation that St. Paul Island was the last refuge of the North American mammoth.⁴⁷ The woolly mammoth species' extended period of survival likely resulted from the absence of man during the pre-European contact period.⁴⁸ The shrinking island land-mass, once part of the larger "Beringia," and consequent reduction in forage was thought to have determined the species fate.

Neither Gavriil Pribylov nor the men serving under him apparently left any first-hand written accounts of their discovery. However, sometime following his return from the Seal Islands, but not sooner than late 1789, Commander Pribylov conversed with Admiral Gavriilo Sarychev and Martin Sauer, interpreter for Captain Joseph Billings on the "Northeastern Secret Geographical and Astronomical Expedition."⁴⁹ Both men recounted Pribylov's story. Sauer's and Sarychev's writings appear to represent the earliest known accounts of Pribylov's Seal Islands discovery. In 1802, Sauer wrote:

At the time he [Pribylov] took charge of the vessel as commander, on the part of the trading company; for which he received a share in the profits of the voyage. He made Oonalashka [Unalaska], and from his former observations that numbers of sea animals, particularly young kotic [fur seals], came from the north in the autumn, at the commencement of severe weather, he had formed a conjecture, that some unknown island lay at no great distance in that direction; and therefore resolved, without losing time, to take on board as many islanders as he could obtain with their small canoes and arms, and be convinced of the certainty or uncertainty of his supposition.

Twenty-four hours after his departure from the island of Oonalashka, he discovered land. The southern and western parts are surrounded by rocks; but the north is easy to approach, and affords good anchorage in a commodious bay for small vessels, not drawing above eight or nine feet of water. The whole island is volcanic, destitute of inhabitants, and only produces the bulbs, plants, and berries, which are to be met with on all the Aleutan [Aleutian] islands. They found the low lands and the surrounding rocks covered with sea animals, particularly the ursine seal (kotic), and sea-lion (sivutsha); and with the skins of these animals they nearly loaded their vessel. Pribuloff called this St. George's Island; and observing another island to the north, at the distance of 44 miles, he went thither in a large

baidar, accompanied by a number of Aleutes. This island is much smaller than that of St. George, and he named it St. Paul's: this, as well as the former, was the retreat of immense herds of seals. On the island of St. George they passed the winter, and found the island parts overrun with foxes, which afforded them a profitable chase. It also abounded with the tusks of the walross, which they picked up on the shores.⁵⁰

In 1840, Russian Orthodox Bishop Ivan Veniaminov published another account of the Russian's discovery of the Seal Islands. Sauer's account, although purportedly taken from Pribylov himself, differs markedly in many respects from later accounts. However, Veniaminov's account appears to be given the most widespread credence among historians.⁵¹

The first Russian fox hunters to visit the Fox Island Chain . . . began, because of the annual migration of seals in the spring toward the north and in the fall [toward] the south with their young, to suspect the existence of the Pribylovs. The very tradition of the Aleuts probably supported their conviction that islands existed to the north. However that may be, up until 1781 no one undertook the search, through lack of ships and other means, or more likely because at that time sea otters were still plentiful around Unalashka and it was needless to seek a new source of wealth. When the number of Russian hunters began to increase and the number of sea otters and other animals to diminish rapidly, some of the more adventurous hunters determined to try their luck, began to seek the *Severnnye* [northern] islands where the fur seals were breeding. No one succeeded in this until 1786.

Navigator Gavriilo Pribylov, who had spent a long time in America, was convinced by the very same signs that islands existed in the Bering Sea, and the straitened circumstances in which his company [Lebedev-Lastochkin] found itself forced him to make the effort to find them. Despite the pre-eminence of Pribylov in skillful seamanship over all the mariners of the time in that region, it did not fall to him to quickly discover them. While near one of the islands that later were to bear his name, he kept observing unmistakable signs of land. Yet, for a period of three weeks, he was unable to see land because of fog.

Finally, fortune, as if taking pity on him, or perhaps yielding before the efforts of a persistent man, lifted the curtain of fog and the eastern part of the island nearest the Aleutian Archipelago showed itself, to their indescribable joy, before the eyes of our mariners. This island was named by them after their vessel *ostrov Georgiia* ["George Island"]. The foreman, Efim Ivanov Popov, with all the fur hunters on board, remained on the newly discovered island,⁵² but the vessel, for want of a harbor there, departed to winter at the Andreianov Islands, carrying with it a number of fur seal and sea otter skins that they had time to take.

The fur hunters who remained on George Island, in the forenoon of June 29 of the following year [1787] (the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul), saw to the north an island to which they forthwith gave the name Peter and Paul Island. (At present, however, the name Peter is scarcely ever used.)

These islands, from the time of their discovery, have gone under a multitude of names; first of all, they were known as the "New Islands," then Pribylov and the leader of the hunters called them the Lebedevskie [Lebedev] Islands. Mr. Shelikhov named them the Zubovskie [ostrova] [Zubov Islands].⁵³ The fur hunters they called them both northern [Severnnye] because of their position to the north of Unalashka and the Kotovye ostrove [Fur-Seal Islands] because of the pre-eminence of fur seal hunting there. At the present time [1840] they are known in the colonies simply as the Ostrovki [Islets] but the designation Pribylova, as the most appropriate, is universally used.⁵⁴

Physician and natural historian Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, who visited the islands in 1805 while on a Russian-American Company voyage around the globe, offered

no details of navigator “Pribüloff’s” discovery of the islands except that Pribylov had sailed out of Unalaska.⁵⁵

Mentions of Pribylov’s discovery are also found in private correspondence. Fur trader Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikov, a one-time employer of Pribylov, wrote in 1789 to his chief manager in America, Evstratii Ivanovich Delarov:

Pribylov has found two small islands about 200 versts from Unalashka, from which one can see more islands. Twenty Russians and 20 Aleuts remained to hunt on these islands and the rest went back on the ship to better harbors. In 2 years 40 men got more than 2,000 sea otters, 40,000 fur seals, 6,000 blue foxes, and 1,000 puds of walrus ivory. Five thousand puds of whalebone was left on the islands because there was not enough room on the ship to load it.

Pribylov brought two vessels for hunting, the first, under Lukaniev; the second, under Potap. They will start in the year 1791. The chief of the expedition, Osip Osipovich [Billings], assured me that he will help you. Besides Pribylov’s Islands they saw millions of sea otters, fur seals and sea lions on other islands to the north and on the coasts of America. I regret that you did not dispatch a ship north, as I instructed.⁵⁶

Pribylov is credited as the first Russian sailor to recognize the islands but not necessarily the first non-Unangan explorer to visit them. In *Zapiski Ob Ostrovah Unalakinskago Otdeyla*, author Ivan Veniaminov made note of an earlier visitor:

Traces were found of some earlier visitor, not long before Pribylov’s time, there having been described on the southwest shore of St. Paul Island, the copper hilt of a sword, a clay pipe, and a spot where a fire had been kindled. Had that visit occurred at a remote date, the sword hilt would have corroded away and the traces of the fire place been obliterated by weeds.⁵⁷

If the above account is correct, then who was or were those earlier discoverers? Russians, Spaniards, English? And did their vessel sink or did they just hold onto the secret so that others would not find the home of the seals?⁵⁸ Pribylov’s discovery of the islands is part of traditional Aleut and Russian folklore, which Veniaminov described. “But if the Aleut tradition is to be believed,” Veniaminov wrote, “handed down to the present in their tales, they had known of the Pribylofs long before the arrival of the Russians. They called and continue to call, them *Amix*⁵⁹ [sic] ascribing their discovery to lġadagaġ, the son of an Aleut toion.”⁶⁰ The story of lġadagaġ is presented in his biography in this volume.

PROCTOR, ALEXANDER HENRY (1868–1949)

Agent, Department of Commerce and Labor, St. George Island, 1912–1919

Agent, St. Paul Island, 1919–1924

Genealogy

Alexander Proctor was born in Washington, D.C., on January 29, 1868, and died there April 11, 1949. He married Lois Lippit.⁶¹

Biographical Sketch

When not conducting his work in the Pribilofs, Alexander Proctor ran a chicken farm in Sonoma County, California.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Alexander and Lois Proctor arrived at St. George Island in 1912 and remained until 1916. In 1919, the Proctors took up residence on St. Paul Island.

Commander W. H. O'Brien Jr. of the USS *Saturn*, Alaska Radio Expedition 1916, wrote to his commandant at Mare Island, California, in appreciation of Mr. Proctor:

1. Upon the arrival of the Expedition at St. George Island, the Agent, Mr. H. Proctor, came aboard and offered the services of his bidarra (a native skin boat) and all of his laborers which number twenty-five. It is practically impossible to land freight in anything but a bidarra.
2. After the freight was landed and work commenced on the station, Mr. Proctor was very considerate and helpful in loaning tools of all sorts, lumber for staging, and even to messing the workmen for two meals a day. Mr. Proctor has done everything in his power to co-operate and facilitate the work, and the good record made is greatly due to his efforts.⁶²



Alexander Henry Proctor. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22 Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987.)



Left to right: Mrs. Lois Proctor, Alexander Henry Proctor, Mrs. Harry Peterson, Henry Day Aller, Dr. William McCoy Murphy, MD, Harry A. Peterson, U.S. Navy Radio Operator, and Charles E. Crompton. (Alaska State Library, Richard G. and Mary S. Culbertson Photograph Coll., PCA 390.077.)

As did other agents, Proctor dealt with a variety of situations on the islands. One was an alleged affair between a young Native woman and a navy radioman, who was thought to be the father of the woman's baby.⁶³ The radioman vehemently denied the allegations, which were never verified. However, the incident strained relations between Proctor and the radioman, who left St. Paul on the navy vessel USS *Saturn* about the time of the child's birth. The radioman was replaced by Harry A. Peterson, an electrician first class with the USN Radio Service. Peterson and his wife took up quarters in the radio cottage.⁶⁴

- 1 U.S. Census, 1900; and Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 5, 1951–1955* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977).
- 2 "George H. Parker Zoologist, was 90," *New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1955, 27.
- 3 George Howard Parker, *The World Expands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1946), 147.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 149–50.
- 5 Parker was referring to the Alvin G. Whitneys, who departed in July 1914. See Whitney biography herein.
- 6 Parker, *The World Expands*, 154–5.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 155–6.
- 8 "Obituary," *Los Angeles Times* (Aug. 12, 1984), Metro Section, p. B1.
- 9 "Virgil Franklin Partch," Wikipedia Encyclopedia, <http://www.absoluteastronomy.com> (accessed May 25, 2009); <http://www.bpib.com/illustrat/partch.htm> (accessed May 25, 2009); and "Obituary," *Los Angeles Times* (Aug. 12, 1984), Metro Section, p. B1.
- 10 J. G., McCullough, ed., *Orations and Essays of Edward John Phelps, Diplomat and Statesman* (NY: Harper and Bros., 1901), ix. Note: Ancestry.com cites Apr. 6, 1882, as Phelps' birth date, whereas "Phelps Family History in America and Kindred Family Histories," <http://family.phelpsinc.com> (accessed Dec. 20, 2006) gives July 9, 1882, as the date.
- 11 Ancestry.com.
- 12 McCullough, *Orations and Essays*, xii; and "The Late E. J. Phelps," *Harper's Weekly*, Mar. 24, 1900.
- 13 McCullough, *Orations and Essays*, ix.
- 14 "The Late E. J. Phelps," *Harper's Weekly*; and McCullough, *Orations and Essays*, xii.
- 15 *Webster's Biographical Dictionary: A Dictionary of Names of Noteworthy Persons with Pronunciations and Concise Biographies*, 1st ed. (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1943), 1175.
- 16 McCullough, *Orations and Essays*, x.
- 17 *Ibid.*, xi and xiv.
- 18 McCullough, *Orations and Essays*.
- 19 In the view of these authors, Phelps' argument that the Seal Islands were "one of the principal inducements upon which the purchase was made" was not supported in the records we examined, although the Seal Islands were alluded to in Senator Charles Sumner's speech (see Sumner's biography). Our opinion does not mean, however, that the topic of the economic value of the Seal Islands wasn't raised during official or unofficial conversations, and we have seen writings indicating that California and Washington Territory businesses or "business interests" did consider the Seal Islands reason enough (e.g., see Hayward Hutchinson's biography).
- 20 McCullough, *Orations and Essays*, 429–31.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 434.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 451.
- 23 Anthony Philemonof obituary provided by permission of his brother, Ron Philemonof, Jan. 2009.
- 24 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 57 and 565.
- 25 Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, eds., *The End of Russian America: Captain P. N. Golovin's Last Report, 1862* (Portland: Oregon Historical Soc., 1979), vol. 2, 134. The presumption is that the senior Login [Loginovich] Prybilov was a lifelong resident of Okhotsk.
- 26 For example, Henry W. Elliott, *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska*

- (Washington, DC: GPO, 1875), 63.
- 27 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 413.
 - 28 Ray Hudson, ed., *People of the Aleutian Islands*, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History, no. 196 (Unalaska, AK: Unalaska City School District, 1986). Pierce, *Russian America*, 413, identified Yakutat Bay as synonymous with Bering Bay; also, Pierce apparently did not realize that Pribylov did not complete his trip to Yakutat Bay, as he stated on page 413.
 - 29 Katerina G. Solovjova and Aleksandra A. Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush* (Anchorage: Phenix, 2002), 131 n. 215; and Lydia T. Black, *Russians in Alaska: 1732–1867* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska Press, 2004), 149.
 - 30 Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia: For Ascertaining the Degrees of Latitude and Longitude of the Mouth of The River Kovina, of the Whole Coast of the Tshutski, to East Cape, and of the Islands in the Eastern Ocean, Stretching to the American Coast, Performed . . . by Commodore Joseph Billings, In the Years 1785, & c. to 1794* (London: T. Cadel, 1802), 210. Sauer sailed with Pribylov during the Billings Expedition (Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 33, *History of Alaska, 1730–1885* [San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1886], 191–3) thereby giving him opportunity to hear a first hand-account of the Seal Islands.
 - 31 Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage around the World from 1803–1807*, vol. 2, ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Victoria Joan Moessner (Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press., 1993), 6 n3.
 - 32 Henry Wood Elliott, *Seal-Islands of Alaska*, 1880, 8.
 - 33 Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 356.
 - 34 Black, *Russians in Alaska: 1732–1867*, 148.
 - 35 Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech Rep NMFS SSRF-780, 1984, 1.
 - 36 Vasilii N. Berkh, *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands or the Exploits of Russian Merchants: With a Supplement of Historical Data on the Fur Trade*, ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Dmitri Krenov (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1974). Originally published as *Khronologicheskaiia istoriia otkrytiia Aleutskikh ostrovov, ili podvigi Rossiiskogo kupechestva*. (St. Petersburg: N. Grech, 1823).
 - 37 P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian American Company*, ed. Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly, trans. Dmitri Krenov (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1979), vol. 2, 253.
 - 38 Kiril Timofeevich Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America, Parts II–V: Kad'iak, Unalashka, Atkha, The Pribylovs*, ed. Richard Pierce, trans. Marina Ramsay (Kingston, ON and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press, 1994), 182.
 - 39 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*, 412.
 - 40 Basil Dmytryshyn, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Thomas Vaughan, eds., *Russian Penetration of the North Pacific Ocean, 1700–1799*, vol. 2 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1988), 473.
 - 41 Black, *Russians in America*, 104.
 - 42 Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 8–9.
 - 43 Ibid., 9.
 - 44 Pierce, *Russian America*, 413.
 - 45 Solovjova and Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush*, 248 and 313; and Pierce, *Russian America*, 413.
 - 46 Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, 356.
 - 47 K. J. Crossen, D. R. Yesner, D. W. Veltre, and R. W. Graham, “5,700 Year-old Mammoth Remains from the Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Last Outpost of North American Megafauna,” Geological Society of America, 2005 Salt Lake City Annual Meeting, *Abstracts with Programs*, 37: 463; and R. D. Guthrie, “Radiocarbon Evidence of Mid-Holocene Mammoths Stranded on an Alaskan Bering Sea Island,” *Nature* 429 (2004): 746–9.
 - 48 See Tim Flannery, *The Eternal Frontier: An Ecological History of North America and its Peoples* in *Atlantic Monthly*, 2001, for an interesting examination of effects of mankind’s hunting strategies upon the existence of numerous large North American land mammals including the mammoth.
 - 49 Pierce, *Russian America*, 352.
 - 50 Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition*, 211.

- 51 Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, vol. 33, 191–3, melds the accounts given by Sauer and Veniaminov.
- 52 Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan, eds., *The End of Russian America*, vol. 2, 373–4, cited a letter written by Grigorii I. Shelikhov to Evstrat I. Delarov in which he stated, “When Pribylov was about halfway to Aglits, he discovered two small islands not more than 200 versts [one verst = 0.6629 mile or 1.067 kilometers] from Unalaska. From those two islands, still others are visible. On the two he discovered he left 20 Russians and 20 Aleuts to hunt, and the rest went back by ship to good harbors. In two years the 40 men took more than 2,000 sea otters, 40,000 fur seals, 6,000 blue fox, 1,000 puds [one pud = 36.11 pounds avoirdupois] of walrus tusks, and 500 puds of whiskers. . . . Pribylov’s two hunting vessels will set out in 1791 with Popov in charge of one and Lukiniev [Lukannon] of the other.”
- 53 Black, *Russians in America*, 116 n16 and 131. The name “Zubov Islands” was meant to honor Count Platon Zubov in 1794—he was a favorite of Empress Catherine. But Russian-American Company Chief Manager Murav’iev chose to honor Pribylov’s discovery of the islands, and he had the support of the Russian Navy. According to Richard Pierce, *Russian America*, 368, Matvei Ivanovich Murav’ev served as chief manager from 1820 to 1825.
- 54 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* [*Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla*], ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1984), 135–6.
- 55 Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage around the World*, vol. 2, 6; cf. 11 n3 for spelling of Pribuloff.
- 56 P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of The Russian American Company*, trans. and ed. Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1978), 19–20.
- 57 Ivan Veniaminov, *Zapiski Ob Ostrovah Unalaskinskago Otdeyla*, Early History of the Pribylov Islands, trans. R. H. Geoghegan (unpublished, undated), located in reprint file collection, NOAA Mammal Library, Seattle; and Bancroft, *The History of Alaska*, vol. 33, 193 n38.
- 58 Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, vol. 33, 193 n38, stated that “Berg, who has traced the course of nearly every other vessel in these waters, states that nothing was known of Pribylof’s beyond the return of his rich cargo.” This statement is taken to mean that no record was found of any vessel being at the Seal Islands prior to Pribylov’s discovery.
- 59 Richard Henry Geoghegan and Fredericka I. Martin, *The Aleut Language: The Elements of Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1944), 102. Geoghegan also offers the word “ammiq,” which he interpreted as “mother’s brother.” “Mother’s brother” is the translation of some present-day Aleuts for “amiq,” also known as the Pribilof Islands or only St. Paul Island, depending upon the context. Bancroft, *A History of Alaska*, 191–2, applied the name “Amik.”
- 60 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, 134.
- 61 California Death Index, 1940–1997; and U.S. Census, 1900.
- 62 St. George Island, Alaska, Official Journal 1916, copy of communiqué inserted following entries for June 20, 1916. NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22.
- 63 St. George Island, Official Journal, Apr. 26, 27, and 30; May 30; and June 9 and 16, 1916.
- 64 *Ibid.*, June 20, 1916.

R

REDPATH, JAMES C. (1844–1920)

Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1875–1890

Agent, North American Commercial Company, 1890–1905

Superintendent, North American Commercial Company, 1906–1910

Genealogy

James C. Redpath was born to English émigrés in Connecticut in 1844 and died in San Francisco on August 13, 1920. He never married. When not in Alaska, Redpath lived in San Francisco as a fur-trader managing a fur store.¹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

James Redpath deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on June 3, 1892, before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. Paul Island, Alaska. Excerpts follow:

I am an American citizen, a native of Connecticut, and I am forty-eight years of age. At present I am a resident of St. Paul Island, Alaska. I have resided on the Seal Islands of St. George and St. Paul since my first coming to Alaska in 1875. My present occupation is that of local agent on St. Paul Island for the present lessees, the North American Commercial Company. I have a practical knowledge of and am thoroughly conversant with the habits and conditions of the fur seal as it exists on the Pribilof Islands of St. George and St. Paul. . . . I have had a personal experience of seventeen seasons on the killing grounds in different situations, from that of seal clubber to foreman, several years of which I have been the resident local agent.

Before the Alaska Commercial Company leased the seal islands in 1870, it was a common practice to drive seals from North East Point to the Village on St. Paul Island, a distance of 12 miles and from Zapadnie to the Village on St. George Island, a distance of 6 miles, across a very rough and rugged country.

When the Alaska Commercial Company took control of the islands the drive from North East point was prohibited, and a salt house and other necessary buildings erected within 2 miles of the killing ground, and all the skins taken there were salted, stored, and shipped

from North East Point. In 1879 a killing ground was made, and a salt house built at Halfway Point, within 2 miles of the hauling grounds, and all skins taken at the Point are salted there. At Zapadnie, the same year, a killing ground was made within a mile of the hauling ground, and the skins taken there are taken to the Village salt house in boats, or, when the weather is unfavorable, by team and wagon.

Since 1878 there has not been a drive made on St. George, a salt house was built about 1875, and the 6 mile drive prohibited, and a trail made at great expense across the Island, over which the skins are taken on pack saddles to the Village. Since 1874 no seals have been driven on St. George Island to exceed 2 ½ miles.²

Pribilof Islands Experience

During the course of writing an article titled "Polar Bear and Mammoth," Smithsonian paleontologist Clayton Edward Ray interviewed former government agent G Dallas Hanna, who had known James Redpath:

At the time of the Jordan Investigation of the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands, these islands were under lease to the North American Commercial Company. The local manager was Mr. Redpath. After the termination of the lease, he settled at Dutch Harbor, Alaska. I met him there once, but I do recall having discussed the various practical jokes which were attributed to him by his own company associates, [Alexander Henry] Proctor and [Watson Colt] Allis. Mr. Redpath was a very pleasant conversationalist. One of these pranks was the sowing of Lukanin black sand beach with brass spelter just after the last ship had sailed south one fall. The news of having discovered gold on the black sands of Alaska the previous summer led to casual observation at the mess table that some of the sands on St. Paul were black. Might they also carry gold? Lukanin beach, being very handy, was investigated and much to the surprise of every one, the first test revealed specks of yellow metal. The resulting "gold" rush was on and lasted until cold weather closed the operation. Before spring, someone figured out how to test for gold and the fun was over.



Group of men including Watson Colt Allis and James C. Redpath (second and fourth from the left, respectively), 1920s. (Alaska State Library, Richard & Mary Culbertson Photograph Coll., P390-32.)

The mammoth teeth found in the cave in Bogoslof Hill were apparently planted under Mr. Redpath's direction. They had probably been obtained from people returning from Seward Peninsula, where they were obtained in numbers during gold-rush days. South-bound vessels from Nome often put in to Village Cove on St. Paul, so the opportunity was there. Apparently Mr. Redpath was entertaining members of the Jordan Expedition and turned the conversation to fossil mammoths and suggested that the cave in Bogoslof Hill would be an excellent place to search. Members of the expedition then went to the cave and rather quickly found what they were looking for.

I believe one of the natives who first told me the story of Bogoslof Cave was Neon Tetof, in whom I grew to place much confidence. It was repeated by others, including the two (then boys) who did the actual planting. I recall they chose a dark, rainy day for the three or four mile trip, so as not to be seen by any of the investigators of the expedition.³

Local lore on the Pribilofs tells of Redpath's support of at least one and maybe more children born out of wedlock, to whom he left large sums of money upon his death in San Francisco.⁴

RESANZOFF (REZANZOFF), ANDRONIC (D. 1887)

Genealogy

Andronic Resanzoff is listed in the July 20, 1881, St. George Island Census along with wife Theodocia (aka Fedosia) and six children: daughters Theodocia, Stepeneda (Seraphina) and Agrophema (adopted); and sons Lazar, Innokenty, and Loverenty.⁵ Andronic Resanzoff died October 15, 1887.⁶ The 1883 St. George Island Census listed Serefema Rezanoff as the granddaughter of Fedosia Rezanoff.⁷

Biographical Sketch

Andronic Resanzoff was listed as a St. George Island chief in the July 1, 1883, St. George Island Census and as a ship passenger in the St. Paul Island Agent's Log on May 29, 1885.

RESANZOFF (REZANZOFF), INNOKENTY (B. 1877)

Genealogy

Innokenty Resanzoff was born March 7, 1877, to Andronic and Theodocia (aka Fedosia) Resanzoff.⁸ Innokenty Resanzoff was listed as a bachelor in the St. George Census of 1895.⁹

Biographical Sketch

Innokenty Resanzoff was one of many Aleuts at St. George Island who guarded the seal rookeries against marauders.

Simenon Oustigoff and Innokenty Rezanoff, who were sent to Zapadnie Rookery June 21, as guards, returned today the service of each being 8 days, which, at the \$1.50 per day, amounts to \$12.00, with which they have, respectively, been duly credited. They brought in pelts of two seals killed for food, which weighted 7 pounds each, and were accepted by the agent of the N.A.C. Company.¹⁰

RESANZOFF (REZANZOFF), PETER (1844–1899)

Genealogy

Peter Resanzoff was born on St. George Island, Alaska, on March 6, 1844.¹¹ Peter married Matrona (surname unknown) born in 1838, Sitka, Alaska. Peter and Matrona had a son, Paul, born July 9, 1877, and a daughter, Tatiana, born February 22, 1883, on St. George Island.¹² Peter Rezanoff died there on January 27, 1899.¹³

Pribilof Islands Experience

The following description of Peter Resanzoff is taken from testimony given by George Wardman before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in 1888. Wardman, a former Treasury agent, was asked if he had knowledge “of the condition of the natives on the [St. George] island compared with what it was before the Territory was ceded to the United States.”

Yes, sir; we had there a very intelligent half-breed native. He spoke very good English, and he could read and write English very well. His name was Peter Resanzoff. He had been educated at Sitka under the Russian rule, when he was a boy. I think his father was going to put him in the church, but he never went in. He seemed to be a pretty bright fellow and he was better educated than any of the children who had been to school on the island. He used to read Dickens’s [sic] stories. He can make a pair of pump-soled boots; he is a first-class carpenter, and can make a gun-tube out of a rat-tail file; he is a pretty good blacksmith, and could cut your hair as well as a barber, and he was a pretty clever fellow. He said that those fellows did like to work, but under the Russian rule they had to pack every skin from the village over to Garden Cove, which is 3 miles across the island. They had a landing on the south side of the island and they used to make the natives pack all the skins over there. They lived in barabakies at that time. A barabakie is a sort of dirt house. They lived at “Staroi Steel,” or old village, and the Russians made them pack skins from there clear across the island, 3 miles, to a vessel on the other side. The Americans have put in better facilities for shipping skins. Peter said the natives all lived in barabkies at that time, and now they live in frame houses.¹⁴

Peter Resanzoff’s name also appeared in testimony given by former Assistant Agent William Gavitt before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in 1888. Gavitt had alleged that Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) employees abused St. George Island Natives, and for his attempt to quell the abuse these same individuals verbally abused and threatened him and his wife. Peter Resanzoff along with other unnamed Natives signed a petition sustaining Gavitt’s allegations. Gavitt stated that an ACC employee threatened to “get even with Peter Rezanoff,” and subsequently, he alleged, ACC personnel forced Mr. Resanzoff to a work detail when he was ill so that he could not testify on Gavitt’s behalf.¹⁵ William Gavitt’s allegations were ultimately dismissed by the committee, as discussed in more detail in his biography herein.



Matrona, Peter, and Tatiana Resanzoff. (Charles S. Hamlin Coll., 728-035, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858–1919)

President of the United States, 1901–1909

Pribilof Islands Experience

President Theodore Roosevelt had concerns that the rapid decline of the northern fur-seal population was fueled by Japanese pelagic sealers harassing the Pribilof Islands, as well as the fact that their escapades wreaked havoc with U.S. foreign affairs. (See the Walter Lembkey biographical sketch, which addresses the killing of several Japanese marauders on St. Paul Island in 1906.) Roosevelt addressed the issue in a magazine article wherein he considered exterminating the fur-seal herd:

In case we are obliged to abandon the hope of making arrangements with other governments to put an end to the hideous cruelty now incident of pelagic sealing, it will be a question for your serious consideration how far we shall continue to protect and maintain the seal herd on land with result of continuing such a practice, and whether it is not better to end the practice by exterminating the herd ourselves in the most humane way possible.¹⁶

President Roosevelt did not have to give the order to exterminate the herd.

RYAN, THOMAS F. (B. 1841)

Assistant Treasury Agent, St. George Island, 1885–1886

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Thomas Ryan deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on March 26, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C. An excerpt:

I am a resident of Indianapolis, Indiana, and am 51 years old. During the years 1885 and 1886 I was Assistant Treasury Agent, residing on St. George Island, one of the Pribilof Islands. I arrived there about the 1st of May, 1885, and remained there until August 9, 1886.
...

I am further satisfied after my two years' experience that the driving of male seals to the killing grounds by the natives could be of no possible injury to seal life on the islands.¹⁷

- 1 U.S. Census, 1910 (3A), 1920 (37), San Francisco, CA; California Death Index 1905–1939 (p. 8986), death file no. 13302, Aug. 13, 1920, http://www.vitalsearch-ca.com/gen/ca/_vitals/cadeath.htm.
- 2 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 147 and 150.
- 3 Clayton Edward Ray, "Polar Bear and Mammoth," *Arctic* 2, no. 1 (Mar. 1971): 15–16. See John Hanson biography herein for additional information on mammoth discovery.
- 4 Aquilina Lestenkof of St. Paul Island told the authors that Redpath was the father of one of her kin and that he provided financial support to the child's family after he departed the island, and willed a sum to the same following his death.
- 5 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 142, 154, and 161.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 189.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 237.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 10 and 121.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 268.
- 10 St. George Island Agent's Log, June 28, 1893, 290. Innokenty Resanzoff would have been fifteen years old at this time.
- 11 St. George Island Agent's Log, 1877, 91, for birth date; and Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 136.
- 12 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 10 and 161.
- 13 St. George Island Agent's Log, 1899 Census, for date of death.
- 14 U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 35.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 187–8 and 192.
- 16 Theodore Roosevelt, "The Fur-Seal Fisheries," *Metropolitan Magazine*, Mar. 1907, 687–98.
- 17 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 174–5.

S

SCHEFFER, VICTOR BLANCHARD (B. 1906)

Zoologist, Author, Photographer, Lecturer, and Conservationist

Biologist, Pribilof Islands, 1940–1964

Chairman, Marine Mammal Commission, 1973

Genealogy

Victor Blanchard Scheffer was born on November 27, 1906, in Manhattan, Kansas, to biologist Theophilus Scheffer (1867–1967) and Celia Esther (Blanchard) Scheffer. His father “worked for the old Bureau of Biological Survey, the first federal agency concerned with exploring the bird and mammal fauna in the United States.”¹ Victor Scheffer married Mary Elizabeth MacInnes on October 12, 1935. The Scheffers had three children: Brian M. Scheffer, a psychotherapist; Susan (Scheffer) Irvine, a homemaker; and Anne (Scheffer) Carlstrom, a middle-school math teacher.²

Biographical Sketch

Victor Scheffer’s early education took place in the Puyallup, Washington, schools. He earned degrees in zoology—BS (1930), MS (1932), and PhD (1936)—from the University of Washington. His first job in zoology was with the U.S. Bureau of Entomology, slicing daffodil bulbs in search of bulb-fly grubs, during the summer of 1928. He also worked as a nature guide at Mount Rainier National Park for



Victor Bernard Scheffer, Colorado A&M College, March 1956. (NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA.)

five summers while attending the University of Washington, thus obtaining a first-hand ecological education.³

In 1937, the Department of Agriculture, U.S. Biological Survey, hired Scheffer as a junior biologist; he spent his summers in that position with the Olaus Murie Aleutian Islands Expedition. In 1940, just before the Biological Survey became the new U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service within the Department of the Interior, Scheffer was assigned to the Pribilof Islands, an experience that led him to become a “world authority on the biology and conservation of marine mammals.”⁴ Scheffer retired from government service in 1969 to devote more time to writing and lecturing. Among his numerous publications in the following years were six award-winning titles: *The Year of the Whale* (1969, winner of the John Burroughs Medal in 1970), *The Year of the Seal* (1970), *The Little Calf* (1970), *The Seeing Eye* (1971), *A Voice for Wildlife* (1974, recipient of the Joseph Wood Krutch Award in 1975), and *A Natural History of Marine Mammals* (1976). In 1973, Scheffer became the first chairman of the Marine Mammal Commission, created after passage of the federal Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972.⁵ In 2006, Victor B. Scheffer became a centenarian; his father also had lived into his 100th year.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Victor Scheffer’s life-altering adventure into the world of the fur seal began when he left Seattle for the Pribilof Islands on June 10, 1940, aboard the Bureau of Fisheries vessel *Penguin*. During his first summer in the field, Scheffer’s job focused on conducting a census of the fur-seal population, which he later estimated at one and a half million. Lacking other professional assistance, Scheffer used a method of hot-iron branding on 5,000 seal pups with intentions of developing a scientific approach for estimating the population in subsequent years; he later said that “the hot-iron branding of pups was an unintended cruelty because the little seal pups didn’t like it at all.”⁶ Over the next few years Scheffer substituted the method of applying metal tags to the seals’ bodies, along with aerial photography and a continuation of the pole counting method (“lines of white or striped poles . . . along the ground midway between tri-pod towers, marking the limits of the area counted from each tower”).⁷ Scheffer’s 1948 aerial photos of the islands are among the earliest aerial photos taken of the Pribilof Islands. Earlier aerial photos were taken by military personnel during WWII. Aerial photography proved to be a dramatic improvement for counting seals over any other methods previously used by other scientists and non-scientists.

Besides the seal population, Scheffer studied Arctic blue fox, reindeer, numerous birds, and plants of all varieties on the Pribilof Islands. In the summer of 1940, he estimated the reindeer herd on St. Paul Island at 2,000 animals. Little more than a decade later, in 1951, he wrote of the demise of the herds on the Seal Islands and pointed to the reasons.⁸ During his fifteen summer trips to the Pribilof Islands over twenty-four years (1940–64),⁹ Scheffer accumulated an extensive collection of photographs accompanied by a detailed, annotated catalog of those images. He wrote extensively on the subject of fur seals and on other subjects as well. From 1932 to 2001, he produced 284 scientific publications, including 29 books.¹⁰ Using his large collection of scientific materials and



Victor B. Scheffer weighing northern fur-seal pups at St. Paul Island. (NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA, VBS-4737.26.)



Fur-seal biologists at Tolstoi Point, St. Paul Island, circa 1940. Left to right: Karl H. Kenyon, William Sholes, Robert Z. Brown, and Victor B. Scheffer. (Courtesy Ford Wilke's daughter, Gretchen W. Fischer.)



Victor S. Scheffer, 3rd from left, and Charles Ford Wilke, 4th from left, circa 1940. (Courtesy Ford Wilke's daughter, Gretchen W. Fischer.)

his influence as a world-recognized expert, he initiated what would become the present-day Marine Mammal Library at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Western Regional Office in Seattle, Washington, where many of his photographs are archived, although they remain uncataloged and un-indexed at the time of this writing.

Beginning in 1955, Scheffer's findings "figured prominently during the negotiations . . . for a new fur-seal treaty. Those talks culminated in the ratification, in 1957, of the Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals, agreed to by the four signatories to the 1911 treaty."¹¹

SCRIBNER, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1825–1900)

Assistant Agent, St. George Island, 1879–1880

Genealogy

Benjamin Franklin Scribner was born September 20, 1825, in New Albany, Indiana, the son of Abner Scribner and Charlotte (Devol) Scribner.¹² Benjamin Scribner married Annie (unknown surname) in Indiana. The 1880 census showed that the family included four sons and two daughters: Edmund, Charles, Cornelia, Mary, George and William. The couple eventually had ten children. Benjamin died on November 29, 1900, in New Albany.¹³

Biographical Sketch

[Benjamin Franklin Scribner] early displayed a military bent, joining the Spencer Grays, a local militia group. When war broke out with Mexico in 1846, the group volunteered for action, and became Company A of the 2nd Indiana Volunteers. Scribner served for one year, seeing action at Buena Vista and earning a promotion to sergeant. In 1847 he published an account of his experiences, largely excerpts from his journals, entitled *Camp Life of a Volunteer* (Evansville, J. R. Nunemacher, 1847).

Scribner's civilian occupation was as a chemist and druggist, and in the profession he ran the partnership of Scribner and Magazines, one of the largest [stores] of its kind in New Albany.

In 1861, Scribner first joined a local militia, then as a colonel he [was] recruited [by] the 38th Indiana Volunteers. This regiment in the following two years served in Kentucky and Tennessee, and saw action at Stones River, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Kenesaw [sic] Mountain. . . . He was retired because of ill health in 1863, having been brevetted a brigadier general.

Scribner took advantage of his war service to obtain appointment in 1865 as collector of internal revenue for the second Indiana district. He held this post for six years, while retaining an interest in the drug business which was run by his partner.¹⁴

After Scribner returned to Indiana in 1880, he pursued his pharmacy interests and remained involved with veterans' affairs.



Benjamin Franklin Scribner, 1825–1900. (<http://www.civilwarindiana.com/soldiers/reg038.html>, accessed Sep. 28, 2004.)

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Benjamin Scribner offered the following deposition for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 23, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C.:

I am 66 years of age, and a pharmacist by profession. My residence is New Albany, Ind. In July, 1878, I was appointed assistant Treasury agent for the seal islands, and arrived on said islands in May, 1879. I landed at St. George Island and remained there continuously until August, 1880, except a part of the season of 1880; I spent on St. Paul Island.¹⁵

SEWARD, WILLIAM HENRY (1801–1872)

Lawyer and Political Leader

U.S. Secretary of State, 1861–1869

Genealogy

William Henry Seward was born on May 16, 1801, in Florida, New York, to Samuel Seward and Mary (Jennings) Seward. He married Frances Adeline Miller and the couple had five children: Augustus Henry, Frederick William, Cornelia, William Henry, and Frances Adeline. All of the children were born in New York State.¹⁶



William Seward. (NAA, Stanley Brown Coll., lot 54-204.)

Biographical Sketch

William Seward practiced law in Auburn, New York, beginning in 1823. He served as governor of New York from 1839 to 1843 and was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served from 1849 to 1861 and was a strong advocate for anti-slavery legislation. He served as U.S. Secretary of State from 1861 to 1869, during which time he initiated and concluded negotiations with Russia to acquire Russian America, soon to be known as the Territory of Alaska.¹⁷ The story of Seward's involvement with the purchase of Alaska has been written about extensively. Interested readers are urged to examine sources such as Victor

J. Farrar, *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States*; Ted C. Hinckley, *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867–1897*; Ronald Jensen, *The Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations*; David Hunter Miller, *The Alaska Treaty*; Morgan B. Sherwood, *Alaska and Its History*; and Archie W. Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska*.

We did not find any records specifically linking Secretary Seward to the Pribilof Islands or the northern fur seal. It remains unclear whether the Seal Islands was part of his rationale for purchase of Russian America, but clearly his actions led to significant changes for the inhabitants of the Seal Islands.

SHAIASHNIKOV (SHAIASHNIKOFF), KASS'IAN (D. 1859)

Manager, Russian-American Company, St. Paul Island (ca. 1828–1857)

Genealogy

Kass'ian Shaiashnikov¹⁸ married Nadezhda (unknown surname) on July 8, 1827. The couple had six children: Innokenty (b. 1827); Pavel (b. 1835); Kseniia (b. 1838); Petr (b. 1839, d. 1848); Zakharii (b. 1841); and Mariia (died 1848). Biographer Richard Pierce surmised that first wife Nadezhda died before Kass'ian's marriage to Iustiniia Kochergin on August 4, 1850.¹⁹ Kass'ian and Iustiniia had four children: Mariia (1850–52), Kassian (b. 1852), Evdokiia (b. 1854), and Petr (b. 1855). Kass'ian died at Unalaska on January 2, 1859. Iustiniia died March 6, 1863.²⁰

Pribilof Experience

Deacon Kass'ian Shaiashnikoff served as the Russian-American Company manager of St. Paul Island from circa 1828 until he retired in 1857.²¹ Aleut historian Henry W. Elliott wrote about Deacon Kass'ian's diary, which unfortunately did not survive to tell what likely would have been an illuminating perspective of life on the Pribilof Islands during the mid-nineteenth century.

He left a copious and a carefully written diary, covering everything that transpired daily on the seal islands [sic] during all that period. A stupid and unworthy relative actually took this precious MS. [manuscript] and had pasted it all over the doors, the walls, and the ceiling of his house on the island in 1860–1864, and I saw a few of the smoke-stained sheets still sticking there in 1872.²²

Apparently, Kass'ian was highly regarded by his superiors. Among other accomplishments, he was credited with providing a detailed natural history of the northern fur seal included in a book by Iurii Simashko, titled *Description of All Water Animals of the Russian Empire* (1851).²³ Two of Kass'ian's sons, Innokenty and Pavel (Paul), became the first Orthodox priests to serve St. Paul Island (see the chapter herein on the Orthodox clergy on the islands).

SHEPARD, CAPTAIN LEONARD GRIFFIN (1846–1895)

Chief, U.S. Revenue Marine Service

Captain, USS Rush

Chief of Division, Revenue Marine

Genealogy

Leonard Griffin Shepard was born November 10, 1846, at Dorchester, Massachusetts, to Horatio Gates Shepard and Mary A. (Griffin) Shepard. Leonard married Isabel Sharp on February 4, 1880, in Steubenville, Ohio, and the couple had two children, Leonard Griffin and William Chambers.²⁴ Captain Shepard died of pneumonia at age forty-nine on March 1, 1895, in Washington, D.C.²⁵

Biographical Sketch

Captain Leonard Shepard was the “first officer in permanent charge of the Revenue Marine,”²⁶ later known as the Revenue Cutter Service, where he dealt with issues of personnel and fleet improvements.

Isabel Shepard accompanied her husband on his 1889 cruise to the Bering Sea in protection of the fur seal. That year the Bancroft Company in San Francisco printed her book, *The Cruise of the U.S. Steamer Rush in Behring Sea—Summer of 1889*, which recorded her experiences during the voyage.²⁷

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Captain Shepard offered his experience of patrolling the Bering Sea to the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 27, 1892, before Notary Public George Y. Coffin at Washington, D.C. His deposition may have influenced the tribunal to prohibit pelagic sealing within



Captain Leonard Griffin Shepard. (USCG Military Museum.)



THE U. S. REVENUE STEAMER "RUSH," WITH HER PRIZES OF 1887, AT SITKA

U.S. Revenue Steamer Rush. (Isabel Shepard, The Cruise of the U.S. Steamer Rush in Behring Sea—Summer of 1889.)

sixty miles of the Seal Islands. Unfortunately, the sixty-mile radius proved insufficient as female seals traveled 150 miles or more from the islands to feed. Shepard recalled three cruises to the Bering Sea, in 1887, 1888, and 1889,

for the purpose of enforcing existing law for protection of seal life in Alaska and the waters thereof, and also to protect other Government interests in Alaska.

Pursuant to orders received from the Treasury Department, I sailed from San Francisco June 4, 1887, arriving at Unalaska on the 15th of that month. On the 18th I commenced cruising in Bering Sea. I hereby append to and make a part of this affidavit a table, marked A, giving the names of the vessels seized by me in Bering Sea while violating the law of the United States in relation to the taking of fur-bearing animals (all these vessels so seized were unmistakably engaged in sealing), together with the date of the seizure in each case, the nationality, rig, tonnage, hailing port, master, and managing owner of each vessel, the longitude and latitude in which each vessel was seized, the white men, Indians, and Chinamen on board at the time of seizure, the number of sealskins and the weapons on each vessel. In the cases of the *Challenge*, *Anna Beck*, *W.P. Sayward*, *Dolphin*, *Lilly L.*, *Grace*, and *San José* the vessels were towed to Unalaska, and their sealskins and arms were taken from them, and they were sent to Sitka. The *Ellen*, *Albert Adams*, *Annie*, *Alpha*, and the *Kate and Anna* were disarmed and the sealskins taken on board the *Rush* at the time and place of seizure, and they too were sent to Sitka. All these vessels reported there, except the *Ellen* and *San José*, going to San Francisco, and the *Albert Adams*, to Victoria, British Columbia.

TABLE A.

Number.	Date seized.	Nationality.	Rig.	Names and official number.	Tonnage.	Hailing port.	Master.	Managing owner.	Latitude (north).	Longitude (west).	White men.	Indians.	Chinamen.	Seal skins.	Breech-loading rifles.	Other arms.
1	1887 June 30	American.	Schooner	Challenge, 126339	36.61	Seattle, Wash ..	H. B. Jones	Albert Donglass.....	Akutan land.	Is-	14	1	...	151	4	5
2	July 2	British ...	Steam schooner.	Anna Beck, 64135	36.35	Victoria, B. C....	Louis Olsen.....	J. D. Warren, Victoria, B. C.	54° 58'	167° 26'	7	12	...	336	...	...
3	July 9	...do .....	...	W. P. Sayward, 83446..	59.70	...do	George R. Ferry	do	54 43	167 51	6	19	...	477	...	...
4	July 12	...do	Steam schooner.	Dolphin, 83445	60.10	...do	J. D. Warren	do	54 38	167 03	7	26	...	618	4	38
5	July 16	American.	Schooner	Lilly L, 140872.....	63.42	San Francisco...	James W. Todd..	C. D. Ladd, San Francisco.	55 46	170 38	22	...	...	197	0	61
6	July 17	British ...	Steam schooner.	Grace, 83442.....	76.87	Victoria, B. C....	William Pstitt....	J. D. Warren, Victoria, B. C.	55 03	168 40	6	24	1	769	3	22
7	Aug. 6	American.	Schooner	Ellen, 135838	12.03	San Francisco ..	Thos. H. Wentworth.	Claus W. Liljequist.....	54 19	166 56	6	...	...	195	3	3
8	Aug. 6	British ...	...do	Alfred Adams, 83443..	68.75	Victoria, B. C....	W. H. Dyer	Jacob Gntmann, Victoria, B. C.	54 42	167 20	4	21	1	1,379	3	9
9	Aug. 6	American.	...do	Annie, 106406	25.27	San Francisco ..	Henry Brown.....	James Laffin, San Francisco.	55 05	167 19	11	...	...	304	2	5
10	Aug. 8	...do .....	...do	Alpha, 105761	26.58	Astoria, Oregon.	James Tatton....	Jas. Tatton, Astoria, Oregon.	56 55	169 40	6	...	...	389	5	6
11	Aug. 8	...do	Steam schooner.	Kate and Anna, 14373.	16.49	Portland, Oregon	Charles Lntjens..	Chas. Lntjens, Portland, Oregon.	57 07	160 51	7	...	1	577	6	8
12	Aug. 18	...do	Schooner	San José, 116087	51.88	San Francisco ..	John S. Leo.....	James Garvin, Oakland, Cal.	54 14	167 28	16	...	...	891	7	6

I again sailed from San Francisco, the 3rd of July, 1888, and entered Bering Sea about the 16th of the same month. Owing to the large number of vessels seized in 1887, very few entered Bering to take seals in 1888, and I made no seizures. I only saw two vessels in the sea during that season, one of which, the *Juanita* of Victoria, British Columbia, was engaged in taking seal at the time we sighted her, which was August 5, in latitude 54° 38" north, longitude 166° 54" west.

In 1889 I again sailed from San Francisco for Bering Sea on June 1, and arrived at Unalaska June 16. I began cruising in the sea eight days later. I hereby append to and make a part of this affidavit a table marked B, giving the names of the vessels seized by me in Bering Sea while violating the laws of the United States in relation to the taking of fur-bearing animals, together with the date of seizure, nationality, rig, tonnage, hailing port, master, managing owner, latitude and longitude in which seized, and the white men and Indians on board at the time of seizure, the number of sealskins and weapons on each vessel seized. In nearly every case of those vessels named in Table B, they had boats out engaged in sealing. All of them were ordered to go to Sitka, but none of them reported there, all going to their homeports. The *Black Diamond*, the *Minnie*, and the *Pathfinder* were each placed in charge of a special United States officer, who protested in vain against the noncompliance with the instructions given to proceed to Sitka. The *Minnie* in spite of the officer on board continued sailing in Bering Sea until August 17, and secured during that time 478 seal skins.

TABLE B.

Number.	Date of seizure.	Nationality.	Rig.	Names and official number.	Tonnage.	Hailing port.	Master.	Owner.	Latitude (north).	Longitude (west).	White men.	Indians.	Seal skins.	Breech-loading rifles.	Other arms.	Indian spears.
1	1880. July 11	British	Schooner.	Black Diamond 61304.*	81.57	Victoria, B. C....	Owen Thomas	Frank & Gntman..	56° 22'	170° 25'	5	20	76	1	...	20
2	July 15	...do .....	...do	Minnie, 04806	49.66	...do	Victor Jacobson..	Victor Jacobson ..	55 11	165 55	5	16	418	...	...	11
3	July 20	...do .....	...do	Pathfinder, 75908 ..	69.88	...do	William O'Leary ..	Bechtel.....	57 24	171 55	20	...	853	4	...	...
4	July 30	United States.	...do	James G. Swan, 76808.	59.91	Port Townsend ..	Martin Benton	Chastoqua Peterson	55 44	171 4	2	14	171	2	...	11
5	July 31	British .....	...do	Juanita, 72675.....	40.21	Victoria, B. C....	C. E. Clarke.....	Hall & Gospel.....	55 42	170 40	4	14	619	...	...	14
6	Aug. 6	...do .....	...do	Lily, 83443 *	68.75	...do	John Reilly.....	Frank & Gntman..	55 29	166 15	5	25	333	...	...	23

*Partly owned by American citizens.

I hereby append to and make part of this affidavit [Table C] the number and names of vessels fitted out for sealing boarded and examined by me in Bering Sea or the waters of Alaska Territory during the sealing season of 1889, together with the date of master, owner, latitude and longitude, white men and Indians on board, sealskins and weapons found. The last three columns of said table are incomplete, from the fact that the officers boarding failed to get definite statements on these points. They were not seized, because evidence was wanting as to their having actually sealed in Bering Sea. During these three years I had frequent conversations with the masters and crews of sealing vessels in relation to open-

sea sealing. From these conversations, and also from my own observations, I make the following statement in relation to pelagic sealing. . . .

It is my opinion that should pelagic sealing be prohibited in a zone 30, 40, or 50 miles about the Pribilof Islands it would be utterly useless as a protection to seal life, because female seals go much farther than that in search of food, and because fogs are so prevalent about those islands that it would be impossible to enforce any such prohibition.²⁸

TABLE C.

Number.	Date boarded.	Nationality.	Rig.	Name.	Tonnage.	Hailing port.	Master.	Owner.	Latitude (north).	Longi- tude (west).	White men.	Indians.	Seal skins.	Rifles.	Other arms.
1	1889.														
1	July 4	United States.	Schooner.	Molly Adams.....	123.43	Port Townsend.....	Jacobs.....	Jacobs.....	Unalaska.		26				
2	July 4	.....do.....	.....do.....	Henry Dennis.....	96.37	Salem, Mass.....	Lavender.....	.....do.....	Unalaska.		14				
3	July 4	.....do.....	.....do.....	Walter L. Rich.....	79.75	San Francisco.....	Seiward.....	.....do.....	Unalaska.		18				
4	July 4	.....do.....	.....do.....	Lily L.....	63.42	.....do.....	Minor.....	C. D. Lodd.....	Unalaska.		22				
5	July 11	British.....	.....do.....	Triumph.....	98	Victoria, B. C.....	McLean.....	.....do.....	56° 5' | 170° 41'		25				
6	July 19	United States.	.....do.....	Allie I. Algar.....	79.42	Seattle, Wash.....	Algar.....	J. Nixon.....	Unalaska.		18				
7	July 19	.....do.....	.....do.....	O. S. Fowler.....	35.45	San Francisco.....	Kioman.....	.....do.....	Unalaska.		14				
8	July 23	.....do.....	.....do.....	Jas. Hamilton Lewis.....	.....	Seattle, Wash.....	Raynor.....	J. Nixon.....	55° 44'	167° 18'	13				
9	July 23	.....do.....	.....do.....	Venture.....	24.49	.....do.....	Nelson.....	.....do.....	54° 42'	167° 38'	8		57		
10	July 24	.....do.....	.....do.....	Henry Dennis.....	96.37	Salem, Mass.....	Lavender.....	.....do.....			14				
11	July 27	British.....	.....do.....	Maggie Mc.....	.....	Victoria, B. C.....	Dodd.....	Dodd & Co.....	57° 36'	171° 34'	20		561		
12	July 29	United States.	.....do.....	Molly Adams.....	123.43	Port Townsend.....	Jacobs.....	Jacobs.....	56° 44'	171° 33'	20		100		
13	July 30	British.....	.....do.....	Ariel.....	90	St. John, N. B.....	Buckman.....	Buckman.....	56° 43'	171° 44'	19	2	51		
14	July 30	.....do.....	.....do.....	Teresa.....	63	Victoria, B. C.....	Ferry.....	Babington & Co.....	56° 49'	171° 21'	23		108		
15	July 30	United States.	.....do.....	Allie I. Algar.....	79.42	Seattle.....	Algar.....	J. Nixon.....	57° 00'	171° 23'	18				
16	Aug. 1	.....do.....	.....do.....	San Diego.....	38.61	San Francisco.....	Nelson.....	.....do.....	Off Akoutan.		12			6	5
17	Aug. 13	British.....	.....do.....	Kate.....	58	Victoria, B. C.....	.....do.....	C. Spring.....	54° 52' | 167° 20'		5	20			
18	Sept. 5	.....do.....	.....do.....	Mary Ellen.....	63	.....do.....	McLean.....	McLean.....	Popoff Straits.		23		1,700		

* Picked up from Bessie Rutter.

SIMS, EDWIN W. (1870–1948)

Solicitor (General Counsel), U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, 1905–1906.

Genealogy

Edwin W. Sims, born on June 4, 1870 at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, was the son of Walter and Elizabeth (Knowles) Sims. He was raised in Bay City, Michigan. On February 9, 1898, he married Charlotte Smith, daughter of Frank J. Smith. The couple had six children: Charlotte Elizabeth, Helen B., Frank S., Susan, Edwin W., and Priscilla S. Edwin Sims Sr. died June 16, 1948. He was interred at the Sims Private Cemetery, Sims Ranch, Au Gres, Michigan.²⁹

Biographical Sketch

Edwin Sims worked as a reporter, editor and special correspondent for several Michigan newspapers before graduating from the University of Michigan Law Department in 1894. As a member of the bar, he practiced law in Chicago and then served as Cook County, Illinois, District Attorney from 1900 to 1903. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him Solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1905; Sims left that position in 1906. After Sims’ investigation of the Seal Islands, President Roosevelt appointed him U.S. Attorney in Chicago, a position he maintained until 1911. Thereafter, he held various legal positions in Michigan.³⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

In July 1906, Edwin Sims, Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor, traveled to the Pribilof Islands to undertake a special investigation. Agent Walter Lembkey was in charge at the time. Coincidentally, Sims arrived a few days after a raid by Japanese sealers had resulted in the deaths of several and the capture of others. In recording the incident Sims praised Agent Lembkey and the island's Aleut guard. The report attested to the stressful conditions facing inhabitants of the islands during the pelagic sealing era, as detailed within the following excerpts.

About 9 o'clock on the morning of July 16 the native watchmen at Northeast Point, St. Paul Island, reported a schooner, about two miles out, sailing toward the shore. Upon the receipt of this information Chief Agent W.I. Lembkey and Assistant Agent James Judge, each accompanied by three or four natives, proceeded to a point on the shore from which the schooner could be seen. These agents and their parties then separated and concealed themselves at a point where landings were feasible close to two of the principal breeding areas, and about a half a mile from each other. The schooner, which was easily seen by these parties, continued to cruise parallel with the shore at a distance of about two miles out until 10.30 a.m., when a small boat put off and approached within a half mile of shore.

This movement was evidently for the purpose of locating the seal rookery, for upon discovering that there were no seals at the particular place the boat returned to the schooner and was taken about a mile farther on to a point opposite the breeding areas under Hutchinson Hill, where it again put off from the schooner and headed for the shore. The boat shortly afterwards made a landing about 200 yards east of the largest breeding area on the island—that located under Hutchinson Hill—and a crew of six Japanese disembarked, pulled up the boat, and proceeded to cross the beach to the grassy plateau beyond.

A few yards from the water's edge they were surprised by Chief Agent Lembkey and the native guard under his command and in compliance with his order threw up their hands without resistance. In reply to an inquiry, one of the landing party, who spoke some English, stated to Mr. Lembkey that they had come ashore for water. It was obvious, however, after investigating the contents of the boat, that this statement was untrue. The only receptacle capable of containing water carried by the boat was a 5-gallon cask, which was full of fresh water. On the other hand, it was manifest from the presence of sealing clubs, skinning knives, and other paraphernalia for taking seals on land that the purpose of their visit was to raid the rookery. The men were accordingly placed in charge of a native guard and later in the day were taken to the village 12 miles distant on the other end of the island. The party effecting this capture consisted of Chief Agent Lembkey and three or four natives. The only arms of the Government agent's force were two rifles carried by the natives.

The boat in which the raiders landed was taken charge of by the Government agents and is now in their keeping. It is of the Otter boat type; about 18 feet long, and, in addition



HON. EDWIN W. SIMS

Edwin W. Sims, Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor. (Ernest A. Bell, War on the White Slave Trade.)

to carrying six oars, was equipped with a mainsail and jib. The boat and its equipment is typical of the small boats usually carried by the schooners engaged in pelagic sealing. The oars were muffled and the rowlocks wound with rope which was greased with tallow, so that the boat might be propelled through the water without noise. The oars were fastened to the boat so that when suddenly dropped they would not float away, and in front of each seat on both sides of the boat and within easy reach of the oarsmen was a canvas knife shield. The boat was also provided with a gun rack. When captured, it contained six sealing clubs, two skinning knives, a compass, a cask full of fresh water, some ship's biscuits, a short sealing club for killing seals in the water, and bamboo poles with iron hooks for hauling them aboard.

The seal rookeries at Northeast Point, where the raid was attempted, are the largest and most extensive on the island. A conservative estimate, based upon an actual count of seals on certain portions, places the total number of seals on these particular rookeries at the time of the attempted raid at 30,000. Of these 15,000 were females.

During the remainder of the day the schooner from which the boat put off continued to cruise around Northeast Point, sometimes close in shore and at other times farther out, but easily within the 3-mile limit many times.

Upon my arrival at St. Paul Island, July 20, I examined through an interpreter, the men captured as above described. They at that time stated that the name of the schooner from which they came was the *Dai Ni Toyai Maru*, i.e., *Toyai Maru No. 2*; that she carried a crew of 32 men, and had sailed from Hakodate, Japan, May 20, 1906. They stated that she was not a pelagic sealer, and denied that she was one of a regular Japanese sealing fleet, but admitted that since entering Bering Sea she had spoken to two or three other Japanese schooners, among which they named the *Boso Maru*.

Japanese Poachers Killed By Native Guard July 17

About 8 o'clock on the morning of July 17 the native guard at Northeast Point heard the report of shotguns, which were evidently being fired at seals in the water a short distance from shore. The guards could not see more than a few yards owing to a dense fog, and at that time were unable to make out any boats. One of the guards went inland to report to Agent Lembkey at the watchhouse, and the two remaining, Michael Kozloff and John Fratis, proceeded to a point on the shore opposite the firing and, concealing themselves, awaited developments. About half an hour later, during which time the shotgun firing on the water continued at irregular intervals, the guards discovered three boats a short distance out headed for the shore. The one closest in contained three Japanese, one of whom occupied a position in the bow with a shotgun in his hands.

After the occupants of the foremost boat had lowered the sails, and just as they were about to land on the beach, the two watchmen, who had remained concealed, appeared on the scene and shouted, "Hands up!" The men in the boat instead of complying with this command hurriedly turned about and commenced to row the boat away from the shore. Guard Kozloff, who was in charge, motioned with his hands and called to them to come ashore, and when the boat continued on her way three rifle shots were fired in the water close to her. She did not stop, however, and the guards a few seconds later fired six shots in rapid succession directly at the boat. Following this shooting the men ceased to row and dropped into the bottom of the boat, and the boat slowly drifted in toward shore. The two other boats had in the meantime disappeared in the fog.

Chief Agent Lembkey, who arrived on the scene shortly after the shooting, recovered the boat and it was hauled up on the beach. Two of its occupants were dead and the other was suffering from a wound in the shoulder.

The boat was of the same type and equipment as the one captured the day before. Among other things it contained a quantity of food, fresh water, 2 loaded shotguns, and 146 loaded and 9 empty shells. Most of the loaded shells were charged with buckshot, although on

subsequent examination some were found to contain a heavy lead slug like a rifle bullet. The shotguns showed evidence of having been recently fired. The boat also contained a seal which apparently had been killed with a charge of buckshot a short time before.

I learned from the wounded prisoner, whom I interviewed upon my arrival at the island, that the boat was not from the schooner whose boat had been captured the day previous, but was from another schooner—the *Mei Maru*. The prisoner further stated that the schooner carried a crew of 30 men, and had sailed from Hakodate, Japan, May 23, 1906. At the time the Japanese attempted to land, and when the shooting occurred as above described, the entire force on guard at that point consisted of two natives, each armed with a rifle.

Poachers Off Zapadni Rookery Fired On

At Zapadni rookery, which is about 12 miles from Northeast Point, where the events just described took place, shotgun firing close inshore was heard at frequent intervals during the day, and undoubtedly a large number of seals were killed in the water. These operations were carried on under the protection of a dense fog, and it was not until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when it lifted, that the native guard discovered three boats a short distance from shore. The boats contained about 18 men and were headed for land. The guards, two in number, who were evidently excited over the shooting which had been going on around them and who believed that the force, which greatly outnumbered them, was about to land and raid the rookery, opened fire without delay. The boats immediately pulled out of sight, and it is not known whether any of the marauders were injured.

Poachers Land and Kill Seals

Notwithstanding the capture of the boat on the morning of Tuesday July 17, the reports of shotguns evidently fired at seals in the water, were heard off different parts of Northeast Point almost incessantly during the day. The boom of cannon, probably used for the purpose of signaling in the fog, was also heard at frequent intervals. The widely separated points at which these shots were heard indicate that several boats were thus engaged. A dense fog which hung over the island partially lifted about 8 o'clock p.m., and disclosed a schooner riding at anchor less than 300 yards from the breeding rookery on the west side of Northeast Point. Although the watchmen failed to discover it, owing to the fog, 18 or 20 men had landed and were at that time killing seals on the rookery close to the water at a point where their operations could not be seen farther inland.

The presence of the schooner was immediately reported to the watchhouse, and Chief Agent Lembkey and Assistant Agent Judge, at the head of a force of about fifteen natives, hurried to the scene. In the meantime the raiders, who had evidently been warned of the approach of the native guard by an outpost, hurriedly collected the sealskins already taken and embarked in their boats, and when the guard arrived at the shore they were already a few yards off and rowing for the schooner. Upon their refusing to come ashore, in compliance with an order given by the Government agents, the native guard was directed to fire. This fire was returned from the deck of the schooner, but no one³¹ of the island guard was injured. The boats soon came to a stop and the order was given to cease firing.

The raiding force consisted of a flotilla of five small boats containing about 20 men. It appears that two of the boats were being used to carry away skins. The force under the Government agents consisted of 15 native, only 6 of whom were armed.

As the boats drew in shore and it became apparent that the raiders outnumbered the native force, Agent Judge concluded that it would be dangerous to attempt to capture the entire party with a force armed with only six rifles. In consequence of this the crew of only one of small boats were allowed to land, and the remaining boats were motioned off and returned to the schooner, which still remained at anchor a short distance from shore. Had the

devastation which the raiders had wrought on the rookery been known at this time, none of the boats would have been permitted to return to the schooner.

The boat which was compelled to return to shore contained, six men, one of whom was dead and one wounded. The body of one man, who had evidently fallen overboard when he was shot, floated off and was not picked up by the boats. It is believed that the body of a third was thrown overboard when the boats reached the schooner. The boats of the raiding flotilla were of the same general character as those previously captured. . . .

Upon making an examination of the rookeries at the point where the small boats were first seen, the Government agents discovered that the raiders had practically wiped out of existence one section of a breeding rookery. More than 183 seals had been killed. Of this number, 120 had been skinned and the skins loaded into the boats. It was apparent that the raiders had been frightened away in the midst of their raid, because 63 dead and wounded seals, some partially skinned and other untouched, were found.

I arrived at St. Paul Island in company with Hon. George M. Bowers, Commissioner of Fisheries, on the afternoon of July 20, 1906, on the revenue cutter *McCulloch*, Capt. J.C. Cantwell commanding. The Government agents and the natives were very anxious to get rid of the [twelve³²] prisoners and they were at once turned over to the *McCulloch*, which proceeded to Unalaska. At that place the ten uninjured men were turned over to the deputy United States marshal, and the wounded men, who had been placed under the care of Dr. T.B. McClintic, were retained on the cutter.

The prisoners were again taken on board the cutter on July 31 and carried from Unalaska to Kodiak, where a preliminary hearing was had before United States Commissioner Fred D. Kelsey. As a result of this hearing they were held to the grand jury and were turned over to the custody of United States Marshal L.L. Bowers, at Kodiak, for delivery at Valdez. Chief Agent W.I. Lembkey and the native witnesses then proceeded to Valdez [aboard the mail steamer *Dora*³³].³⁴

Five of the prisoners pleaded guilty of having killed seals. Six others were convicted of an attempt to kill seals, while the remaining prisoner, after a trial in which the jury failed to agree, pleaded guilty to the charge of killing seals, and all were sentenced by United States District Judge Royal A. Gunnison to three months' imprisonment in the United States jail at Valdez. At the expiration of their sentences all the prisoners were deported to Japan.³⁵

President Theodore Roosevelt said in his message to the beginning of the second session of the 59th Congress (December 1906), concerning the investigation in the Seal Islands, "I commend your attention to the report by Mr. Sims, Solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor, on this subject."³⁶

SLOSS, LEON (1858–1920)

*General Agent and Superintendent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island,
1882–1885*

President, Alaska Commercial Company, 1918–1920

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Leon Sloss deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 7, 1892, before Notary Public Clement Bennett at San Francisco, California. The following is an excerpt from his deposition.

I am 33 years of age, a native of California, and a resident of San Francisco, California. I was for several years a director of the Alaska Commercial Company, and a member of the partnership of Louis Sloss & Co., and have been engaged for the past fifteen years in dealing in wools, hides, and fur skins, but have now no interest in seals or sealeries. I was superintendent *pro tempore* of the sealeries of Alaska in the interim from 1882 to 1885, inclusive, during the illness of H.H. McIntyre, the regular superintendent, and spent the sealing season of those three years on the Pribilof Islands in the personal management of the business. I am, therefore, by reason of this service and of my active employment at all other times in the office of the Alaska Commercial Company from 1877 to this date, acquainted with every aspect of the business.³⁷



LEON SLOSS

President 1918-1920

Leon Sloss, President of the Alaska Commercial Company, 1918–20. (Samuel P. Johnston, Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940, A More or Less “Documented” History, Evidenced by Papers from Governmental Files and Books; By Old Letters from Company Files; By Newspaper Articles; By Memories of Officials and Employees [sic] of Long Standing.)

SMITH, FRANK HOLMES (1879–1938)

Physician, St. George Island, 1906–1908

Genealogy

Frank Holmes Smith, the son of Demetrious M. and Helen B. Smith, was born on October 29, 1879, in Lake City, Minnesota. Frank married Dolores Fisher, a nursing student from San Francisco, in 1911 in San Jose, California. They had one son, Harry F. Smith, born in 1912, who became a medical student at Rochester University, Rochester, New York.

Biographical Sketch

Frank Holmes Smith graduated from Stanford University and Cooper Medical College (later Stanford Medical College). After his work in the Pribilof Islands, he settled and opened his medical practice in San Bruno, San Mateo County, California. He was murdered by a patient on February 19, 1938, at his medical office in San Bruno.³⁸



Dr. Frank Holmes Smith. (San Mateo Times, San Mateo, California, February 21, 1938, 1.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. Frank Holmes Smith began his medical duty on St. George Island for the North American Commercial Company during the spring of 1906. He relieved physician Mark A. Williamson. Dr. Smith remained on St. George Island until the spring of 1908.

SMITH, JOHN ANTHONY “TONY” (1942–2006)

Attorney

Genealogy

John Anthony “Tony” Smith was born at Poughkeepsie, New York, on September 10, 1942, to John C. and Eunice (Hatfield) Smith. He died on December 8, 2006, at Steamboat Springs, Colorado.³⁹

Biographical Sketch

Tony Smith graduated from Cornell University. After serving with the U.S. Navy in Vietnam, he returned to Cornell Law School and graduated with a JD degree. In 1971, Smith moved to Alaska, where he practiced law for twenty-five years. He specialized in representing Alaska Native corporations on legal matters concerning fisheries, oil and gas agreements, international agreements, and environmental concerns. In 1986, Alaska Governor Steve Cowper appointed Smith Commissioner of Commerce and Economic Development. He moved to Washington, D.C. in 1995 to become a partner in the law firm Schmeltzer, Aptaker, and Shepard.⁴⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

Tony Smith assisted the Aleut communities of the Pribilof Islands in their quest for self-determination. He provided counsel on the Fur-Seal Act Amendments of 1983, and he established the Pribilof Islands Trust, among many other legal matters.⁴¹

SPEERS, WILLIAM “WILL” FRED (1877/1879–1966)

Physician at Funter Bay, 1943–1944, and St. Paul Island, 1944–1945

William Fred Speers was born at Dunbar, Pennsylvania, March 29, 1877 (or 1879), to druggist George Warden Speers and Mary (Rickard) Speers. On July 20, 1904, William Fred Speers married Agnes Elizabeth Peterson at Davenport, Iowa. Agnes, born June 13, 1884, in Davenport, was the daughter of Henry Peterson and Clara M. (Klug) Peterson. William and Agnes had one son, Frederick W. Speers, born in Davenport on July 26, 1906. Agnes Speers died October 19, 1949, at San Diego, California. William Fred Speers died July 12, 1966, at Escondido, California, and was buried at Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery in San Diego. He had been a captain in the U.S. Marine Corps in World War I.

Their son, Frederick Speers, died July 31, 1971, at Escondido, California, after a successful career as a newspaper publisher in Escondido and in North Platte, Nevada.⁴²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Dr. Will F. Speers became the physician for the Pribilovians at Funter Bay in 1943,⁴³ and he wrote about his experiences to friends in personal letters. His somewhat dreary assessment echoed those of the agents at the Funter Bay camps, but he also spoke to the positive spirit of the Aleuts in acknowledging their Funter Bay and homecoming tragedies. The following excerpts are from one such letter.

The trip from Funter Bay was in a way uneventful. . . . We stopped at Kodiak for 48 hours and there picked up a couple of convoy ships and two escorting ones, we stopped again at Dutch Harbor where we took on some native troops for duty on the island during the sealing season. Neither of these two places was interesting in more than name only. All the time I was aboard ship I was kept very busy due to the fact that we had approximately 500 men, women and children sleeping on 3 tier high canvas bunks in two forward holds and conditions were far from being comfortable for them. Being two weeks on the boat it was only natural that there should be an epidemic of colds and influenza break out in addition to sea sickness and sundry of other diseases.

It was with a great deal of relief that we sighted St. Paul Island on May 13th. We anchored off shore as there are no piers and every thing including all passengers had to be lightered off. It took two weeks to unload the ship as there were times due to wheather [sic] when nothing could be done. I went off in a hurry on the evening of the 14th as one of my patients was kind enough to wait until she landed to give birth to a nice little baby girl. Every thing went along fine. Am expecting one a month from now on and maybe more.

We were all due for terrible discouraging times. The army had been occupying the village during the natives' absence and as they had to leave in such a hurry they left their house and contents virtually intact. Soldiers moved in and in many instances completely wrecked the interior of the house. All these people were so proud of their little homes. They were nice little 4 room concrete houses completely furnished. The army took over, broke into houses, drove nails in the walls, deliberately destroyed furniture, radios, stoves, bedding, and every thing. To make a long story short it was a fine piece of sabotage and nothing else will describe it. Many of these people had no beds left in their houses nor stoves. Furniture was moved from one house to another and wrecked. Their linens and towels and bedding were either destroyed or used as cleaning rags and when dirty was thrown in a heap in some corner of the house. All this also applies to my house, my hospital and my dispensary. We all know now about the ravages of war but it is hard to learn it coming from your own soldiers. Enough of this!

The village was just as I imagined and basically lovely, located on a hill on a peninsula at the south end of the island. Every house has a wonderful view on one side or the other of the sea.

My house with the dispensary in connection and the hospital are marvels. There is a little entrance hall to the house and from this is a door leading to the dispensary with its three connecting rooms each about 12 x 12, another door takes one into my portion of the house which consists of living room, 2 bed rooms and a marvelous kitchen with a breakfast nook and a gas stove for cooking, and a tiled bath room. Up stairs is a large servants room the remaining being partially finished.

The hospital is about 50 feet from the house and I go out a side entrance to a semi-basement entrance in the hospital. In the basement I have a big X-Ray room also a Dark room, laundry room and linen room, on the first floor is a waiting room, 2 rooms for the dentist, 2 three bed wards and a bath and a kitchen. On the second floor is two more three

bed wards and bath that are used chiefly for tubercular patients. I have a registered nurse, 2 native nurses and a janitor. Both places have hot water heat & electricity. Have a wonderful supply of drugs and operating equipment.

We had a dance last night given by the Foulk [sic] Fur Co to every one and today July 4th they put on a celebration with foot races, pie eating contest, ect. ect. [sic]. They do this every year but it was especially big this year due to the soldiers present. The dance was really nice. All the civilian employees with their wives (6 wives) were there and the natives and about 30 [native] soldiers. The native girls were a surprise to every one. They were all so nicely dressed and the soldiers. What a time they had. Some of those boys had not danced with a girl for two years and when they turned loose their jitter bug and rug cutting antics it really was something. Needless to say a good time was had by all. The dance hall is on the second story of the Community building is about 40 by 60 feet with a nice hard wood well waxed floor. The orchestra consisted of two pianos, 3 guitars, a banjo and a mandolin.

Today at two P. M. July 4th started for the kids. Pink lemonade, foot races, nickel scramble and pie eating contest. The nickel scramble was good. A wash tub was half filled with oatmeal and in it a double handful of nickels was stirred. 15 youngsters raced to the tub to dig the nickels out. They all tried to get in it at once, eventually the tub was overturned with nickels and oatmeal scattered all over the road. It turned out to be one of the finest jam sessions I've ever seen. They finally got all the money. A rolling pin throwing contest for the women at a dummy was not bad either.

It was marvelous to see the miriaculous [sic] change that has taken place in these people since returning here to their island from the primitive filthy place that they were living in at Funter Bay. There many of their dwelling places were so filthy that no description fits them, the people were sullen, discontented and down hearted and wanted only to get back here to their homes. Arriving here every thing changed the enthusiasm that they showed in



Dr. William Speers replaced Dr. Samuel Berenberg, shown here standing with Anna Stepetin in front of the hospital at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, 1942. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-283, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

cleaning up their houses, scrubbing floors, washing walls and ceilings, making temporary furniture to replace that the army had destroyed all was done with never a complaint that was sincere. They were glad to do it. Now that their places are back again to some semblance of what they were two year ago they are paying some attention to their families. In Funter, impetigo and little crawly things in the hair, dirty clothes and faces were almost general amongst the children. Now every thing has changed, no impetigo, clean heads and clothes and in every way different.

The men go hunting when they have time for some of the various birds that abound every place. Again they do their hunting at times by lying back of a big rock with a long handled net in their hands and when a flock of caushuskies [choochkies or least auklets] come flying over up goes the net and several of these birds are caught. They are a small bird slightly larger than a robin and their breasts make wonderful eating. Yesterday a group of natives went out to one of the cliffs and came back with a couple of buckets filled with eggs that were slightly smaller that [sic] the average hen egg. They were white and sort of spotted with green [murre eggs].

The women are good cooks and like to bake bread and cakes. Seal meat, hearts and livers are also included in their diet. Seal liver is a real delicacy, like calf liver. The[re] is a nice little Russian church here presided over by Father Baranoff who is well thought of by all the natives. They are quite religious and all expenses of the church including the priests salary is paid from the community or canteen fund. The canteen is no small institution. They sell items of clothing, food, candy, ect. [sic], that are not issued by the government. It is purely a native affair entirely run by them, They at the present time have a cash balance of over \$16,000. Funds are spent on anything that is of benefit to the entire group. They have a fine movie outfit, recently bought a good juke box and a couple of pool tables. The men are inveterate gamblers [sic] and not small ones either. Money doesn't mean a lot to them as a whole other than to buy luxuries or something better than the ordinary. They all have



Children lined up for whooping cough immunization at the Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, early 1940s. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-338, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Military personnel on St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-353.)

radios and all manner of household equipment. They all buy through Sears Roebuck and sometimes it seems as though they order the entire catalogue. The government gives them house rent free, two clothing issues a year and provisions dependent upon the size of the family besides furnishing, doctor, dentist and school teachers. When they get too old they are pensioned. They get so much for each sealskin, this amount goes into a pot and is apportioned out according to a mans standing 1st, 2nd or 3rd class. Their account is credited with the amount due them and they can draw any reasonable amount through the agent at any time. It is the life of Reilley. Where else in the world is there a group of people born into such security. They have what we are striving a life time for. During sealing and foxing seasons there is a few weeks of hard work, after that mostly maintenance and chores to do. No wonder these people[—] "They Sing, they play and they dance." If it wasn't for my knowledge of the rest of the world I would envy them.⁴⁴



St. Paul Island resident Vlass Pankoff in tuberculosis ward at Funter Bay Cannery Internment Camp, Admiralty Island, Alaska, circa 1942. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-297, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)



Military personnel on St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-350.)



Military personnel on St. Paul Island, circa 1943. (Alaska State Library, Evan Hill Photograph Coll., P343-392.)

STANLEY-BROWN, JOSEPH (1858–1941)

*Geologist**Special Treasury Agent, 1891–1893**Superintendent, North American Commercial Company, 1893–1899*

Harry Chichester and Joseph Stanley-Brown, probably examining photographic plates, St. Paul Island, circa 1890s. (NAA, Arctic: Aleut series, lot 24, 1463100.)

Genealogy

Joseph Stanley-Brown was born August 19, 1858, in Washington, D.C. Joseph was the son of John Leopold Brown, a carpenter, and Elizabeth Frances (Marr) Stanley. Joseph's grandfather Nathaniel Stanley had fled to Holland, presumably to escape an English debtors prison, in 1819. "Under the name of James Brown, [Nathaniel Stanley] came to Baltimore with his wife and two small sons [John and Thomas], becoming a naturalized citizen under that name. When the records were verified in 1888, James' grandson Joseph adopted the surname of "Stanley-Brown"⁴⁵ at the urging of his mother-in-law, Mrs. James Garfield. Joseph Brown had married former President James Garfield's daughter Mary (1867–1947) on June 14, 1888, in Mentor, Ohio. Mrs. James Garfield told him, "Joseph, you'll lose that Stanley from your name if you don't annex it permanently."⁴⁶ Joseph and Mary had three children. Rudolph (1889–1944) became an artist and

architect, and married Katherine Schermerhorn Oliver; Ruth (1892–1981) was a writer and editor and married diplomatic historian and State Department official Herbert Feis; Margaret (1895–1958), graduated from Vassar in 1919, became a surgeon, and married Max K. Sellers.

Joseph Stanley-Brown died on November 2, 1941, in Pasadena, California. Urns containing the ashes of Joseph and Mary Garfield Stanley-Brown reside in the Garfield Mausoleum Monument, next to those of President Garfield and his wife Lucretia, at Lake View Cemetery in Cleveland, Ohio.⁴⁷

Biographical Sketch

At seventeen, Joseph Stanley-Brown left Seton High School in Washington, D.C.,

to become stenographer and secretary to John Wesley Powell (q.v.), then in charge of a geological survey in the Rocky Mountains.

At the same time, to acquire technical knowledge, he studied chemistry, anatomy and physiology at night in the medical department of Columbian (later George Washington) University. At that time Powell was endeavoring to consolidate the three independent geological surveys being supported by the government and in seeking congressional

support for his plan [he] approached General James A. Garfield (q.v.), then a representative from Ohio. . . . From 1878–1880, Stanley-Brown acted as Garfield’s secretary, without pay, in addition to his regular duties in the geological office. On July 1, 1879, Powell’s efforts culminated in the establishment of the U.S. Geological Survey, whereupon Stanley-Brown spent five months as secretary of a public land commission, making a tour of inspection to the Pacific coast. With Garfield’s nomination as presidential candidate he left the geological survey to become personal secretary to Garfield and on his inauguration returned to Washington as private secretary to the President.⁴⁸

After President Garfield’s death, Mrs. Garfield requested that Stanley-Brown remain in Washington, D.C., to assist her in cataloging and indexing the late president’s personal papers. After a year’s work, she provided financial assistance for him to attend Yale University’s Sheffield Scientific School, where he graduated with a PhD in 1888.

Following Yale and a year of graduate studies at the University of Heidelberg, Stanley-Brown became an assistant geologist at the U.S. Geological Survey. During his tenure at the Geological Survey, the Secretary of the Interior at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury ordered Stanley-Brown to the Pribilof Islands to gather information in support of the United States over a growing dispute with Great Britain concerning legal rights to hunt the fur seal in the Bering Sea. Upon his return to Washington in 1893, Stanley-Brown accepted a position with the North American Commercial Company (NACC) as superintendent of its Pribilof Islands concession. As superintendent,

he had charge of the company’s affairs on the Pribilof Islands and Unalaska. There, in the summer of 1898, he met Edward H. Harriman. The next year at Harriman’s request he became assistant secretary of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railway systems. For three years, he traveled extensively in this country and Mexico as Harriman’s personal representative. In 1902, he became assistant to William H. Baldwin (q.v), president of the Long Island Railroad Company. Upon the latter’s death the following year, Stanley-Brown became associated with the New York investment banking house of Fisk & Robinson, in charge of its railway investments and the examination of properties that the firm was asked to finance. In 1915, he became the partner of George H. Robinson in the successor firm of Robinson & Co., continuing until January 1929, when the partners disposed of their entire interests to Sutro & Co. of San Francisco and retired. Although for nearly forty years he was identified with large financial and industrial developments, he retained his interest in scientific matters and was active from the beginning in the Geological Society of America, serving as editor of its proceedings from 1892–1941.⁴⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

While Joseph Stanley-Brown was on the Pribilof Islands in 1891 at the behest of Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster, Great Britain and the United States agreed to submit their dispute over pelagic sealing to international arbitration. He returned to the Pribilofs and was there from June 16 through August 3, 1892, to “prepare comparative data for Secretary of State John W. Foster. In March 1893, he sailed for France, as expert with the American commission to the Paris tribunal which in August of that year held that the United States had no right to set up a *mare clausum* [closed sea] and that damages must be paid for seized vessels, but consented to certain regulations for seal hunting. These [decisions] proved disastrous for the protection of seal herds and it was not until 1911 that the matter was finally settled.”⁵⁰

Stanley-Brown's decision to accept a position as superintendent with the NACC after his return from the Fur-Seal Arbitration hearings may have been influenced in part by a minor scandal over his pay while he was in the service of the U.S. government. The allegations involved several others as well, although the focus of the attack appeared to be on actions of Secretary of State, John Foster. However, regarding Stanley-Brown, a news story under the headline "The Double Pay Scandal" stated in part that "according to the records of the State Department, [Stanley-Brown] is on the staff of the Bering Sea Commission at \$15 per day. But the records of the Treasury Department also disclose that Mr. Brown is commissioned as an officer of the Treasury Department to make certain investigations of seal life for which he is drawing pay at the rate of \$10 per day. Thus, Mr. Brown receives \$25 per day, which is \$9,125 per year, or more than the pay of a Cabinet officer."⁵¹

Stanley-Brown served as NACC superintendent on the Pribilof Islands from 1894 to 1899. On October 8, 1897, Treasury Agent Joseph Murray wrote in the St. Paul Island Agent's Log:

Today the Natives' Library was opened for the season, and when Agent Murray visited there this evening he found it well patronized by both old and young men: – some reading and some learning to play the new games sent up from San Francisco.

Mr. Joseph Stanley-Brown, Lessees Agent, very kindly gave the use of a house, cleared, repaired and fitted up for a Library; and the natives have shown more appreciation of this action than I have ever known them to show for anything else.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Joseph Stanley-Brown deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on May 9, 1892, before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown at Washington, D.C., a portion of which follows.

I am 36 years of age; am a citizen of the United States; reside in Mentor, Ohio; am by profession a geologist, and as such am employed in the U.S. Geological Survey. In April, 1891, I was ordered by the honorable the Secretary of the Interior, to whose direction the officers of the Geological Survey are subject, to report to the honorable the Secretary of the Treasury [Charles Foster] personally for special service. This I did, and on the 27th of that month I received from the latter a temporary appointment as special agent. On May 4, I was given instruction to visit the Pribilof Islands, for the purpose of studying the seal life . . . with the view of procuring full and accurate information not only as to its present general condition, but also more specifically as to any increase or diminution of the seal herd. . . .

In the prosecution of my investigations I deemed it desirable to photograph all the rookeries often from two positions; to make a general topographic survey of both islands on a scale of 1 mile to the inch and to prepare detailed charts of the rookeries upon the unusually large scale of 264 feet to the inch. In carrying out this work I examined the entire shorelines of St. Paul and St. George, and there is not an area of a mile square upon either that I have not traversed nor a square hundred feet upon a rookery that I have not repeatedly inspected. The close attention to topographic forms demanded in platting rookeries with so much minuteness and the care required in selecting the best positions to secure photographs inevitably drew me in close contact with seal life. . . . In all my work upon the islands I was constantly attended by native Aleuts, who assisted in transporting my instruments and other impedimenta. Several of these could speak fair English. Our intimate daily relations, which extended over nearly three months, were under conditions that offered neither incentive to secrecy nor to deception, and, while their general views on and theory of seal life are to be received with caution, they are keen observers of little



Joseph Stanley-Brown at the North American Commercial Company office. (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC270, neg. 034953.)

details, and from them, their friends, and old Russian records on the island I received many valuable hints of a natural-history and historical character.⁵²

I arrived on the islands June 9, 1891, and remained there until September 10, 1891. I made a survey of said islands and also the seal rookeries on both of said islands. The charts signed by me and marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K were made by me during said survey of said rookeries and represent the grounds covered by the same. The gray color on said charts so signed by me, and the red color on the reprints of the same, represent the places occupied by breeding seals in 1891.⁵³

STEPETIN, GABRIEL (GAVRIL/GAVRIEL) (1911–1991)

Storekeeper, Movie Theater Owner, and Leader of Pribilof Civil Rights Movement, St. Paul Island

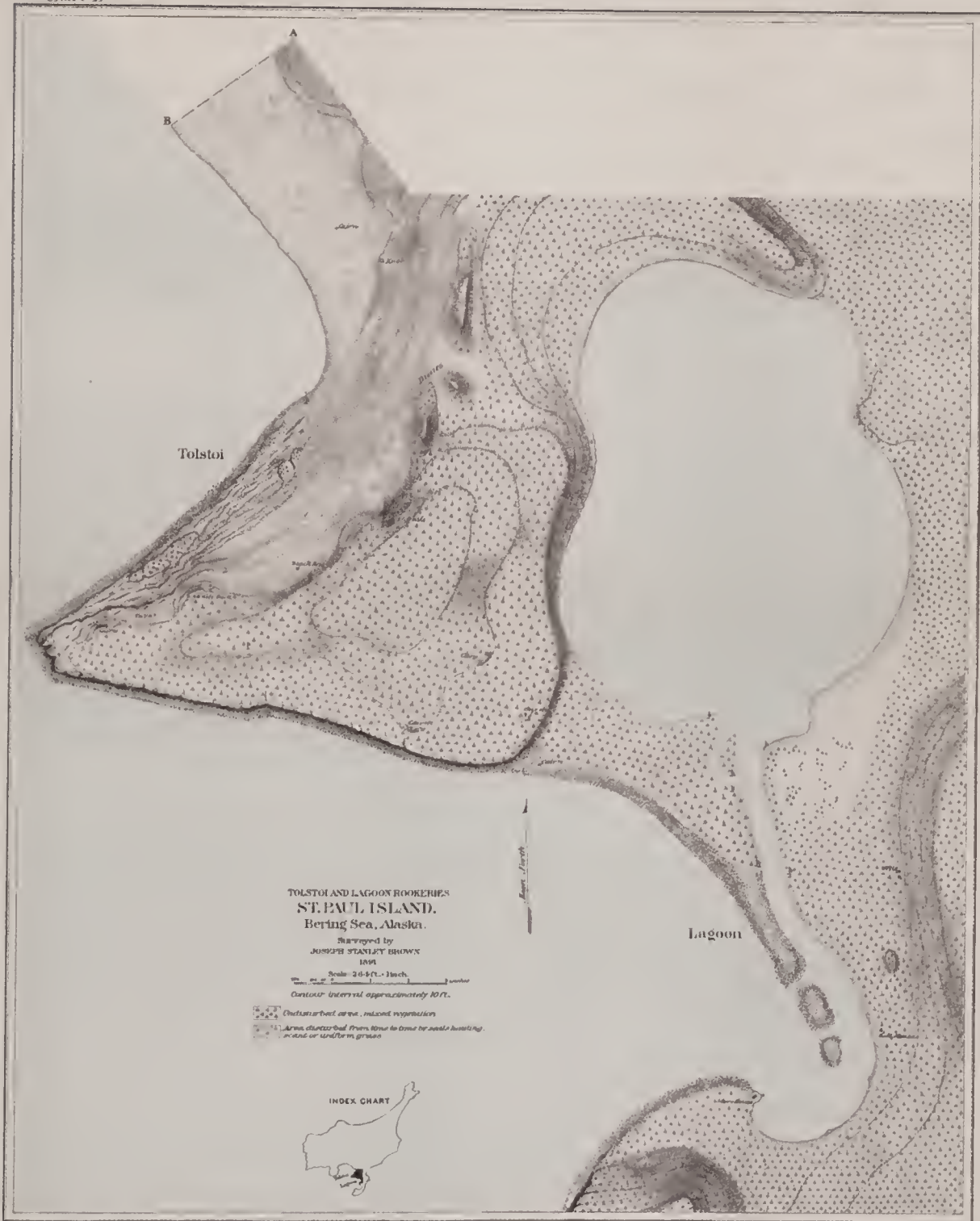
Genealogy

Gabriel (Gavril) Stepetin was born April 8, 1911, the son of Elary Stepetin and Anna (Ilian) Stepetin, at St. Paul Island, Alaska. At the age of two, Gavril Stepetin was adopted by George and Agafia Kochergin and was named Gavril Stepetin Kochergin. In 1939, Gavril Stepetin Kochergin dropped the “Kochergin” from his name,⁵⁴ although he continued to be occasionally known as Gavriel S. Kochergin.⁵⁵ Gabriel Stepetin died in November 1991. Gabriel’s wife, Xenia, died in December 1991.



Northeast Point Rookery, St. Paul Island, surveyed by Joseph Stanley-Brown, 1891. (U.S. Congress, Senate, Fur-Seal Arbitration, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), foldout map no. 7.)

Chart E



Tolstoi and Lagoon Rookeries, St. Paul Island, surveyed by Joseph Stanley-Brown, 1891. (U.S. Congress, Senate, Fur-Seal Arbitration, vol. 3, foldout map no. 10.)

Biographical Sketch

Gabriel Stepetin was a St. Paul Island leader for many years. He spoke of his life history in the documentary *Islands of Time* (Patricia Stanley, producer, and Dennis Remick, writer; Fort Yukon, AK: Silky Way Productions) made with the Council of Athabascan Tribal Governments.

According to St. Paul Island elder Larry Mercurieff, “Gabe had written down what rations people had during the food rationing days in the 1940s and ’50s—mostly bread and water and whatever they could get hunting.” He also spoke of their education. He said that “all they were taught to say is ‘yes sir, no sir’ and the rest of the time they played music records in class or played with toys and he felt embarrassed that he would be in the same classes as little kids.” In his day, when a man reached the age of sixteen, he had to work for the government.

During the islanders’ relocation to Funter Bay, some of the men met leaders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) in Juneau. The ANB was at the forefront of the Alaska Native human rights movement. Following repatriation to the Pribilof Islands, some St. Paul men formed an ANB chapter. Members had difficulty planning their freedom because the agent refused to allow meetings of any sort. Gabe came up with the idea of putting on plays and skits for the white people in the village. The government agent agreed. At times when they were supposed to be preparing for a play, the men met secretly. They discussed organizing an Indian Reorganization Act of 1932 (IRA) chartered tribal entity. In addition to Gabe, members of the clandestine group included Ilidor Mercurieff, Alexander Melovidov, Terenty Philemonof Sr., and Elary Gromoff. With the help of Felix Cohen, attorney for ANB, in 1950 they succeeded in organizing an IRA entity under U.S. laws, and launched a claim against the U.S. government for breach of duty to treat their people fairly and honorably. The claim was successfully prosecuted in 1976.

Gabe Stepetin served as the store manager for the government for many years and finally negotiated with the government to pass ownership of the store to the tribe in the 1960s. He was active in the freedom battle, including smuggling letters off the island to Howard Rock, then editor of the only statewide Alaska Native newspaper, the *Tundra Times*. Rock published the letters, which came to the attention of the Human Rights Commission headed by Willard Bowman (see Bowman’s biography). The commission held hearings on the island, and Gabe Stepetin testified, along with Elary Gromoff Sr., Mamant Emanoff, Peter Kochergin, and John Misikin. Their testimony spurred a congressional investigation instigated by then-U.S. Senator from Alaska Bob Bartlett (see Bartlett’s biography), resulting in the Pribilofian civil rights bill, ironically called the Fur Seal Act of 1966. The Act allowed the Aleuts for the first time to participate in state and federal elections, to organize a city under state laws, and to have the government homes transferred to the people occupying them. Gabe Stepetin served as the tribal president.

In 1968, Stepetin hired college students Patrick Pletnikoff, from St. George Island, and Larry Mercurieff, from St. Paul Island, to lobby in Washington, D.C., for funds to implement the Act and create a city form of government. They succeeded in securing the

funds required to create municipal governments under state law on both St. Paul and St. George in 1971.⁵⁶

STEPETIN, AUXENTY “IRISH” (1907–1999)

St. Paul Island Power Plant Operator, 1950s

Genealogy

Auxenty Stepetin was born December 26, 1907, to Dorofey and Lubov Stepetin on St. Paul Island, Alaska.⁵⁷ Auxenty was the second eldest of seven siblings, who included step-brother Vassii (b. February 8, 1893); Xenia (Auxenia; b. February 8, 1899); Helena (b. May 14, 1905); Epatie (Epaty; b. April 13, 1909); Alexy (b. February 26, 1919); and Victor (b. May 1, 1920).⁵⁸ Auxenty Stepetin died on St. Paul Island on March 21, 1999.⁵⁹



AUXENIA STEPETIN, AGE ABOUT 75, THE OLDEST ALEUT ON THE PRIBILOF ISLANDS

Auxenia Stepetin, age 75, St. Paul Island, circa 1914. (E. Lester Jones, Report of Alaska Investigations in 1914, 152). Curiously, no woman named Auxenia Stepetin with a birth date that approximated 1839, the estimated date of Auxenia's birth, was listed in any of the Pribilof Islands census records. This photograph with a similar caption was also depicted in Islands of the Seals, 1982, page 80.



Irish Stepetin with a large halibut, St. Paul Island, circa 1941. (Fredericka Martin Photograph Coll., 91-223-132, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Coll., Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.)

Biographical Sketch

Auxenty “Irish” Stepetin operated the St. Paul Island power plant in the 1950s and opened the first locally owned movie theater, called Irish’s Theater. It was one of five local private businesses allowed on the island during the 1950s.⁶⁰

SUMNER, CHARLES (1811–1874)

U.S. Senator, Massachusetts, 1851–1874



U.S. Senator Charles Sumner. (NAA, Stanley Brown Coll., photo lot 54-205.)

Genealogy

Charles Sumner was born on January 6, 1811, in Boston, Massachusetts, to Charles Pinckney Sumner and Relief (Jacobs) Sumner. Charles Sumner died on March 11, 1874, at Washington, D.C.⁶¹

Biographical Sketch

Charles Sumner graduated from Harvard University in 1830 and from Harvard Law School in 1833. He opened his law office in Boston, where he became politically active. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1851 to 1874, and was a leader among the opponents of slavery. “His vitriolic at-

tacks upon slavery and its defenders brought a physical assault on him by Representative Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina (May 22, 1856), inflicting injuries from which he never fully recovered. He was the first prominent statesman to urge emancipation (October 1861).”⁶²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Charles Sumner served as chairman of the Senate’s United States Committee on Foreign Affairs. In that position, he was perhaps best-known for his three-hour “Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the cession of Russian America to the United States” delivered on April 9, 1867.⁶³ In preparation for the speech, Sumner invested heavily in researching the facts about the history of Russian America, the financial benefits of the purchase, and geographical and environmental descriptions of the country. For this information he depended on materials from the Congressional Library and from navigators, explorers, and naturalists such as the Smithsonian Institution’s Spencer F. Baird, and Henry Martyn Bannister, Ferdinand Bischoff, William H. Dall, George Gibbs, and Charles Bryant. Sumner also relied on the reports of Robert Kennicott (1859–1862 explorations), Henry Bannister, and Charles Pease (Western Union Telegraph Expedition).⁶⁴

Sumner opened his speech with:

Mr. President: You have just listened to the reading of the treaty by which Russia cedes to the United States all her possessions on the North American continent in consideration of \$7,200,000, to be paid by the United States. On the one side is the cession of a vast country with its jurisdiction and its resources of all kinds; on the other side is the purchase-money. Such is this transaction on its face.⁶⁵

The speech covered the climate, indigenous populations, and natural resources, including those found on the Pribilof Islands.

There has been much exaggeration with regard to the profits of the Russian corporation. An English writer of authority calls them "immense," and adds that formerly they were much greater. The number of skins reported at times is prodigious although this fails to reveal precisely the profits. For instance, Pribilof collected within two years on the islands north of Alaska, which bear his name, the skins of 2,000 sea otter, 6,000 dark ice foxes, 40,000 sea bears or ursine seals, together with 1,000 poods of walrus ivory. The pood is a Russian weight of thirty-six pounds. Lutke mentions that in 1803 no less than 800,000 skins of the ursine seal were accumulated in the factory at Ounalaska of which 700,000 were thrown into the sea. From 1787 to 1817 . . . the Ounalaska district yielded upwards of 2,500,000 seal skins; and from 1817 to 1838, during which time the company was in power, the same district yielded upwards of 579,000 seal skins. Assuming what is improbable, that these skins were sold at twenty-five rubles each, some calculating genius has ciphered out the sum total of proceeds at more than eighty-five million rubles; or calling the ruble seventy-five cents, a total of more than sixty-three million dollars.⁶⁶

By a vote of thirty-seven to two on June 20, 1867, the Senate ratified President Andrew Johnson's March 30, 1867, *Treaty Concerning the Cession of the Russian Possessions in North America by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to the United States of America*. In 1944, diplomat and international law specialist David Hunter Miller wrote of Senator Sumner's influence:

It is generally thought, and with good reason, that the Alaska Treaty would not have been approved by the Senate if it had not been supported by Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts. In 1867 Sumner was a national figure and one of the most important leaders of the Republican Party; he was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; he was outstanding in the opposition to President Johnson, an opposition which had a majority in both Houses of Congress; any policy, and particularly any foreign policy, of the administration which Sumner then advocated was well-nigh certain of success in the Senate.

It has been pointed out above that Sumner learned of the Alaska Treaty about midnight of March 29–30 and that his first attitude was noncommittal; nine days later, on April 8, Sumner reported the treaty favorably from committee and made his celebrated speech for it.⁶⁷

It is worth noting that within forty years the U.S. Treasury recovered \$9,800,000 through revenues earned from the Pribilof Islands fur-seal industry,⁶⁸ an amount considerably more than the purchase price of the Territory of Alaska.

SWINEFORD, ALFRED PETER (1834–1909)

*Newspaper Publisher**Governor of Alaska, 1885–1889*

ALFRED P. SWINEFORD

Alfred P. Swineford. (Jeannette Paddock Nichols, 1924, Alaska: a History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During Its First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States, 88.)

who came to America in 1754. Alfred Swineford came to Cheboygan, Michigan from Cleveland, Ohio, by steamer in 1853. He did not remain long in Cheboygan but went into Wisconsin and Minnesota where he did newspaper work. . . . For a period of years he did newspaper work in Chicago. He was a reporter for the Chicago Times, and later a reporter for the Chicago Tribune. During all these years he was studying law, and was admitted to the bar in Minnesota, in Michigan, and in 1906 in Alaska.

He came to Negaunee, Michigan in 1867, where he remained three years. This section of Michigan was comparatively new at this time. From Negaunee he went to Marquette, Mich. in 1870 where he started a newspaper, "The Mining Journal." This paper still bears the name some sixty years later. He retained interest in this paper until 1889.

Mr. Swineford greatly aided the mining industry of the Lake Superior region in those early pioneer days by helping to enlist capital to carry on the work. To this end he issued a "Review of the Copper, Iron, Silver, Salt [sic] and other Material Interests of the South Shore of Lake Superior" [*Mining Journal*, 1876–1882, Marquette, Michigan]. Thousands of these copies were subscribed for and were distributed throughout this country and Europe, bringing Michigan's resources to the attention of capitalists all over the country.

Genealogy

Alfred Peter Swineford was born September 14, 1834, son of Samuel Swineford and Jane Collins, at Ashland, Ohio. Alfred married Psyche Cyntheria Flower, descendant of Revolutionary soldier Major Zephon Flower, at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, January 1857. The couple had one daughter, Nelly Flower Swineford, born at La Crescent, Minnesota, August 14, 1858. Nelly married Edward Orr Stafford, son of Marquette druggist Henry Hinckley Stafford and Catherine Lewis, at Marquette, Michigan, February 6, 1884. Psyche died at Marquette, Michigan in 1881. Alfred married a second time in 1886 to Minnie Smith in Michigan. Alfred Peter Swineford died October 26, 1909, at Juneau, Alaska, and his remains were interred at Marquette, Michigan.⁶⁹

Biographical Sketch

Alfred P. Swineford's daughter, Nelly Flower, wrote the following biography of Swineford's life while pursuing her Michigan application for membership in the Marquette Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution:

Alfred [Swineford] was the great grandson of Albrecht Schweinforth born in Bavaria, Germany,

He served one term and one extra session in the Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives in 1871–72. He represented the district in which he lived. This district comprised the counties of Marquette, Delta, Menominee, and Schoolcraft, which was about one-half the area of the upper Peninsula. From this area mentioned, four more counties have since been created: Iron, Dickinson, Luce, and Alger. He served as mayor of Marquette for two terms. Was Commissioner of Mineral Statistics for Michigan in 1883. He was also agent for Keystone Iron Co. In 1885 he was appointed Governor of Alaska and sent to Sitka in September of that year. He held the governorship for four years under President Cleveland. He remained in Alaska for ten years more where he established newspapers, practiced law on occasions, and served as Inspector of Surveyors and Land Offices, under President Cleveland's second term.⁷⁰

Swineford's political and newspaper career is described in greater detail in an 1888 Michigan biography of their state officers and members of congress:

He came to Negaunee, Michigan in 1867 and published the *Mining and Manufacturing News*, the first paper at Negaunee. He started the *Mining Journal*, at Marquette, in 1868, and is still part owner of that paper. Prior to coming to Michigan he had published the *Star*, at Albert Lea, Minn.; *Banner*, at La Crescent, Minn.; started the first daily at La Crosse, Wisconsin; published the *Daily Enquirer* at Milwaukee, in 1860, and the *Democratic Press* at Fond Du Lac, in 1864-5-6. Then, was in the oil business in Canada, than an express messenger, thence to Lake Superior. He was a Representative in the legislature of 1871–2, and was a commissioner to the New Orleans exposition.⁷¹

Other than political endeavors, the importance of reporting the news was a primary force in Swineford's life which is seen as he ventured to his new post as Governor of Alaska in 1885. While at Portland, Oregon, Swineford purchased all the necessary printing materials to start a newspaper and shipped them to Sitka, then the capitol of the territory.

At a meeting of citizens and officials, a publication company was formed with a paid-up capital of six hundred dollars—the cost of the printing outfit—and it was then resolved to publish a newspaper at Sitka. In the person of the Governor the association had available a practical publisher, printer and editor, whose reputation justified the belief that their contemplated newspaper would be published in form, and edited, if need be, with audacity. With the aid of a typo discovered among the marines, the Governor set up the press in a vacant Russian hut, and in due time appeared a full-fledged newspaper—The Alaskan.

Most new enterprises boast of a specialty, and that of the Alaskan was of being the most westerly, most northerly and most remote publication on the American continent. Three of its four pages were filled with solid matter, descriptive of Alaska, its climate, resources and needs in the way of congressional legislation, written by the master hand of the Governor. The remaining columns were diversely illumined with local paragraphs contributed by a minor official, whose service in that direction was demanded by the managing editor, notwithstanding his genius had never been thus directed—"which will make the newspaper interesting," said the Governor.⁷²

Pribilof Islands Experience

Governor Alfred Swineford created quite a stir when he issued his 1887 annual report condemning the character of the Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) and its treatment of Alaska Natives in general. Swineford made his allegations against the ACC without ever having visited the Pribilof Islands. He was subsequently compelled by federal officials to tour areas of Alaska and to visit the Seal Islands to examine conditions first hand.

The government's agent, George Tingle, wrote in his 1888 annual report of July 31, 1888, of Swineford's visit to St. Paul Island:

On the 17th of June, at noon, the United States man-of-war *Thetis*, Lieutenant-Commander Emory, arrived at this island and anchored, having on board his Excellency, A.P. Swineford, governor of Alaska.

Commander Emory, with a number of his officers and the governor, came on shore, and were met at the landing by the Treasury officials and Alaska Commercial Company's agent, Dr. H.H. McIntyre, by whom a cordial welcome was extended the distinguished visitors. Every facility was offered the governor to further the object of his visit. He was placed in possession of the fullest information from the books, and by personal observation as well as inquiry among the natives, as to the management of the fur-seal islands. The entire ship's party was taken to the rookeries by the Treasury agent, as well as upon the seal fields, through the salt houses and store, schoolhouse and church, where the governor looked into everything critically. He took occasion to express himself as highly pleased with the condition of the natives and the management of the Government's interests and the relation of the lessees therewith.

He was, indeed, quite profuse in his praise of the company's care and provision for the natives, as well as the correct methods of conducting the Government business. He thought it could not be improved upon.

The governor's visit can have but one result, as he is a fair man, viz, to give him the data gained by personal knowledge on which he will base a report correcting many of the errors into which he was led in his last report, by accepting as true the false statements of a man named Anderson.⁷³

The governor reiterated his condemnation of the ACC following his tour of most of the company's stations in the Territory during the summer of 1888. However, he modified his previous assumptions concerning living conditions on the Seal Islands.⁷⁴

So far as its [ACC] operations on the seal islands are concerned, it affords me pleasure to be able to report an altogether satisfactory condition of affairs; one which is wholly creditable at least to the company. I am perfectly satisfied that the company is, and has been all along, faithfully complying with all the terms and conditions of its agreement with the Government; in fact, it is doing even more in the matter of providing for the wants and comfort of the natives than its contract requires.

I found the natives all comfortably housed in neat frame houses, built for them by the company, and which they are permitted to occupy for no other consideration than that the premises shall be kept clean. There are about sixty of these natives' houses in the village of St. Paul, all presenting a neat, tidy exterior, and, so far as my observation extended, all well and cleanly kept on the inside. No offal or offensive refuse of any kind is allowed around the house; the streets are kept clean, and the sanitary regulations and conditions are better than those usually enforced in eastern villages.⁷⁵

The governor did not claim to have found Utopia on the Seal Islands, however.

the Government requires the company to furnish the inhabitants . . . with 60 cords of fire-wood annually, but for some reason or under some agreement coal is being furnished them instead of wood, the allowance being 10 pounds a day to each house. . . . This amount of coal is, of course, insufficient, and the people are compelled to buy enough fuel to make up the deficiency. . . .

In the event of a renewal of the company's lease or the leasing of the islands to any other corporation or individual, I think a much more liberal provision for a free supply of fuel to the natives should be made.⁷⁶

The British government used comments by Governor Swineford and others to sustain its position that the United States government lacked proper institutional control over the sealing industry.⁷⁷ They cited excerpts from Swineford's two reports (1887 and 1888) to support its position before the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration in 1893 that the leasing system was detrimental to the Seal Islands' Natives and to the fur-seal herd via the practice of land killing. The British disregarded the fact that Swineford had never actually visited the Pribilofs when he issued his 1887 report, and they ignored the governor's retractions in the 1888 report. Britain's solicitors put forward in support of their case the governor's authority as defined in the May 17, 1884, An Act to create a Civil Government for Alaska, Section 5:

The Governor appointed under the provisions of this Act shall from time to time inquire into the operations of the Alaska Seal and Fur Company [Alaska Commercial Company], and shall annually report to Congress the result of said inquiries, and any and all violations by said Company of the Agreement existing between the United States and said Company.⁷⁸

In developing their case, the British also persisted with their attack against the credibility of the ACC and the government's lack of control over it.

Official Reports of the United States, including Reports of the Governor of Alaska, with other evidence, show that the lessee Company practically exercised independent control over the whole western part of the Territory of Alaska.⁷⁹

In an apparent attempt to underplay some of Governor Swineford's more positive statements in 1888 regarding the ACC, the British included a statement directed at the logistical challenges facing the governor. They alleged that under such conditions he could not properly attend to his charge.

Though Governor Swineford succeeded in visiting the Pribyloff Islands in 1888, the circumstances are practically such that it is ordinarily impossible for the Governor of Alaska to carry out the above provision. The capital of the territory, Sitka, is situated at a distance of about 1,200 miles from Unalaska, the nearest place of any importance to the Pribyloff Islands, which lie at a further distance of about 200 miles. There has been no regular means of communication between Sitka and Unalaska till 1891, when a monthly mail was for the first time established for a part of the year. Thus, unless by means of some chance vessel, it has been necessary to send any communications passing from Sitka to Unalaska, or vice versa, by way of San Francisco, involving a sea transit of some 3,500 miles, while from San Francisco to Unalaska there has again never been any regular mail service. It has thus very naturally happened that the whole of the western part of Alaska has been practically beyond the control of the Governor, and that the powerful Company leasing the Pribyloff Islands has exercised there an almost independent sway.⁸⁰

After demonstrating the logistical impracticalities faced by the governor, the British case continued:

In his official Report for 1887, A.P. Swineford, Governor of Alaska, writes as follows of the operations and power of the Alaska Commercial Company, which he professes himself unable to control:

[Quote within a quote] *While all this and much more is true concerning its treatment of the native people, instances are not lacking where it has boycotted and driven away from the islands Government officials who, intent upon the honest, faithful discharge of their duties, have incurred the displeasure [of] or refused to do the bidding of its Agents [e.g. see Gavitt biography]. In fact it possesses the power to compel compliance with its every exaction, and*

wherever it has obtained a foothold neither white man nor native can do more than eke out a miserable existence, save by its sufferance.⁸¹

The British reported that Swineford persisted in his position against any monopoly over the resources in the Territory. “I can see no good reason why the present monopoly of the [fur-seal] business may not be abolished,”⁸² the governor said—but he did not recant his findings that the Seal Islands’ Natives were being properly treated overall.

Nearly a century later, in 1980, another author would use Governor Swineford’s 1887 comments about the ACC to support an argument that the ACC, and by association the federal government, had mistreated the Native population of the Seal Islands.⁸³ And just as the British argument failed to recognize Swineford’s later retractions, so did the 1980 argument.⁸⁴

-
- 1 Judith Graham, *Current Biography Yearbook 1994* (NY: H. W. Wilson, 1994), 524; and Jane Estes, “Victor Scheffer,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 1, 1979, 6.
 - 2 Graham, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 527.
 - 3 Ibid., 525.
 - 4 Ibid., 523.
 - 5 Ibid., 523–6.
 - 6 Dr. Victor B. Scheffer, oral history interview, Pribilof Project Office, NOAA/NOS/ORR, Seattle, WA, May 16, 2002, on super 16mm film, transferred to NARA, College Park, Jan. 2009.
 - 7 Victor B. Scheffer, Victor Scheffer at the Pribilof Islands Research 1940, Fur-Seal Archives, NMML Library, Seattle, WA, 3.A.
 - 8 Victor B. Scheffer, “The Rise and Fall of a Reindeer Herd,” *Scientific Monthly*, Dec. 1951.
 - 9 Estes, “Victor Scheffer,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 6; and Dr. Victor B. Scheffer oral history interview, May 16, 2002.
 - 10 Victor B. Scheffer, 1940 Pribilof Islands Research Notes; and Dr. Victor B. Scheffer, oral history interview, May 16, 2002.
 - 11 Graham, *Current Biography Yearbook 1994*, 525.
 - 12 “Historical Sketch,” Benjamin Franklin Scribner Papers, 1846-1900, Coll. SC 1322, http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/sc1322.html (accessed Feb. 18, 2009). Source of materials in “Historical Sketch” derived from materials in collection *Representative Men of Indiana*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati, OH: Western Biographical Publishing Co., 1880); and *Indiana’s Roll of Honor*, vol. 2.
 - 13 “Historical Sketch,” Benjamin Franklin Scribner Papers, 1846-1900, Coll. SC 1322, http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/sc1322.html (accessed Feb. 18, 2009); U.S. Census, 1880; Bruce Pusch, Ancestry.com; and <http://civilwarindiana.com/biographies> (accessed Sept. 28, 2004).
 - 14 “Historical Sketch,” Benjamin Franklin Scribner Papers.
 - 15 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 89.
 - 16 *Webster’s Biographical Dictionary: A Dictionary of Names of Noteworthy Persons with Pronunciations and Concise Biographies* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1943), 1346; and Sharon Workman, “Workman Sutherland Family,” Ancestry.com.
 - 17 *Webster’s Biographical Dictionary*, 1346.
 - 18 Barbara Sweetland Smith, *The Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul on Saint Paul Island, Pribilof Islands: A History 1821–2001* (Anchorage: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust, 2007), 28, spells Kass’ian with a double “s,” while Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A*

- Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1990), 451, uses only one “s.”
- 19 Pierce, *Russian America*, 452.
 - 20 Ibid., 451–2. Note: The date 1840 for the birth of daughter Mariia to Kass’ian and Iustiniia was likely a typographic error; these authors assumed 1850.
 - 21 The dates when Kass’ian served as manager at St. Paul Island are approximate and based upon the writings of Pierce, *Russian America*, 451–2, and Henry W. Elliott, *Report on the Condition of the Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska, Together with All Maps and Illustrations Accompanying Said Report*, in U.S. Congress, House, 54th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 175 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 133.
 - 22 Elliott, *Report of Henry W. Elliott*, 133.
 - 23 Pierce, *Russian America*, 451.
 - 24 “Leonard Griffin Shepard,” <http://www.familysearch.org>.
 - 25 “Leonard G. Shepard, United States Coast Guard,” <http://www.uscg.mil/history/people/LGShepardBio.asp> (accessed Apr. 8, 2009).
 - 26 Ibid.
 - 27 The Jefferson County Historical Society of Port Townsend, Washington, maintains a collection of materials concerning the U.S. Steamer *Rush* (Bert Kellogg, no. 1697, box B, folder 2; *Rush* description card, photograph collection). The collection’s description card reads as follows: “USRC *Rush* Operated from San Francisco to Seattle to Alaska. *Rush*, Revenue Cutter, 1874–1913. Third ship to bear than [sic] name, one of the earliest cutters to sail Alaska in that service. Blt. E. Boston by Atlantic Works [and] placed in Commission, 1874, sailed to S. E. [San Francisco] 1874–75. First trip to Alaska 1877, assigned to annual seal patrol in Pribiloffs. [In] 1885, the old hull sold and a new hull with boiler and engine of old *Rush* [was] repaired and installed. [In] 1898, [it was] order [sic] to co-operate with U.S., in the [Spanish American] War then retd. to Treasury Dept. in August of that same year. *Rush* contd. in Alaska to 9/30/1912, when placed out of commission at Port Townsend. Following year sold to the Alaskan Junk Co., for \$8500.”
 - 28 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 187–8.
 - 29 Mae Felts Herringshaw, *Herringshaw’s City Blue Book of Biography, Chicagoans of 1916, Ten Thousand Biographies* (Chicago: Clark J. Herringshaw, 1916), 359; and http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/WhoWasWho/WhoWasWho_Sims.html (accessed Apr. 15, 2009).
 - 30 Ibid., 359–60.
 - 31 Gerald O. Williams, *The Bering Sea Fur Seal Dispute, 1895–1911* (Eugene, OR: Alaska Maritime Publications, 1984), 62, states that one of “the Aleut watchmen” was hit by the Japanese return fire; this is apparently erroneous, if we are correct in our assumption that the source Williams cited (Edwin W. Sims, *Report on the Fur Seal Fisheries in Alaska* (Dept. of Commerce: GPO, 1906), is actually Edwin W. Sims, *Report on the Alaskan Fur-Seal Fisheries* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), which made no such claim. Sims recounted several raids on the island during July 1906. In his description of a raid on July 17, he states “the native guard was directed to fire. This fire was returned from the deck of the schooner, but no one of the island guard was injured” (op. cit. p. 17). Also note that in 1906, the Department of Commerce and Labor was in effect, and not the Department of Commerce as Williams references.
 - 32 Agent Lembkey stated in his report that 12 Japanese prisoners were taken; U.S. Cong., Senate, “Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to Senate Resolution, of Mar. 2, 1908, Certain Reports Relating to The Alaskan Seal Fisheries,” 60th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. no. 376, Mar. 11, 1908, in U.S. Bur. of Fish., *Alaska Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Matters Relating Thereto*, vol. 15 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), 29.
 - 33 Ibid.
 - 34 Edwin W. Sims, *Report on the Alaskan Fur-Seal Fisheries*, 13–9; and Robert Dunn, “Alaska, the Seal-Warder [sic], and the Japanese Raider,” *Harper’s Weekly* 50 (1906), 1310. Dunn apparently misinterpreted that the *Boso Maru* was one of the marauding vessels landing parties onto St. Paul Island, as according to witness Sims the schooner *Boso Maru* was only mentioned by the captured Japanese as having entered the Bering Sea (*Report on the Alaskan Fur-Seal Fisheries*, 15).
 - 35 U.S. Senate, *Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor*, 29.
 - 36 An insert in the author’s copy of Sims, *Report on the Alaskan Fur-Seal Fisheries*.
 - 37 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 90–91.
 - 38 Philip W. Alexander, *History of San Mateo County: From the Earliest Times, with a Description of its Resources and Advantages, and the Biographies of its Representative Men* (Burlingame, CA: Press of

- Burlingame, 1916); U.S. Censuses, 1880 and 1930; and “Doctor Murder, Patient Suicide Puzzle the Police, Leading County Doctor Slain in Own Office,” *San Mateo Times* (San Mateo, CA), Feb. 21, 1938, 1–2.
- 39 “John Anthony Smith,” Ancestry.com; Social Security Death Index (accessed June 18, 2008); and “Obituary: J. Anthony Tony Smith,” *The Steamboat Pilot & Today*, Dec. 17, 2006, http://m.steamboatpilot.com/obits/2006/dec/17/j_anthony_smith/ (accessed Apr. 10, 2009).
- 40 “Obituary,” *The Steamboat Pilot & Today*.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Will Speers was born on 1879, according to the U.S. Census, 1880, and SSDI. However, other sources cite his birth year as 1877: U.S. Passports, Passport Applications Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925, NARA M1490, certificate 70418, issued Apr. 15, 1912; certificate 34827, issued June 17, 1914; and certificate 441552, issued June 13, 1924; SSDI, Master File, <http://searchancestry.com> (accessed Jan. 3, 2009); California Death Index, 1940–97; National Cemetery Administration, U.S. Veterans Gravesites, 1775–2006, Ancestry.com (accessed Jan. 3, 2009); U.S. Census, 1880, Vinton, Benton Co., Iowa, NARA, microfilm roll T9-327, p. 335; Obituary “Frederick W. Speers,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1971; “America’s Obituaries & Death Notices,” <http://infoweb.newsbank.com> (accessed Jan. 3, 2009); “Iowa 1876 Marriages” transcribed by William Gertz from LDS film 1320513, Scott County, IA, <http://www.celticcousins.net/scot/1876marriagesjanjun.html> (accessed Jan. 3, 2009); U.S. Census, 1900, Davenport, Scott Co., IA, NARA, microfilm roll T623-458, page 20A; Harry E. Downer, “Otto Klug Biography,” *History of Davenport and Scott County*, vol. 2 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1910), <http://www.celticcousins.net/scott/1910vol2bios19.htm> (accessed Jan. 3, 2009); and Rollo Clayton Speer, *Genealogy of the Speers-Spears-Speer Family* (Pocatello, ID: pub. unknown, 1938), 12 and 24.
- 43 According to the Official Log of St. Paul Island maintained at Funter Bay, Dr. William F. Speers arrived aboard the USFWS *Bluewing* on Dec. 29, 1943. Dr. Speers departed St. Paul Island for Seattle aboard the USFWS *Penguin* on Mar. 8, 1945.
- 44 Undated letter from Dr. Will Speers to Mrs. Ruth Binner, San Diego, CA, courtesy of the Alaska Historical Society (AHS). The letter was part of a small collection of letters dated from Dec. 12, 1943, to Apr. 1, 1944, donated to the AHS in May 2008 by Dale Thomas and Gordon S. McWilliams, San Pedro, CA.
- 45 *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography* (NY: James T. White, 1947), vol. 33, 380.
- 46 Joseph Stanley-Brown, “My Friend Garfield,” *American Heritage Magazine*, Aug. 1971, 50.
- 47 “J. Stanley-Brown, Aide to Garfield,” *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1941, 19; Women Scientists/Medicine, Special Collections, Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, NY; “Dr. Stanley-Brown, Bride at Her Home,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1950, 13; “Garfield Monument,” <http://www.deadohio.com> (accessed May 27, 2004); and Linda Carpenter Fry, Ancestry.com.
- 48 *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. 33, 380.
- 49 Stanley-Brown, “My Friend Garfield,” 50; and *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, 1947.
- 50 *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. 33, 380. The article cited Stanley-Brown’s departure date as “Mar. 1892, for France” on p. 380—the year should have read 1893; cf. “Passengers Bound for Europe,” *New York Times*, Mar. 5, 1893, 11, which stated “Bering Sea Arbitration Commission delegation on board included: Edward J. Phelps, James C. Carter, counsel for the United States; Major E. W. Halford, military attaché; Robert Lansing, assistant counsel; J. W. Hulse, E. H. McDermott, attaches; Joseph Stanley Brown, and John T. Coughlin attached to the agency.”
- 51 “The Double Pay Scandal,” *New York Times*, Apr. 1, 1893, 1.
- 52 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 10–11.
- 53 Ibid., 20. Reproductions of Stanley-Brown’s Pribilof Island seal-rookery maps numbered 2–12 appear at the end of vol. 3, app. 2.
- 54 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 54, 320, and 432.
- 55 Federal retirement application for “Gabriel Stepetin Civil Service Retirement under the Fur Seal Act of 1966, Public Law 89-702,” United States Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Retirement and Insurance, Washington, DC, July 14, 1967, including various attachments from Acting Island Manager, Roy Hurd, St. Paul Island, Alaska. U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Saint Paul Operations Office, Saint Paul, AK, Subject and Decimal Correspondence of the Pribilof Islands Program, 1923–1969, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22, box 52, folder 5B, folder G1.

- . (See <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc>, ARC ID 2842763.)
- 56 Biographical sketch provided by Larry Mercurieff via email to John Lindsay, Jan. 13, 2007.
 - 57 Lindsay and Lindsay, *Genealogy and Census*, 58.
 - 58 *Ibid.*, 58 and 385.
 - 59 Social Security Admin., SSDI, Master File, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/ssee.dll.db+ssdi> (accessed June 10, 2009).
 - 60 Biographical information provided by Larry Mercurieff via email to John Lindsay, Jan. 13, 2007.
 - 61 "Charles Sumner, 1811–1874," Library of Congress, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S001068> (accessed Feb. 18, 2003); and *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1431.
 - 62 *Ibid.*
 - 63 Harold F. Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," *The Pacific Historical Review* 28, no. 4 (1959), 351 commented on the duration of Sumner's speech; cf. David Hunter Miller, *The Alaska Treaty* (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1981), 112.
 - 64 Charles Sumner, "Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the cession of Russian America to the United States," Washington, DC: Congressional Globe Office; James Alton James, *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska* (Chicago: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1942); Archie W. Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska* (College, AK: Univ. of Alaska Press, 1967), 102, 107–8, 119; Miller, *The Alaska Treaty*, 113; and Taggart, "Sealing on St. George Island, 1868," 351.
 - 65 Sumner, "Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner," 3.
 - 66 Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska*, 102.
 - 67 Miller, *The Alaska Treaty*, 112.
 - 68 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1910), Jan. 13, 579.
 - 69 Michigan State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, *Michigan Pioneer Experiences 1710–1880 with Genealogical Data and Anecdotes* (Marquette, MI: Marquette Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, 1933), member no. 28151, Nelly Flower (Swineford) Stafford, 700–701; and Morgan Hewitt Stafford, *A Genealogy of The Kidder Family* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1941), 274–5.
 - 70 *Ibid.*
 - 71 S. D. Bingham, *Early History of Michigan with Biographies of State Officers, Members of Congress, Judges and Legislators, Published Pursuant to Act 59, 1887* (Lansing, MI: Thorp and Godfrey, 1888), 627.
 - 72 Barton Atkins, *Modern Antiquities: Comprising Sketches of Early Buffalo and the Great Lakes, Also Sketches of Alaska* (Buffalo, New York: Courier, 1898), 160–1.
 - 73 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), vol. 1, 208–9. The authors researched "Anderson" and failed to identify the individual.
 - 74 Letter from the Secretary of the Interior Transmitting from the Governor of Alaska a Report of the Alaska Seal and Fur Company [Dec. 10, 1888]. U.S. Congress, Senate, 1898, 50th Cong., 2nd sess., Ex. Doc. no. 74 in U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor, *Alaska Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Related Matters*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906).
 - 75 U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives," in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 10.
 - 76 *Ibid.*, 11.
 - 77 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 8, 231.
 - 78 *Ibid.*, 238.
 - 79 *Ibid.*, 233.
 - 80 *Ibid.*, 240.
 - 81 *Ibid.*, 238; and U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries," H. Rep. no. 3883, 365.
 - 82 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 8, 239; and U.S. Congress, House, "Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries" H. Rep. no. 3883, 365.
 - 83 Dorothy Knee Jones, *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule* (Washington, DC: Univ. Press of America, 1980), 36.
 - 84 *Ibid.*, 36.



Catherine Nedarazoff, St. Paul Island. (Washington State Historical Society. Photo: Dr. Charles A. Lutz. Henry Wood Elliot Coll., 087.3f.doc/3.OLE.)

T

TANNER, ZERA LUTHER (1835–1906)

Lieutenant Commander, U.S. Navy

Commander, U.S. Fish Commission steamer Albatross

Genealogy

Zera Luther Tanner, born of Zera and Ruth E. (Foster) Tanner, December 5, 1835, at Warsaw, New York, married Helen Benedict, daughter of Charles B. and Sophronia Betsey (Matteson) Benedict, November 11, 1884, at Attica, New York. Zera L. Tanner died in Washington, D.C., on December 16, 1906.¹

Biographical Sketch

[Zera Tanner] went, in 1855, to England with an invention he had patented, when he entered the seafaring business in October of that year. Under the British government he made voyages to Russia, China and the South Sea Islands. Returning to America, beginning in 1874, Capt. Tanner entered the service of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for four years. Next, the Captain was employed in superintending the construction of the U.S. steamer, *Speedwell* going on special services in deep-sea explorations under the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries.

A second ship, the *Fish Hawk* was built under his guidance for the same commission. Still later he aided in planning the *Albatross* which he commanded, beginning in November 1882 for five years in scientific exploration of the waters of the Atlantic coast of the United States, British North America, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea. In May 1888, starting from Washington, Mr. Tanner, after sailing via the Strait of Magellan, again set



Zera L. Tanner. (Andrew W. Young, *History of the Town of Warsaw, New York*, 1869, 338.)

up headquarters in San Francisco. He explored the great fishing banks of Alaska and the Bering Sea, co-operating with the government for the preservation of the seal. A survey for a cable between California and Hawaii was also part of his work.

In 1895, he returned for special duty under the United States Fish Commission in Washington, D.C., except during the Spanish-American War when he was assigned for duty in the Navy Department at Washington, San Francisco and Honolulu.²

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Lt. Commander Zera Tanner's Bering Sea experience provided him with opportunity to observe and comment on the impact of pelagic sealing. His deposition was given at Port Townsend, Washington, before Notary Public James G. Swan on May 9, 1892:

I am lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. I have made five cruises in Alaskan waters in command of the Fish Commission steamer Albatross, now temporarily in the service of the United States Revenue Marine . . . July 4, 1888 . . . May 1889 . . . May 1890 . . . July 1891 . . . March 1892. . . I have been engaged in this work nearly fourteen years, during which time it has been a part of my duty to acquire information concerning the seal and its life. This has been done not only from personal experience and observations, but by questioning practical men, such as intelligent mariners, fishermen, and hunters. Pelagic sealing has been a frequent subject of conversation and argument with me since my first northern cruise in 1888, and I have reached the following conclusions:

First. Pelagic sealing is wasteful, as a large percentage of seals killed are lost. Opinions on that point, varying from 30 to 70 percent.

Second. The sexes can not be distinguished in the water, except old males, and both sexes and all sizes are killed indiscriminately.

Third. Of the seals killed, from 60 to 70 percent are females, which during their northerly migration are heavy with young, slow of movement, and require an extra amount of rest and sleep, thus largely increasing their liability to successful attack.

Fourth. The female killed, the death of the unborn pup follows, entailing a double loss.

Fifth. Seals killed in Bering Sea after the birth of the pups are largely mother seals and the farther they are found from the islands the greater the percentage will be. The reason for this seeming paradox is very simple. The young males, having no family responsibilities can afford to hunt nearer home, where food can be found if sufficient time is devoted to the search. The mother does not leave her young except when necessity compels her to seek food for its sustenance. She can not afford to waste time on feeding grounds already occupied by younger and more active feeders; hence she makes the best of her way to richer fields, farther away, gorges herself with food, then seeks rest and a quiet nap on the surface. Under these conditions she sleeps soundly, and becomes an easy victim to the watchful hunter.

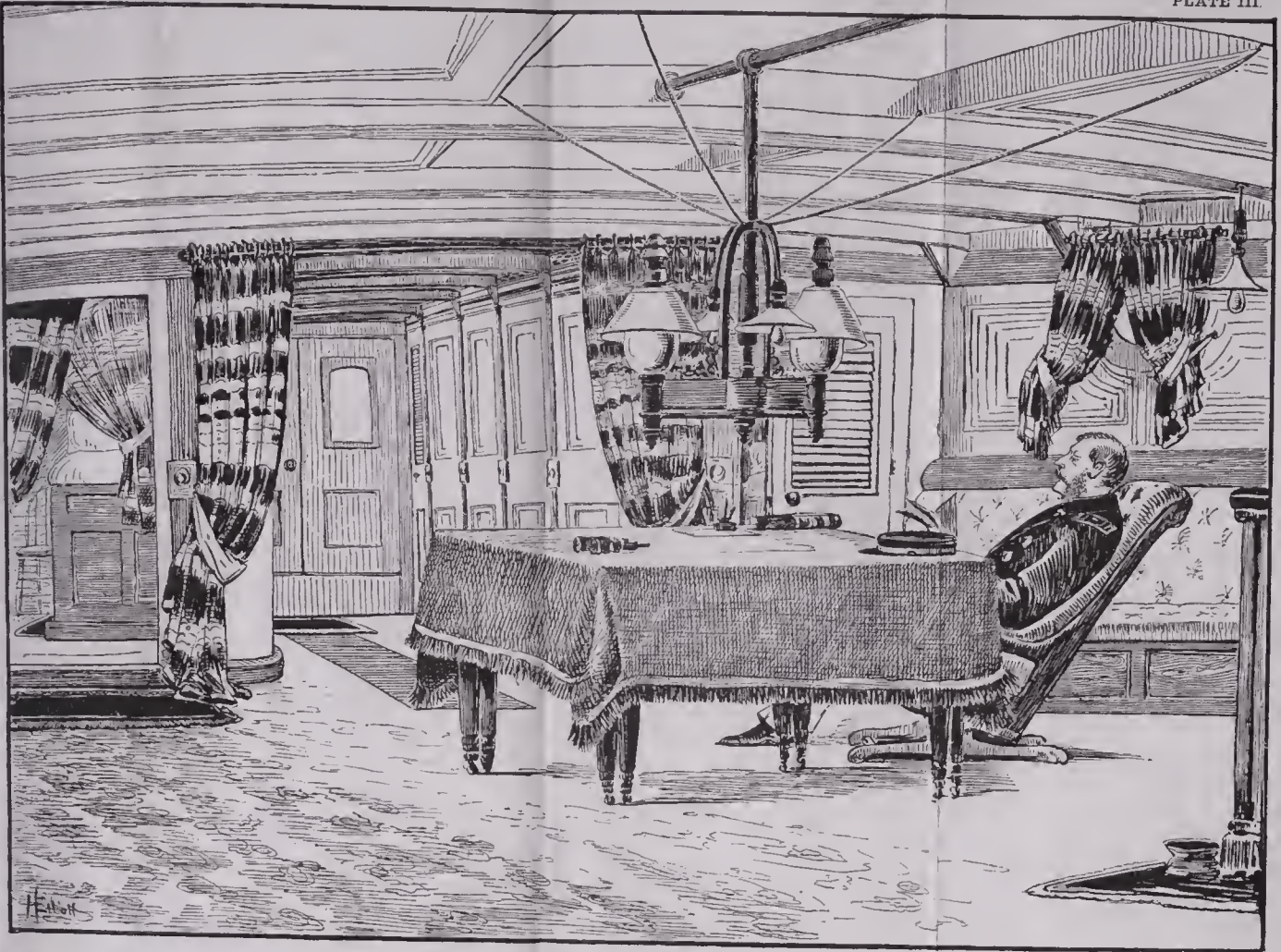
Sixth. A double waste occurs when the mother seal is killed, as the pup will surely starve to death. A mother seal will give sustenance to no pup but her own. I saw sad evidences of this waste on St. Paul Island last season, where large numbers of pups were lying about the rookeries, where they had died of starvation.

Seventh. The number of seals on the Pribilof Islands is decreasing. I saw positive proof of this on St. Paul Island last season.

Eighth. Pups can not swim at birth, hence the female cannot give birth to her young in the water without sacrificing its life. I have seen thousands of pups learning to swim at the rookeries on St. Paul, and their early efforts were quite as awkward as those of a boy when taking his first dip. Their trouble seems to be to keep their heads above water.

Report U. S. F. C. 1883.—Tanner. Albatross.

PLATE III.



The cabin.

Henry W. Elliott's sketch of Tanner in his cabin on the USFC Albatross, 1883 (1883 U.S. Fish Commission Report, p. 111, plate III.)

Ninth. The present practice in pelagic sealing is to shoot them from a boat with a shotgun and secure them with a short-handled gaff. If killed instantly, they are apt to sink, unless picked up immediately. If wounded, they may be gaffed in their "flurry."

Tenth. Pelagic sealing should be suppressed as far as practicable. A protected zone around the islands, extending 100 miles from them would not be effective, even if the limits were respected.

Eleventh. The preservation of the rookeries, requires the suppression of pelagic sealing, at least in Bering Sea, and in the immediate vicinity of the passes.³

TAYLOR, WILLIAM B. (B. 1850)

Assistant Treasury Agent, St. Paul and St. George Islands, 1881

Genealogy

William B. Taylor was born in October 1850 in Illinois. He married in Illinois to a woman named Martha, who came from New York. At the time of the 1900 U.S. Census, the couple was living in Omaha, Nebraska, with a daughter named Hester.⁴

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

William B. Taylor deposed before Notary Public Sevellon A. Brown for the Tribunal of Arbitration on April 26, 1892, at Washington, D.C. The following is an excerpt of his deposition.

I am 41 years of age, Secretary and Treasurer of the Globe Loan and Trust Company, of Omaha, Nebraska, and am not and never have been in any way connected with any company engaged in the seal skin industry. In the year 1881 I was Assistant Treasury Agent for the Seal Islands. I arrived on the islands in the latter part of May of that year, and after a week's stay on St. Paul Island, was detailed to St. George, remaining there until the latter part of August. Since then I have not been on the islands.⁵

According to Special Agent Harrison Otis in his 1881 annual report, Taylor departed the island of St. George without authorization.⁶

TEMPLE, GEORGE H. (1858–1921)

Assistant Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, St. Paul Island, 1880–1882

Genealogy

George Howard Temple was born on December 11, 1858, in Randolph, Orange County, Vermont, to George Temple and Elizabeth C. (McIntyre) Temple, sister to Hugh H. McIntyre (see Hugh H. McIntyre biography). George Howard Temple married Flora May Hewitt on November 24, 1887, in Randolph, Vermont. The couple had one son, Ray Hewitt, born January 12, 1892.⁷

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

George Howard Temple offered an agrarian view of the land harvest of seals on the Pribilof Islands. Temple deposed before Notary Public J. B. Eldredge in Randolph, Vermont, for the Tribunal of Arbitration on June 13, 1892. The following is an excerpt of his deposition.

I am 32 years old; a native of Vermont, where I now reside. I was bred to the occupation of farming, and am at present a hardware merchant in my native town of Randolph.

From 1880–1882, I was employed by the Alaska Commercial Company at St. Paul Island, Alaska, as assistant agent.

A farmer on going to the seal islands at once notices, as I did, that the term “seal hunting,” so called, conveys no idea of the business of taking seals for their skins as it is there carried on. It is in no sense “hunting,” the work of bringing in for slaughter from their accustomed haunts and slaying such number of killable seals from day to day . . . being in no way different from that pursued by the farmer in driving up his farm herd and selecting and killing such as he sees fit; the only difference . . . in the case of the seals, the pasture in which they feed is the broad ocean.⁸

TETOFF, NEON (1861–1932)

Woodworker, Engineer, and Boat Keeper, St. Paul Island, 1910s

Genealogy

Neon Tetoff was born September 14, 1861, on St. Paul Island, Alaska. Neon married Agrippina (aka Agrafina, surname unknown, b. June 23, 1875, Unalaska). Neon and Agrippina had three sons: Simeon (b. 1893);⁹ Dmetri Tetoff (b. November 6, 1897);¹⁰ and John Tetoff (b. May 21, 1904, and adopted by Simeon and Advotia Nozekoff);¹¹ and eight daughters born on St. Paul Island: Erena (b. March 29, 1900); Anna (b. December 6, 1906; another daughter named Anna (b. February 15, 1925); Sosepatra (b. November 22, 1911; Agnia (b. January 31, 1914); Ekaterma (b. December 5, 1916); and Xenia (b. February 13, 1919).¹² The eighth daughter, Agrifina (b. June 14, 1902), was adopted by Neon and Agrippina.¹³ Erena Tetoff married George Lekanof of St. George Island, Alaska on November 25, 1925. Dmitri Tetoff married Sophia Cherepanoff of Akutan (b. September 30, 1900)¹⁴ at Unalaska on October 20, 1917.¹⁵ Dmitri and Sophia Tetoff had a daughter Virginia born on November 7, 1921, St. Paul Island.¹⁶ Neon Tetoff died August 17, 1932, on St. Paul Island.¹⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

Neon Tetoff, a skilled woodworker, served as boat keeper and engineer for the gasoline launch on St. Paul Island. He went on a deadly sailing trip with Dr. Walter Hahn, Dr. Harry Chichester, and their wives on May 31, 1911 (see Hahn and Chichester biographies). A sudden wind capsized the sailboat in the Salt Lagoon, casting all on board into the frigid water. Everyone made it ashore, thanks in part to the heroic efforts of Neon Tetoff, but Hahn and Chichester died from exposure.

Tetoff's work at the gasoline launch often required him to tow Aleut fishers to shore if the waters became too rough for them to row their small skin boats in the cross-currents. Philip Hatton, an agent on St. Paul Island, captured one such incident in the agent's log-book in August 1913:

At 4 P.M. I went out with Neon Tetof [sic] and several natives to tow in the fishing boats with the gasoline launch. We towed three boats in from off the east side, and several [others] which were off the east side rowed in at about 6 o'clock. Eight or nine halibut and several cod was the day's catch.

At 9 P.M. a native came into the office and reported that one of the fishing boats had not returned. I immediately had the gang turn out, sent two men along the reef with lanterns, left instructions to start a bon fire on the hill at the flag-staff if the boat came in, and made preparations to go out in the launch to search for the boat. During the usual delay in getting the launch ready the missing boat was sighted coming around the point near the village landing.

The four men, in the boat, stated that as the day was very good they had fished longer than usual and had drifted down near Otter island [sic]. When they started to row home at 6 o'clock the tide was against them and they could not get in before 9:30.¹⁸

TEVIS, LLOYD (1824–1899)

Director, North American Commercial Company, 1890–1899

Lawyer, Capitalist



Lloyd Tevis. (Courtesy Cypress Memorial Park, Colma, San Mateo County, California.)

Genealogy

Lloyd Tevis was born March 20, 1824, in Shelbyville, Kentucky, the son of lawyer Samuel Tevis and Sarah (Greathouse) Tevis. On April 20, 1854, Lloyd married Susan G. Sanders, daughter of Colonel Lewis Sanders of Sacramento, California. Their children were Louise, Harry, and William Tevis.¹⁹

Biographical Sketch

Lloyd Tevis was known as a financial genius and referred to as a “capitalist”²⁰ because of his lucrative business endeavors in banking, railroads, mining, cattle, and the fur trade. He became the first president of Wells Fargo in 1869. He owned streetcar lines in San Francisco as well as gold and silver mines in five western states. He also owned the Anaconda copper properties in Montana and the second largest herds of cattle and sheep in California. When his life ended on July 24, 1899, his estate was worth over \$15,000,000.²¹

Pribilof Island Experience

Lloyd Tevis served as the vice-president and a director of the North American Commercial Company²² from circa 1890 to 1899.

THOMPSON, D'ARCY (1860–1948)

Scientific Advisor, British Delegation, Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission, 1896–1897

Professor of Biology, University College, Dundee, Scotland, 1884–1917

Professor of Natural History, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 1917–1948

Genealogy

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson was born on May 2, 1860, in Edinburgh, Scotland, to D'Arcy Thompson, a classical scholar, and Fanny (Gamgee) Thompson. D'Arcy Thompson married Maureen Ada Drury on July 4, 1901, at St. Andrews, Scotland. They had three daughters: Ruth, who would become his biographer, Molly, and Barbara. Thompson died at his home, 44 South Street, St. Andrews, on June 21, 1948.²³

Biographical Sketch

D'Arcy Thompson's schooling began at home and progressed to Edinburgh Academy, Edinburgh University, and Cambridge University, where he received a BA in sciences in June 1883 and an MA on February 12, 1892. Thompson became professor of biology at University College, Dundee, Scotland, in 1884, a position he held until 1917. Among his many accomplishments, he founded a museum in Dundee for specimens collected from Arctic waters for use in research and teaching.

In 1917, Thompson was appointed to the Chair of Natural History at St. Andrews University. In all, Dr. Thompson held a position at the university for sixty-four years. He was known as a scholar of Greek, a naturalist, and a mathematician, and was considered the first biomathematician. His publications totaled some 300 scientific articles and books, including his most famous book, *On Growth and Form* (1917), in which he argued that "All science and learning are one, all animals and plants could only be understood in terms of pure mathematics."²⁴

Thompson received many honors during his lifetime, including honorary Doctor of Law (LLD) degrees from Aberdeen University (April 1, 1933) and Edinburgh University (July 5, 1934), and an honorary Doctor of Science (DS) degree from Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland (July 5, 1934). He was knighted on June 11, 1937.

Thompson was an important figure in European fisheries research, carrying out pioneering research in hydrography under the Fisheries Board for Scotland and the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea.²⁵

Pribilof Islands Experience

During 1896–1897, Dr. D'Arcy Thompson served on the Behring Sea Fur-Seal Commission. He traveled to the Pribilof Islands to conduct his investigations, which resulted in a report presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1897. Excerpts of his introduction to the report are given below.

Report by Professor D'Arcy Thompson on his Mission to Behring Sea in 1896

Dated March 4, 1897.

My Lord,

AFTER, visiting, according to your Lordship's instructions, the Pribyloff and Commander Islands for the purpose of investigating the condition of the seal rookeries thereon, I have the honour to submit the following Report:—²⁶



D'Arcy Thompson served as a scientific advisor on Great Britain's delegation to the Bering Sea Fur-Seal Commission, 1896–97. Photo taken in 1906. (Univ. of St. Andrews Special Coll., Ms48534-2-5.)

2. The main object of my mission was the collection of information and statistics with regard to the working and effectiveness of the Regulations for the fur-seal fishery prescribed by the Award of the Paris Arbitration Tribunal.
3. It was particularly enjoined on me to investigate the breeding rookeries with a view to ascertaining the extent and causes of the alleged mortality of unweaned pups.
4. I was further instructed to inspect and estimate the number of seals resorting to the islands, and in particular to the Pribyloff Islands, and to compare the phenomena that I witnessed with the information and statistics supplied for the season of 1895 by the American Agents. (54th Congress, 1st Session, Sen. Doc. 137, Part. I, pp. 372, 373.)
5. Lastly, I was directed to call upon the authorities in Washington and Ottawa, and to obtain there, and collect also from persons connected with the sealing industry in Victoria, information bearing on the business of my mission.
6. Mr. G.E.H. Barrett-Hamilton was associated with me and placed under my orders, with instructions to proceed, in the first instance, to Robben Island and the Commander Islands, and to investigate those localities in particular. Mr. James Macoun was associated with me as an Agent of the Dominion Government, and Mr. A. Halkett was directed at the same time by the same Government to proceed to Behring Sea on board a sealing-schooner, and to watch during the summer the methods and results of the pelagic industry.
7. I left England on the 23rd of May, and arrived in Washington on the morning of the 30th of May. His Excellency, Sir Julian Pauncefoot, presented me to Mr. Olney and to Mr. Charles S. Hamlin, Assistant Secretary to the United States' Treasury. With the latter gentleman, who had himself visited the Seal Islands in the summer of 1894, I had the benefit of much conversation, together with the advantage of introductions to the whole body of naturalists resident in Washington who had given thought to the matter, or participated in the research. Among those who did most to entertain and enlighten me were Mr. J. Browne Goode, of the Smithsonian Institute, the news of whose untimely and lamentable decease was to reach me ere my return; Commander J.J. Brice, of the Fisheries Department; Mr. Ridgway, Assistant in the same Department; Dr. Leonard Stejneger, Mr. Frederick True, and Mr. Frederic Lucas, of the National Museum, who had all been, or were about to be, employed in this particular inquiry.²⁷

D'Arcy continued his travel log when he left Washington with James Macoun, representing Canada on the commission, and traveled to Ottawa, Ontario, then on to Victoria, British Columbia, to board his ship for the Seal Islands:

9. In Victoria I associated and conversed with a number of the captains of sealing schooners, who were then engaged in fitting out their vessels for the summer's cruise, and especially with Captain Seward, of the "Dora Seward," who had offered the hospitality of his ship to Mr. A. Halkett for the summer. I became acquainted also with several gentlemen connected with the industry, and particularly with Mr. Joseph Boscowitz, a leading trader, with large interests in the sealing business.

Admiral Stephenson, who was at that time leaving the station, and Admiral H. St. John Palliser, who was then assuming the command, received me with much kindness and undertook to meet my requirements for conveyance in or from Behring Sea on board Her Majesty's ships.

I had previously received information that the United States' Government had extended to me an invitation to proceed to Behring Sea on board the United States' ship *Albatross*, and I now learned that an American Commission had been appointed on the 18th June (since my departure from Washington) for an identical investigation. This Commission was headed by Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of the Leland Stanford University, Mr. Joseph Murray, of Fort Collins, Colorado, formerly United States' Treasury Agent at St. Paul Island, was selected as Assistant Commissioner, and the following gentlemen from the United States' National Museum and the United States Fish Commission were detailed



Sealing crew clubbing fur seals, Pribilof Islands, circa 1896. (Photo: D'Arcy Thompson. Univ. of St. Andrews Special Coll., Ms4281(a)-164.)



Men skinning fur seals, Pribilof Islands, circa 1896. (Photo: D'Arcy Thompson. Univ. of St. Andrews Special Coll., Ms4281(a)-169.)



A group of men on one of the Pribilof Islands, circa 1896. (Photo: D'Arcy Thompson. Univ. of St. Andrews Special Coll., Ms4281(a)-147.)

as associates: Lieutenant Commander Jefferson F. Moser, commanding the United States' Fish Commission steamer "Albatross"; Dr. Leonard Stejneger, Curator of Reptiles, United States' National Museum; Mr. Frederic A. Lucas, Curator of Comparative Anatomy, United States' National Museum; and Mr. Charles H. Townsend, Naturalist of the *Albatross*. Mr. George A. Clark acted as Secretary to the Commission, and took a very important part in its subsequent investigations.

10. On the 19th June I departed from Victoria for Seattle, in the State of Washington, to join the 'Albatross'. On the 24th June I set sail from Seattle for Unalaska on board that vessel, in company with the American Commissioners and Mr. Macoun, Mr. Barrett-Hamilton being then on his way from San Francisco to Japan, *en route* for the Kurile Islands and the Sea of Ochotsk [sic].

11. On the 3rd July we reached Unalaska, and disembarked on the 8th July on the Island of St. George. We were here received with great kindness by Mr. James Judge, Resident Agent of the United States' Treasury, and by Dr. L.A. Noyes and Captain Daniel Webster, of the North American Commercial Company.

12. On the 12th July we left the Island of St. George and arrived on the same day at that of St. Paul, where we were received by Mr. Joseph B. Crowley, Resident Agent of the United States Treasury, by Mr. Joseph B. Stanley-Brown, Agent of the North American Commercial Company, and by Dr. Otto H. Voss and Mr. James C. Redpath, officials of the Company. Quarters were provided for us in the Company's house, a small laboratory and a photographic room were presently fitted up for our use in an empty hut, and then and thereafter, during the whole of our stay, we experienced the greatest kindness and attention from the above-named gentlemen and from the people of the island.

13. On the 15th July Her Majesty's ships "Satellite" and "Icarus" arrived off the island. On the following morning I embarked for the Commander Islands on board the "Satellite," accompanied by Dr. Jordan, to whom Commander Allen had offered the hospitality of the ship.²⁸

Both commissions remained on the Commander Islands until the end of July. Thompson arrived back on St. Paul Island on September 1. He stayed one week before departing for London, where he arrived on the 31st of October, 1896.

21. [in part] It deserves to be particularly recorded that on the islands we enjoyed, together with the American Commissioners, opportunities and privileges that had never before been accorded to any investigators, whether American or British; that the utmost liberty of action within the bounds of reason was permitted us; that, in short, we were left free to see all that was to be seen, and to do whatsoever commended itself to our inclinations or judgment.

22. Lastly, it behoves me to acknowledge that in the investigations presently to be described my own part was that of one among many, and that the chief burden lay with Dr. Jordan and his Commission. On those great and scattered rookeries a man working singly can do little, where a company working in collusion can do much. Accordingly it was my business to co-operate continually with the Americans, to see what they saw, and to participate in what they did; and, as an eye-witness of all that they witnessed, I desire to place my testimony on record that the general success of our expedition, the new knowledge as to matters of fact that we obtained, and in particular the censuses that we for the first time attempted and achieved, were one and all the direct result of Dr. Jordan's counsel and leadership.²⁹

D'Arcy Thompson's thirty-nine-page report covered the present condition of the seal rookeries, the extent and causes of the mortality of pup seals, the methods of driving and killing seals, local management, and statistics of the industry. After presenting the facts collected he concluded that more study was needed. Previous observations "of the herd's immense decrease and the prophecies of its approaching extinction, are overdrawn and untenable. But it is my duty to state to your Lordship that there is still abundant need for care and for prudent measures of conservation in the interests of all. A birth-rate which we estimate at 143,000 per annum is not great in comparison with the drain upon the stock."³⁰

Professor Thompson returned the following summer to the islands with his assistant, Alexander Rodger, aboard the HMS *Rainbow*, arriving on St. George Island on August 1, 1897. He stayed on the island for five days and proceeded to St. Paul Island, where he remained until August 16. Members of the American Commission, including Dr. David Starr Jordan, were also on the islands, repeating experiments in branding and erecting a strong fence around the Salt Lagoon to confine rejected male seals. "A Staff of American engineers spent the whole summer upon the islands, making a complete topographical survey with especial reference to the outlines of the rookeries."³¹

As noted by Assistant Treasury Agent Thomas E. Adams in the St. Paul Island Agent's Log of May 25, 1897 (pages 130–31):

The geodetic surveying party was landed. Capt. Tuttle and Dr. Call of the *Bear* called this morning. The surveying party consists of: Wm. Ward Duffield, chief; Fremont Morse, Geo. R. Putnam and Geo. L. Flower, assistants; Henry J. Slaken, Joseph E. Freeman, Wm. S. Broughton, Chas. H. Roesch, and Fletcher G. Forny, Edward P. Rudolph and Gustov Bergman, workmen. The purpose is to make a minute survey of the Islands, and especially the seal rookeries thereon, and prepare maps in detail of the same.

Both the U.S. and British commissions made a full count of the populations at each of the rookeries. They listed their counts separately and made comparisons with the popula-

tion counts of the previous summer. Thompson in his *Despatch* observed that “we have here and hitherto omitted to take into account a factor that time may show to be of very considerable importance, to wit, a tendency on the part of the cows to fluctuate from year to year in their movements, and to frequent now one and now another rookery.”³² To support his point, Thompson relied upon observations made by his assistant, James Macoun.

The female when she lands goes, if possible, to that rookery or part of a rookery on which the greatest number of seals is congregated, so that the seals might wholly disappear from the small straggling rookeries while thousands remained on the larger, more compact ones.

There was never any evidence in support of the theory that young seals returned to the rookeries upon which they were born, nor even that the females returned to the rookeries upon which they had been impregnated the previous year, though there was a natural presumption in favour of the latter theory. Observations in 1897, however, show that is not the case. A few female seals (nine in number, according to Dr. Jordan, Report, 1896, p. 62) were branded on North Rookery, St. George Island, in 1896. Two of these were seen in 1897, one on East Rookery, St. George Island, the other on Zapadnie Rookery, St. Paul. None were seen on the rookery upon which they were branded. One of two branded on Lukannon Rookery in 1896 was seen to land there in 1897 by Mr. Clarke, but it was lost sight of. So that what data we have goes to show that female seals not only do not usually return to the rookeries on which they were the previous year, but that sometimes at least they go to another island.³³

Thompson reported an important discovery made during the summer’s work of 1897, one that could be used by the British government in seeking to overrule the U.S. position that pelagic sealing was solely responsible for the decline in the fur-seal herd.

During last winter Dr. Stiles, a well-known American helminthologist, reasoning from the very high mortality of the pups on sandy as compared with that on the rocky areas, suggested to the American Commissioners that a cause of the mortality might be found in a parasitic worm of the genus *Uncinaria* (*Dochmius*), which passes a portion of its life-history in sand, and of which one species is known to be a common and fatal parasite of young puppy dogs. This fruitful and ingenious suggestion has been found correct.³⁴

Professor Thompson offered some profound observations following his work on the Pribilof Islands.

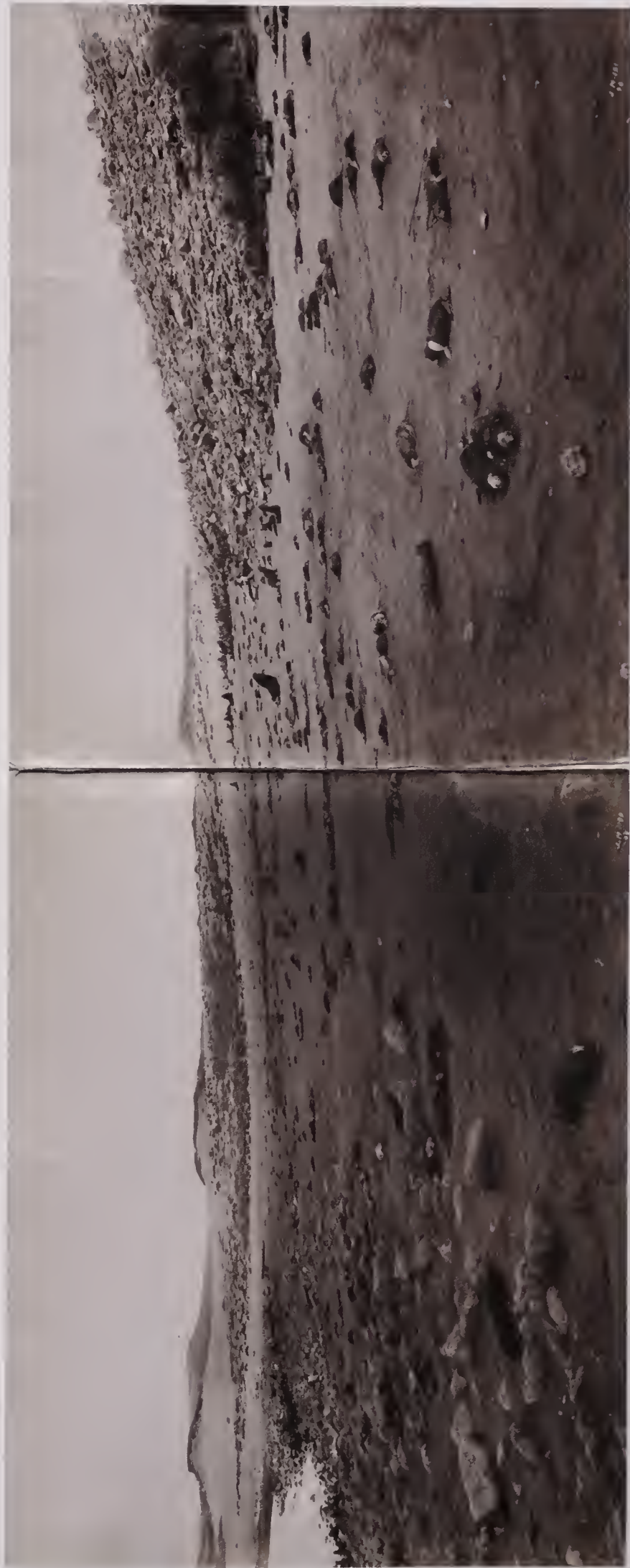
I can call to mind no other animal whose numerical abundance and fluctuations are [as] open to observation as are those of the fur seal. It is the only animal in the world of whose actual numbers we have something like a definite idea. Nevertheless, my experience of a second year renders me inclined to trust less confidently than before to the accuracy of the figures that even here the most industrious observer can obtain.

We are forced again and again to select approximate figures, and we are apt afterwards to forget their vagueness and to treat them as precise; and in our summary of separate results, extremely different, we are constrained to adopt averages, though we have no knowledge of our right to use so simple an arithmetic.³⁵

Despite his scientific predilection, Thompson appeared in his concluding paragraphs to recognize the politics that sent him to observe the northern fur seal.

It is safe to say that the breeding herd has diminished by 5 per cent. [sic] since 1896; we may, I believe, reasonably presume that the decrease is somewhat greater than this: but I don’t think we need or ought to ascribe to the decrease a preciser figure.

But whether we confine ourselves to a diminution of 5 per cent. that, I think has indubitably taken place, or permit ourselves to consider the possibility or probability of the diminution having been greater still, it behoves us to remember that a remedy has already



Panorama of dead seal pups at Tolstoi Rookery, St. Paul Island, circa 1896. Thousands of seal pups died of starvation after their mothers were killed at sea by pelagic sealers when the mothers went to feed to nourish their milk supply. (Photo: D'Arcy Thompson. Univ. of St. Andrews Special Coll., Ms43333-100,101.)

been automatically applied in the reduction of the pelagic fleet to less than one-half its numbers of a year ago. The tendency is to equilibrium. The total pelagic catch for this year is not likely to exceed 20,000 against 36,000 last year: and it may be that, with a catch so greatly diminished, the point of equilibrium has been at length attained.³⁶

Professor Thompson is credited with brokering the deal that brought the dispute to an end at the Washington Conference in November of 1897. As a result of his work on the Commission, he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath by Queen Victoria at Windsor on July 13, 1898. This honor was followed in December 1898 by his appointment to the Fishery Board of Scotland.

TINGLE, GEORGE ROBERT (1836–1903)

Special Agent, U.S. Treasury Department, Seal Islands, 1885–1889

Superintendent, North American Commercial Company, 1890–1892

Genealogy

George Robert Tingle was born on March 6, 1836, in Norwich, Muskingum County, Ohio, to Joseph D. Tingle and Catherine (Thomas) Tingle. George Tingle was married twice, first to Lelia Jane Stephens (born 1836, died September 27, 1862),³⁷ in Wheeling, Virginia (later West Virginia). George and Lelia had three children: the Honorable Edward Tingle, ex-consul to Brunswick, Germany, and subsequently managing editor of a Philadelphia daily newspaper; Lelia; and Katie (Mrs. Frank Jones of New York City). His second marriage, to Pink Robertson, produced one son, George Robert Tingle Jr., who was born in Wheeling on September 14, 1878. George Jr. became prominent in the Colorado Springs, Colorado, mining industry. The senior Tingle died at the home of his sister in Wichita, Kansas, in August 1903.³⁸

Biographical Sketch

George Tingle Sr. left Ohio for Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1852 and embarked upon a career in the wholesale dry goods business, starting as a clerk and book-keeper with Tallant & Delaplain. He moved into the wholesale grocery business and became a member of the firm Maxwell, Campbell & Tingle, which evolved into the firm Tingle and Isham in 1870. In 1876, he became sheriff of Wheeling, and he continued in that position along with various others until his departure from Wheeling in 1882. He ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1880. His efforts led to the establishing of the State Fair Association of West Virginia by an act of the West Virginia Legislature on February 18, 1881. In June 1882, he left West Virginia for Montana and was elected and served as a Democratic representative from Dawson, Montana, from 1884 to 1885.³⁹

Pribilof Islands Experience

Presumably as a consequence of his congressional connections, George Robert Tingle Sr. was appointed by President Grover Cleveland in April 1885 to serve as government agent of St. Paul and St. George islands. He arrived at St. Paul Island aboard the steamer *St. Paul*

on May 29, 1885, with his wife, Pink, and two of their children, Catherine and George Jr. Along with the passenger list, outgoing agent H. H. Glidden wrote in the Agent's Log, "Being relieved from duty by a change in the politics of the national administration. I return to San Francisco by the *St. Paul* in a few days."⁴⁰ Glidden's comment serves to clarify for researchers that at least some of the agents served under presidential appointment. Upon filling his new position as the government's representative on the Pribilof Islands, Tingle wrote in the Agent's Log:

I am the representative of the Government upon those islands and have three assistant agents. I am required to see that the lessees do not violate the law under their contract, and I am supposed to govern the natives, protect them and regulate them. Practically [speaking] the Government agents are the governors of the islands in connection with the management of the seal business.⁴¹

He further offered:

The natives on the islands of St. Paul and St. George look upon the Treasury agent as their friend and protector as against the company employing them, and to him they appeal in case of any imaginary or real grievance. He is regarded by them as their governor and judge.⁴²

Tingle's tenure was marked by some personal conflicts. The most significant arose from allegations by his assistant, Special Agent William Gavitt, of misconduct by Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) employees under Tingle's watch, and from charges by Tingle's successor, Charles Goff, that the size of the fur-seal herd had been grossly miscalculated (see Gavitt and Goff biographies).

Aspects of his personality and background, such as being a former sheriff, likely gave direction for his position toward pelagic sealers.

Three marauding vessels have been sighted this season cruising around the islands of St. George and St. Paul, and have been heard shooting seals in the water, but so far have not landed or disturbed any of the rookeries. The Treasury agents on both islands keep vigilant watch, but owing to the long distance between rookeries it would be entirely possible for a vessel to land a crew in small boats and make a killing on shore, and get away without being seen. Captain Loud and myself have made two trips by boat and on foot to points where shooting was reported by the natives to have been heard without seeing the vessels or any evidence on shore of their having landed. Mr. T.J. Ryan, assistant Treasury agent at St. George, watched a schooner off Zapadnie rookery, St. George, for ten days. She remained in sight most of the time, and sent her crew out in small boats to shoot seal in the water, but was so far out at sea that she could not be reached by open boat, the only means Mr. Ryan had at his command with which to reach the pirate.

The positive knowledge of these marauding vessels' hovering around the islands, constantly violating the law, brings me to a matter briefly referred to in my letter to the Department June 7, viz, the necessity for better protection of seal life in these waters adjacent to the seal fisheries. The Treasury agents are not provided with a craft of any kind in which to pursue and board a marauder. We go after them as best we can, by borrowing a work mule, or walk, or open rowboat.⁴³

Under the subheading "Pirates," Tingle added a hypothetical scenario to his 1885 annual report that could have inspired the 1927 novel *The Far Call*, if author Edison Marshall had had access to the Pribilof Agent's Logs.

One Winchester rifle, which I brought with me, is the only gun on the island, provided with ammunition, ready for business, should occasion require it. It is a matter of great

astonishment that these islands have for fifteen years escaped a raid from a crew of desperate men. Because they have not been so visited is no argument in favor of future escape. A vessel with a crew of 25 well-armed, determined men, of less courage than a gang who would rob a jewelry store or bank in New York in daylight, could land here any time and “hold up” the dozen white men, unprepared for defense, and guard them, while 5 armed men could compel all the natives to turn out and load aboard the vessel all the seal skins salted in the company’s salt houses; then go to St. George Island and do the same thing. The pirate, having secured the whole of the company’s valuable catch, could sail off to China.⁴⁴

Marshall’s story, written forty years later, was similar, but Tingle’s “what if” account was not necessarily the stuff of fiction. Marauding pelagic sealers did land on the Pribilof Islands many times before and after Tingle’s tenure.

The record hints that Tingle used his agent’s position for personal gain. His 1888 testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries caused friction over the question of whether pelagic sealing or land-based sealing should be stopped completely, and he challenged the allegations of misconduct brought that year against ACC agents on St. George Island by Special Agent Gavitt (see William Gavitt biography). In 1889, Tingle became an employee of the ACC. During his government job, he had emphasized in his annual reports that the seal herds were not decreasing in number but rather were increasing. Such a report would allow the ACC to continue to harvest its quota of 100,000 seals per annum. (As noted numerous times within this volume, however, he was not the only government employee to be hired by the lessee on the islands after his government service.)

I am happy to be able to report that, although late landing, the breeding rookeries are filled out to the lines of measurement heretofore made, and some of them much beyond those lines, showing conclusively that seal life is not being depleted, but is fully up to the estimates given in my report of 1887.⁴⁵ [See Charles James Goff biography.]

Tingle’s assertions that the seal herds were healthy flew in the face of the U.S. position that pelagic sealers, many of whom were based in Canada, were clearly decimating the herd.

George Tingle who was then a Special Agent of the Treasury, his report was very acceptable to the Alaska Company, but it has proved troublesome to the State Department, for the British people interested in poaching have repeatedly thrown Tingle’s report in the face of the Secretary of State to answer his suggestions about the importance of a protective agreement.⁴⁶

Tingle’s Agent Logs provided numerous insights into conditions on the islands. The following, if an accurate interpretation, offers a Native’s perspective on personal health, life and death.

The usual number of deaths occurred this year [1888], mostly the result of imprudent exposure. Although the best medical treatment is furnished them, with medicines free, they fail to give that careful attention to nursing which is necessary to bring them through. When they are remonstrated with for exposing themselves unnecessarily in bad weather, they generally reply in Russian, “Never mind; to die is good.” When once prepared for death by the priest of the Greek Church, they calmly and happily await the end. No tears are shed by the relatives of the deceased and no sorrow is manifested in the household. If it is a wife, the husband, according to their custom, makes the coffin, and if a husband, then the nearest male relative makes the coffin. The body in all cases is taken to the church, where

the services are held, at the conclusion of which every man, woman, and child kisses the corpse on the forehead and on the left cheek. The body is then carried to the grave by the relatives and buried. A few days after the funeral a tea party is given at the house of the deceased, and is usually largely attended, mostly by the female portion of the population. After forty days' mourning and prayer, the surviving wife or husband, as the case may be, is at liberty to marry again.⁴⁷

Perhaps it was Tingle's agitation over the injustices alleged by William Gavitt, or the uncertainty of the seal-herd numbers proffered by Charles Goff, or the question of a new leasing contract for the Seal Islands, or the change in the executive branch (Benjamin Harrison defeated President Cleveland, who had appointed Tingle)—or all those factors—but in 1889 he took up temporary residence in San Francisco, resigned his position as Treasury agent and joined the Alaska Commercial Company as its Seal Islands agent. When the ACC did not win the new government twenty-year lease, Tingle joined the North American Commercial Company as its general agent and superintendent. He remained in the position until the start of the Fur-Seal Arbitration hearings in 1892.⁴⁸



NACC Christmas banquet, St. Paul Island. (Univ of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division. Photo: N. B. Miller. PH Coll. 595.7.)

TOWNSEND, CHARLES HASKINS (1859–1944)

*Zoologist and Naturalist, U.S. Fish Commission, 1883–1902**Director, New York Aquarium, 1902–1937*

Charles Haskins Townsend, 1883. (The Condor, vol. 29, 1927.)

Genealogy

Charles Haskins Townsend was born in Parnassus, Pennsylvania, on September 29, 1859, to the Reverend Daniel W. Townsend and Elizabeth (Kier) Townsend. Charles died on January 28, 1944, in Coconut Grove, Florida.⁴⁹

Biographical Sketch

In 1883, Charles Townsend was appointed by Spencer Baird, head of the U.S. Fish Commission, as Assistant U.S. Fish Commissioner for salmon propagation in California. His first Alaska experience came in 1885, when he was assigned as naturalist aboard the Revenue Cutter *Corwin* during an Arctic expedition. He was then assigned to the research steamer *Albatross* for the next ten years, charting deep-sea habitats in the Pacific Ocean. He was a member of the Jordan Commission of 1896–1898, created to investigate the condition

of the northern fur seal and the effect of pelagic sealing on the seal population. Townsend then served as Chief of Fisheries with the U.S. Fish Commission from 1897 to 1902. He left government service in 1902 to become director of the New York Aquarium, where he remained until 1937. He documented his findings in more than one hundred publications on fisheries, the fur-seal industry, deep-sea exploration, maps and charts, and general zoology.⁵⁰

Pribilof Islands Experience

Charles Haskins Townsend first arrived on the Pribilof Islands in 1885, and he would make additional forays each year during 1891–1895.⁵¹ In 1885, the St. Paul Island Agent's Log for June 7 reported, "Lt. J. C. Cantwell of the Revenue Cutter *Corwin* was sent to Otter Island today with two sailors, and provisions, to guard the island during sealing season. He was accompanied by Mr. Chas. H. Townsend of the Fish commission [sic], Washington, D.C. who is collecting specimens of birds, sea lions, walrus, and seals for the Smithsonian Institution." Relative to the Pribilof Islands, Townsend is best recognized for his work as naturalist on the *Albatross* during the pelagic sealing era of the 1890s, which included stints on the Pribilof Islands. His photographs, marked with the distinctive initials CHT, are found in many government reports and historical books discussing the effects of the pelagic sealing fleets on the northern fur-seal population. Under the aegis of the Fish Commission, Townsend directed research on the condition of seal rookeries

during the years 1893–1895, and he reported to the U.S. Senate in a graphic document with accompanying topographic maps and rookery photographs.⁵² The rookery photographs taken by Townsend and Norman Briscoe Miller in 1895 were published as a separate atlas in 1896 and later described by Scheffer et al. in *History of Scientific Study* (page 13) as “a valuable record of seal distribution on the breeding grounds at a low point in herd size.”

Charles Townsend was an avid birder and collected rare specimens for the National Museum; on the Pribilof Islands in 1894 he collected a specimen of the Asiatic stint (*Tringa damacensis*), which he noted was “far off its beat.” In a 1927 article in *The Condor*, the journal of the Cooper Ornithological Society, he told the story of his love of nature and how he became part of the Fish Commission.⁵³

TRUE, FREDERICK WILLIAM (1858–1914)

Curator of Mammals, National Museum

U.S. Fish Commission, Pribilof Islands, 1895

Head Curator, Department of Biology National Museum, 1897–1911

Genealogy

Frederick William True was born in Glastonbury, Hartford County, Connecticut, on July 8, 1858, to William and Rebecca (Marriner) True.⁵⁴ Frederick True married Louise E. Prentiss, daughter of physician Daniel Webster and Emilie A. (Schmidt) Prentiss, in 1889 at Washington, D.C.⁵⁵ Frederick and Louise had two children, both born in Washington: Marion True, born 1890, and Webster Prentiss True, born October 1, 1892, and died December 19, 1976, in Acton, Massachusetts.⁵⁶ Marion married Edward L. Bullock Jr. in Washington, D.C., in June 1920.⁵⁷ Frederick William True died in Washington, D.C., on June 25, 1914. Louise (Prentiss) True died August 3, 1957, also in Washington.⁵⁸

Biographical Sketch

Frederick True received his BS degree from the City University of New York in 1878, and after graduation served as a clerk with the U.S. Fish Commission. He was the Commission's custodian of exhibits at the Berlin Fisheries Exposition of 1880. The next year he joined the Smithsonian Institution staff as librarian and acting curator of mammals. He advanced in his career to become the first head curator of the Department of Biology at the U.S. National Museum (1897–1911). On June 1, 1911, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, a position he held until his death on June 25, 1914.⁵⁹

True studied both living and fossil marine mammals and is best known for his contributions on mysticetes and the beaked whales . . . He began his career with the U.S. Fish Commission, but his job at the Smithsonian allowed him to work in a close relationship with the two research groups. In True's *Exploration Work of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1897, he repeatedly emphasizes Spencer F. Baird's interest in exploration, and how he furthered it at the Smithsonian Institution.⁶⁰



Frederick W. True with whale vertebra. (SIRIS-2002-32245.)

Pribilof Islands Experience

Frederick True's Pribilof Islands assignment began with letters from Assistant Secretary G. Brown Goode and Secretary S. P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institution, dated May 11 and May 13, 1895, respectively. True was temporarily relieved from the Smithsonian and detailed to the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries to "make a comprehensive study of the natural history of the fur seal and of the condition of the seal rookeries on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska."⁶¹ Acting Commissioner Herbert Gill, U.S.

Commission of Fish and Fisheries, provided initial instructions to True in a letter also dated May 11:

Mr. Frederick W. True,
Executive Curator and Curator of Mammals,
U.S. National Museum, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

On the understanding that you are willing to undertake on behalf of the Commission during the coming summer an investigation of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, and the consent thereto having been given by the Director of the U.S. National Museum, you are hereby appointed a temporary scientific assistant of the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries at a compensation of two hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$225) a month, commencing from May 16, 1895. While engaged in the field your expenses will be paid, upon the presentation of proper vouchers.

The U.S.S. *Albatross*, which will convey you to the Pribiloff Islands, will leave Mare Island, California, about the 20th May, touching *en route* at Port Townsend, Washington, where she should arrive about May 25, and at which place you should join her. Upon applying to this office, transportation requests covering your railroad fare to and from Port Townsend will be furnished you.

Instructions as to the duties expected of you will be furnished by Mr. Richard Rathbun, Assistant in Charge of the Division of Inquiry respecting Food Fishes of this Commission.

Very respectfully

Herbert A. Gill

Acting Commissioner⁶²

In a memorandum from the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries dated May 15, 1895, True received orders on how to proceed with his investigations, which included instructions to work with Charles Townsend, naturalist on the *Albatross*. Excerpts from the nine-page memorandum follow.

Memorandum for Mr. F. W. True

The investigations on the Pribilof Islands, as originally planned for the summer of 1895, are discussed in the instructions to the commanding officer of the steamer *Albatross* under the heading "Observations on the Pribilof Islands," a copy [of] which is furnished you. This part of Captain Drake's instructions sets forth the principal subjects of direct practical

importance, which it was considered could be handled by the regular staff of the steamer Albatross, but there are many other matters, especially of a more technical character, which deserve attention.

In a recent letter to Captain Drake the instructions have been materially modified as regards the islands. Mr. Townsend will make the photographs and delineations of the rookeries as heretofore. Captain Drake has also been informed that Mr. Townsend had best attend to the matters included under the headings "Number of seals on the rookeries," and "Bachelor and bull seals," as they involve a comparison with former years, but it was suggested to him that the work could probably be done to best advantage by you and Mr. Townsend conjointly. . . .

It should, therefore, be borne in mind that conditions have changed greatly within a comparatively few years. Formerly, pelagic sealing was confined chiefly to the North Pacific Ocean, and the killing on the islands was extensive. Now, but few are killed on the islands, and, judging by all accounts, the pelagic sealing in Bering Sea is most vicious in its character. By measuring the amount of harm, if any, done today by the prevailing method of driving and culling, the extent of damage caused in the past by the same agency may be relatively estimated. . . .

Briefly, the principal questions sought to be explained by the investigations are the extent and character of decrease among the seals, the causes thereof, and the best remedies to be applied. The decrease is to be measured separately for the females, the breeding bulls, and the bachelors. The breeding bulls are said to be generally free from the attacks of pelagic sealers, owing to the limited extent of their movements in the water. The bachelors and females both come within the range of pelagic sealing operations, but in Bering Sea it is claimed that the majority of the seals which move far away from the islands, after August 1, are females. If the principal decrease is among the bachelors, it would appear as though it had been caused by practices on the islands; if among the females, or both sexes alike, pelagic sealing might be safely blamed. But in this connection it should be remembered that the number of bachelors has always been kept down, as this is the category which the lessees of the islands are allowed to kill, and a great reduction in their numbers has not been regarded as actually harmful, so long as the male element was kept sufficiently strong to insure the perpetuation for the rookeries. As regards this latter subject, Mr. Elliott considers that a sufficient quantity of males has not been preserved, and this is a very important matter for investigation. . . .

As to the natural history work, I would suggest that you first determine in what direction the most good can be accomplished. That fact can readily be brought out by a comparison of the statements of the different observers. You will find the season altogether too short to study the habits of the seals in all particulars, and many of their characteristics may have been so well established by previous investigators as to require only slight attention from yourself.

It is very desirable that you take some account of the practices and needs of the islands in addition to the questions of driving and culling, as suggestions for the improvement of affairs generally upon the islands will undoubtedly be acceptable at the Treasury Department. . . .

Very truly yours,
Richard Rathbun⁶³

Using earlier reports and photographs taken by previous investigators, True reported his findings, excerpted below, at the end of his investigation.

I have no hesitation in affirming that the seals were considerably less abundant this year than last. . . .

I regard the herds as in a very precarious condition as regards preservation, and while it is obviously impossible to fix limits in such a case, if the off-shore sealing operations continue



An Unanga man in the Village of St. Paul, St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1467700.)

as at present I should expect to see the cows practically exterminated in less than five years. . . .

It has been generally conceded, that the decrease of the seals is due to human interference, and in view of the many known cases of extermination by human agency, there is no reason for dissent from this opinion. . . .

I may mention two plans, in the nature of indirect remedies, which seem to me worthy of consideration. . . .

It appears to me entirely feasible to brand the seals with a property mark. If the cows are to be so treated, it would be best to place the brand on the back, where it could be plainly seen. This would also have the effect of rendering the skins of the cows unmarketable, and there would be no object in destroying them.

. . . in case of the presence of pelagic sealers in Bering Sea next season, the entire body of seals might be driven back from the rookeries and retained in the inland lakes and lagoons for about six weeks, or during the period when pelagic sealing is mainly carried on in that region.⁶⁴

True's recommendation to brand seals was apparently accepted. In 1896, "The first attempt to mark seals by hot-iron branding was conducted by [Joseph] Murray (a cattle-man from Colorado) on North Rookery [St. George Island] in August 1896."⁶⁵

In addition to his observations of fur seals, True made a study of the fox population and also collected plants and birds on the island. His observations were logged in his daily journal.⁶⁶



Looking along "the main street," St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1466900.)



*Bidarra at East Landing
St. Paul Is., Pribilof group, Alaska.
1895. F. W. True.*

19

Men landing a baidarra at East Landing, with Black Bluffs in the background, St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1466400.)



*St. Paul, Pribilof Is. Alaska.
1895. F. W. True*

9

Two men walking along "the main street," St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1467500.)



A man walking with his wheelbarrow down "the main street," St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island, 1895. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1467300.)



"Parascovia and her son," St. Paul Village, St. Paul Island, 1895. This may be Parascovia Oustegoff, wife of Peter Oustegoff, and their four-year old son, Neil. According to the caption on the photograph, Parascovia did the "washing and made fires" for Frederick True and his colleagues. (NAA, Frederick William True, lot 37, 1467800.)

- 1 Biographical Review, *Biographical Review: This Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of the Leading Citizens of Livingston and Wyoming Counties*, New York (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Co., 1895), 299–300; Andrew W. Young, *History of the Town of Warsaw*, New York (Buffalo, NY: Sage, Sons & Co., 1869), 337–9; U.S. Census, 1900, Washington, DC, NARA, microfilm roll T623, box 160, page 16B; Helen Benedict search, Roots Web World Connect Project: “Kondratieff/Wood” at <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com> (accessed Sept. 4, 2009); and Harry S. Douglas, “Famous Sons and Daughters of Wyoming County, New York,” *Wyoming County Newspaper*, 1935.
- 2 Douglas, “Famous Sons and Daughters.”
- 3 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 373–5.
- 4 U.S. Federal Census, 1910, Ancestry.com.
- 5 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 175.
- 6 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), vol. 1, 148.
- 7 “Earlin Family Tree,” Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (accessed Sept. 29, 2003).
- 8 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 153.
- 9 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 260.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 57 and 341–2.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 438.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 538.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 567.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 18 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, Aug. 27, 1913.
- 19 “Lloyd Tevis,” Biography Resource Center, Galenet; Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, Colma, San Mateo County, CA, http://www.cypresslawn.com/notables_tevis.html (accessed Feb. 27, 2003); and *Fresno Weekly Republican*, Aug. 10, 1899, 3.
- 20 “Lloyd Tevis is Dead, Well-known Capitalist . . .,” *New York Times*, July 25, 1899.
- 21 “Lloyd Tevis,” Biography Resource Center, Galenet; Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, Colma, San Mateo County, CA; and *Fresno Weekly Republican*, Aug. 10, 1899, 3.
- 22 A. L. Belden, *The Fur Trade of America* (NY: The Peltries, 1917); and Henry Poland, *Fur Bearing Animals in Nature and Commerce* (London, UK: Gurney and Jackson, 1892), xlii.
- 23 Univ. of St. Andrews, *An Index to the Correspondence and Papers of Sir D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson*, St. Andrews Univ. Pub. no. 64, (1987), ix–xiii.
- 24 “D’Arcy Thompson. School of Mathematics and Statistics, University of St. Andrews, Scotland,” http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/mathematicians/Thompson_D’Arcy.html (accessed Oct. 4, 2004); and Univ. of St. Andrews, *An Index to the Correspondence*.
- 25 “Photographs from the D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson Collection,” Archives HUB, Univ. of St. Andrews, <http://www.archiveshub.ac.uk/> (accessed Oct. 4, 2004).
- 26 Note: the “Report” began with item “2,” there was no item “1.”
- 27 D’Arcy Thompson, *Report by Professor D’Arcy Thompson on his Mission to Behring Sea in 1896, dated Mar. 4, 1897* (London, UK: Harrison and Sons, 1897), 1.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 1–2.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 31 D’Arcy Thompson, *Despatch from Professor D’Arcy Thompson, Forwarding a Report on his Mission to Behring Sea in 1897* (London, UK: Harrison and Sons), 1.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 7.

- 34 Ibid., 8.
- 35 Ibid., 14–15.
- 36 Ibid., 15.
- 37 “Smith-Wilkins,” Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com, (accessed Apr. 23, 2006).
- 38 George W. Atkinson, *Prominent Men of West Virginia*, vol. 2 (Wheeling, WV: W. L. Callin, 1890), 867; West Virginia Memory Project, Feb. 18, 1881, record ID 4265, <http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/timelinedetail> (accessed Feb. 16, 2006); U.S. Census, 1900, Familysearch.com; and *Wheeling Register* obituaries, Aug. 3, 6, 7, 8, and 10, 1903.
- 39 *Wheeling Register* obituary, Aug. 6, 1903.
- 40 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, May 29, 1885, 366.
- 41 U.S. Congress, House, “Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives,” in *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rep. no. 3883 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1889), 153.
- 42 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, vol. 1, 175.
- 43 Ibid., 174.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., 207.
- 46 U.S. Congress, House, *Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries*, 153; and “The Alaska Seal Islands,” *New York Times*, Mar. 5, 1889, 9.
- 47 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska*, vol. 1, 208.
- 48 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Seal Islands of Alaska. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in Response to a Resolution of the Senate, Reports Concerning the Condition of the Seal Islands of Alaska*, 51st Cong., 2nd sess., Ex Doc. no. 49 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1891), 27; and “San Francisco, California Directories, 1889–91,” Ancestry.com 2000 (original data: *San Francisco, California, 1889–90*, and W. H. L. Corran, 1889, *San Francisco, CA, 1890–1891*, Painter and Co., 1890; accessed Feb. 16, 2006).
- 49 “Obituaries: Charles Haskins Townsend,” *The Auk* 64, no. 2 (Apr. 1947): 349–50.
- 50 Charles Haskins Townsend, “Old Times with the Birds: Autobiographical,” *The Condor* 29: 224–32; and “Obituaries: Charles Haskins Townsend,” *The Auk*, 349–50.
- 51 Victor B. Scheffer, Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd, *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*, NOAA Tech. Rep. NMFS SSRF-780, 1984, 13.
- 52 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of Agents, Officers, and Persons Acting Under the Authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, in Relation to the Condition of Seal Life on the Rookeries of the Pribilof Islands, and to Pelagic Sealing in Bering Sea and the North Pacific Ocean in the Years 1893–1895*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. no. 137, pt. 2. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896).
- 53 Townsend, “Old Times with the Birds,” 224–32.
- 54 “True/Ullmann-Norman Hultquist Genealogy Database,” Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com; and “Frederick William True Papers, ca. 1886–1910,” SIA RU 7181, <http://siarchives.si.edu/>, which cites Middletown, CT, as True’s birthplace.
- 55 U.S. Census, 1870, Washington, DC, NARA roll M593_124, 248; Daniel Webster Prentice, IGI individual record, film no. 451022, ref. no. 21379, <http://www.familysearch.org>; U.S. Dept. of State, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925, NARA, RG 59, M1372, July 5, 1892, no. 42583; and U.S. Census, 1900, Washington, DC, NARA, roll T623_158, 5A.
- 56 U.S. Selective Service System, World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918, Washington, DC, Draft Board 10, NARA, M1509, roll 1556847, card 2440; and Massachusetts Dept. of Health Services, Massachusetts Death Index, 1970–2003, Boston, MA, no. 052009.
- 57 U.S. Census, 1900, Washington, DC, NARA roll T623_158, 5A; and “License to Marry,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1920, 14.
- 58 “Frederick William True,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 1914, 5; “Obituary,” Frederick William True, *Washington Post*, July 27, 1914, 11; and “Obituary, Louise P. True,” *Washington Post and Times Herald* (Washington, DC), Aug. 3, 1957, 14.
- 59 Frederick William True Papers, circa 1886–1910, SIA, RU 7181, box 1, folder 2, series 5, Notebooks and Related Materials Concerning 1895 Trip to Pribilof Islands, <http://siarchives.si.edu/findingaids/FARU7181.htm> (accessed Apr. 13, 2004).

- 60 Smithsonian Institution Research Information System, History of the Smithsonian Catalog, Historic Images of the Smithsonian, RU 95, box 22A, folder 77, <http://siris-sihistory.si.edu/> (accessed Feb. 23, 2006).
- 61 Frederick William True Papers, circa 1886–1910, SIA, History of the Smithsonian Catalog, RU 7181, box 1, folder 2, <http://siris-sihistory.si.edu/> (accessed Feb. 23, 2006).
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of Agents, Officers, and Persons*, 108–11.
- 65 Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 15.
- 66 Frederick William True Papers, ca. 1886–1910, SIA, RU 7181, box 3, folder 1, .



Universal Pictures film crewman and extras for The World In His Arms, St. Paul Island, 1952. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, RG 22-95-ADMC-534)



Seal carcass By-Products Plant, St. Paul Island, ca. 1960. (NOAA, NMML Library, Seattle, WA, VBS-2419.98.)



Aleut Family at St. Paul Island in 1894, cleaning sea lion small intestines which will be dried and used for making kamleikas (a native waterproof coat) and fancy bags trimmed with feathers (AMNH Special Collections, Chichester Coll., HDC165, neg. 034916).

V

VENIAMINOV, IOANN (IVAN) (1797–1879)

*Russian Orthodox Priest, Missionary, Archbishop, Metropolitan, Saint
Resident at Unalaska with a mission church on the Seal Islands, 1824–1834*

Genealogy and Biographical Sketch

Bishop Innokentii (Innocent) Veniaminov was born Ioann¹ (Ivan/John) Evseevich Popov on August 20, 1797, to a poor family headed by Evsei Popov at the village of Aginskoe in Siberia. Veniaminov's father, who worked as the sacristan for the local church, died when his son was six. Ivan lived with his uncle, Dmitrii Popov, deacon of the local church. After the death of his aunt, Ivan studied at the Irkutsk Theological Seminary until he was seventeen.²

In 1814, the well-loved bishop of Irkutsk, Veniamin (Benjamin), died. The rector of the seminary, seeking to perpetuate the name, chose his best pupil, young Ivan Popov, to bear it; he was thereafter know as Ioann (Ivan) Evseevich Veniaminov.

In 1817, even before he had finished school, Ivan married Ekaterina Ivanovna (her surname is unknown), the daughter of a priest. This disappointed his superiors, who had expected to enroll him in the Theological Academy at Moscow. . . . Graduated from the seminary in 1820, he was ordained as a priest in 1821.

In 1823, the Holy Synod asked the Bishop of Irkutsk to send a priest to the island of Unalashka, in far-away Russian America. No one, including Veniaminov, wished to go to that remote corner of the empire. However, it so happened that a promyshlenik, Ivan Kriukov, after 40 years in the Aleutian Islands, had returned to Irkutsk to visit his family.



*Innokentii Veniaminov, Metropolitan
of Moscow. (Library of Congress, mtfph
c0016.)*

Kriukov’s relatives’ father confessor was Veniaminov, whom Kriukov soon came to love and admire. Kriukov described the Aleuts’ hunger for Christian teachings so eloquently that Veniaminov volunteered for the post.

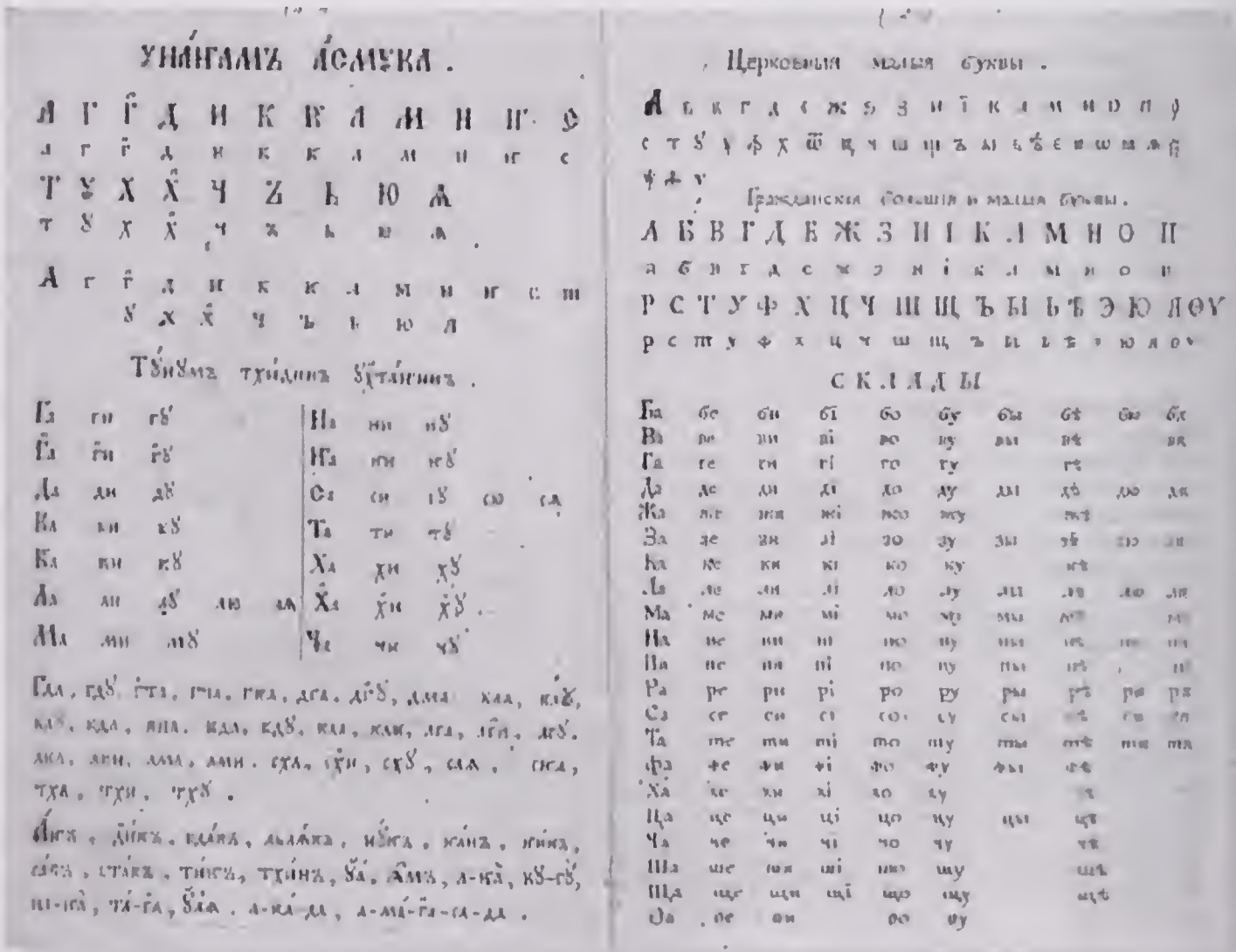
On 7 May 1823, Veniaminov set out from Irkutsk with his aged mother, his wife Ekaterina, his young brother Stefan, aged 18, and a young son.³

In September 1823, Fr. Veniaminov and his family arrived at New Archangel (Sitka), where they remained until the summer of 1824, when they relocated to Unalashka (Unalaska). At New Archangel, Father Veniaminov began to learn the rudiments of the Aleut language (Unangam Tunuu) and from here he “was destined to become one of the great luminaries of Russian America. Possessing remarkable intellectual, linguistic, and practical skills.”⁴

After settling in Unalaska in the summer of 1824,

he built a church and a school and began his lifelong task of studying the native languages of the region. With the help of the Aleut chief Ivan Pan’kov, Veniaminov invented an alphabet for the Unangan language and then used it to compose grammars and translate the Gospel of St. Matthew.⁵

Renowned linguist Richard Geoghegan further credits Veniaminov’s achievement of bringing the spoken Aleut language to written form. [Veniaminov] “selected appropriate characters of the Cyrillic alphabet to represent Aleut speech sounds, recorded the main body of Aleut vocabulary and formulated grammatical rules.”⁶



Aleut Primer by Reverend Ioann Veniaminov, 1845, pages 1–2. (Library of Congress, mtfph c0018.)

Fr. Veniaminov's accomplishment did not happen overnight. His effort began in earnest nearly two years after moving to Unalaska, but not until 1846 did then-Bishop Veniaminov publish *Opyt Grammatiki Aleutsko-Lisjevskago Jazyka* (Essay Toward a Grammar of the Fox Island Aleutian Language), "the first tentative grammar and vocabulary of Eastern Aleut."⁷ During the intervening period, Fr. Veniaminov endeavored to make vocational use of his efforts.

In April 1832 Veniaminov took into his service the Aleut translator Semyon Pan'kov, probably the son of Ivan Pan'kov, who helped him [in] revising the translation of The Gospel according to St. Matthew . . .⁸

The main purpose of this literary activity was of course the teaching of the Gospel rather than the preservation of the Aleut language. The meanings of the Aleut words were sometimes altered more or less to fit the Russian originals, and important elements of the ancient Aleut culture, such as the kinship terminology, were not properly recorded.⁹

However, Fr. Veniaminov's personal ambitions drove him beyond his focus on written words for religious applications. Veniaminov, either knowingly or unknowingly, strove to preserve the oral traditions of the Unangan/Unangas culture.

The first specimens of original Aleut traditions, in Aleut, were collected in the 1830s and published by Veniaminov in the 1840s. They comprised twelve Eastern Aleut song texts, "collected, written down and translated by the Unalaska interpreter, the Aleut Semyon Pan'kov," and an Atkan song text and two short Atkan tales collected by his "Creole" colleague of Atka, Iakov Netsvetov.¹⁰

Veniaminov's travels throughout the Aleutian Islands in a baidarka¹¹ and larger craft collecting ethnographic and natural science material resulted in other publications in the Aleut and Tlingit (Kolosh) languages, as well as his historically important *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla* (*Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*), published in Russian in 1840. Natural scientist William H. Dall credited Veniaminov for being the first to record weather conditions in Alaska.¹² Veniaminov's academic credentials, his love of Russian America, and the Natives' love of him propelled Fr. Veniaminov to higher ecclesiastical levels.

Ivan Veniaminov served as Russian Orthodox priest at Unalaska during 1824–34. In 1827, or nearly three years after settling in at Unalaska,

Veniaminov made his first pastoral call at the Pribylov Islands. He praised the islanders as industrious, devout and intelligent. The islands' creole manager Kas'ian Shaiashnikov became a friend and supplied details about fur-seal management, which Veniaminov later included in his book on the Unalaska district.¹³

Subsequently, he served as archpriest at Sitka from 1834 to 1838.¹⁴

While on a trip to St. Petersburg in 1839 to plead for support of the church in Alaska, he learned of his wife's death. At first reluctant to return to America, Veniaminov in 1840 was made bishop of the newly created diocese of Kamchatka, the Kuril Islands, and the Aleutians, which he administered from New Archangel, and [was] given the monastic name Innokentii [Innocent]. Revered as a religious leader through[out] Russia, Innokentii was elected metropolitan of Moscow in 1868. From there he supervised the Russian Imperial Missionary Society, which continued its work in Alaska until the 1917 Revolution. In 1977 Innokentii was proclaimed a saint by the Orthodox Church in America.¹⁵

Historians recognize Veniaminov for his important *Notes*, which includes the first historical account of the Seal Islands. *Notes* was originally published at St. Petersburg, Russia in three volumes.¹⁶ In 1896, self-proclaimed expert on Alaska, Henry Wood Elliott, praised Veniaminov's *Notes*:

This work of Bishop Innocent Veniaminov is the only one which the Russians can lay claim to as exhibiting anything like a history of western Alaska, or of giving a sketch of its inhabitants and resources that has the least merit of truth or the faintest stamp of reality. Without it we should be simply in the dark as to much of what the Russians were about during the whole period of their occupation and possession of that country. He served, chiefly as a priest and missionary, for twenty-five years, from 1814–1839, at Unalaska, having the seal islands in his parish, and was made bishop of all Alaska. He was soon after recalled to Russia, where he became the primate of the national church, ranking second to no man in the Empire, save the Czar. He must have been a man of fine personal appearance, judging from the following description of him noted by Sir George Simpson, who met him at Sitka in 1842, just as he was about to embark for Russia: "His appearance, to which I have already alluded, impresses a stranger with something of awe, while in further intercourse, the gentleness which characterizes his every work and deed insensibly molds reverence with love; and, at the same time, his talents and attainments are such as to be worthy of his exalted station. With all this, the bishop is sufficiently a man of the world to disdain anything like cant. His conversation, on the contrary, teems with amusement and instruction, and his company is much prized by all who have the honor of his acquaintance." Such is the portrait drawn of him by Governor Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company.¹⁷

Linguist Richard Geoghegan initiated a translation of Veniaminnov's *Notes* into English, which Dr. Lydia Black completed and published in 1984. It remains an authority on extant cultural and natural history conditions during the early contact period in the Aleutians and Pribilof Islands.

VOLKOV, PHILLIP (1820–CIRCA 1887)

Resident, St. Paul Island

Phillip Volkov was apparently well respected by the *Amerikansk* (white Americans) on St. Paul Island. The St. Paul Island Agent's Log for November 26, 1875, offered the following commentary regarding Volkov's fifty-fifth birthday (name day) celebration:

Today being faithful Philip Volcoff's namesday (55 years past) we were invited to his home at ½ past eleven a.m. where we were treated in a substantial manner to three courses of good food and two of good drink the last being chi (tea). The following filled the table: C. P. Fish, Hamden McIntyre, B. G. McIntyre, Dr. D. R. Meany, George Marston.¹⁸

Seal Islands expert Henry Wood Elliott introduced the following quote from Phillip Volkov as "the view expressed to the writer by one of the oldest and most intelligent of the people."

I do not have any objection to the attendance of my children, nor have my neighbors to that of theirs, on your (English) school; but if our boys and young men neglect their Russian lessons, who is going to take our places when we die, in our church, at our christenings, and at our burials?¹⁹

The St. Paul Island census for 1887 recorded Philip Volkov as having passed away.²⁰

VOSS, OTTO (D. 1897)*Resident Physician, St. Paul Island, North American Commercial Company, 1892–1897*Genealogy

Otto Voss died and was buried on St. Paul Island in 1897.

Pribilof Islands Experience

St. Paul Island Treasury Agent-in-Charge Joseph Murray recounted the horrific accidental death of Dr. Voss:

Thursday, August 26, 1897

It becomes my painful duty to record the death of Dr. Otto Voss—the saddest event that has ever taken place on the Seal Islands! Full of animation, energy and enthusiasm, he was snatched out of existence so suddenly that I can scarcely realize the fact that he was talking to me, so joyously, only four short hours ago!

We had been together nearly all the day, planning alterations and improvements, and directing the native men how to make them; we left the Office of the Company, accompanied by the Carpenter, Aggie Kushin, to whom Dr. Voss had been showing the plan for a new stairs; and for whom he now proposed to walk down to the lumber pile, at the Point Warehouse to pick out the necessary lumber for the stairs.

While the long 2x12 planks were being loaded the doctor stepped into the wagon to assist in raising the end of the plank to the top of the dash-board, and two planks were thus loaded when the mules took fright and ran away.

They followed the train road running along before the first row of native's dwellings, and, as the wagon ascended the rising ground, the two planks slipped out, and off, and fell on the ground. As soon as the planks disappeared from the mules view they slowed down to an ordinarily slow trot and it appeared the trouble was at an end; but suddenly, the doctor was seen to step out over the dash board, and out on to the wagon tongue, in order to recover one of the lines which had been broken, when, just as suddenly, the team appeared to take another fright, for they turned and dashed off the road and ran down the incline at a terrific speed. For a moment the doctor was seen running on the ground, but between the wagon and the team, and inside the double-trees; and there he fell where we found him.²¹

VOZNESENSKII, IL'LA GAVRILOVICH (1816–1871)*Naturalist, Ethnologist, and Artist, Pribilof Islands, 1843–1844*Pribilof Islands Experience

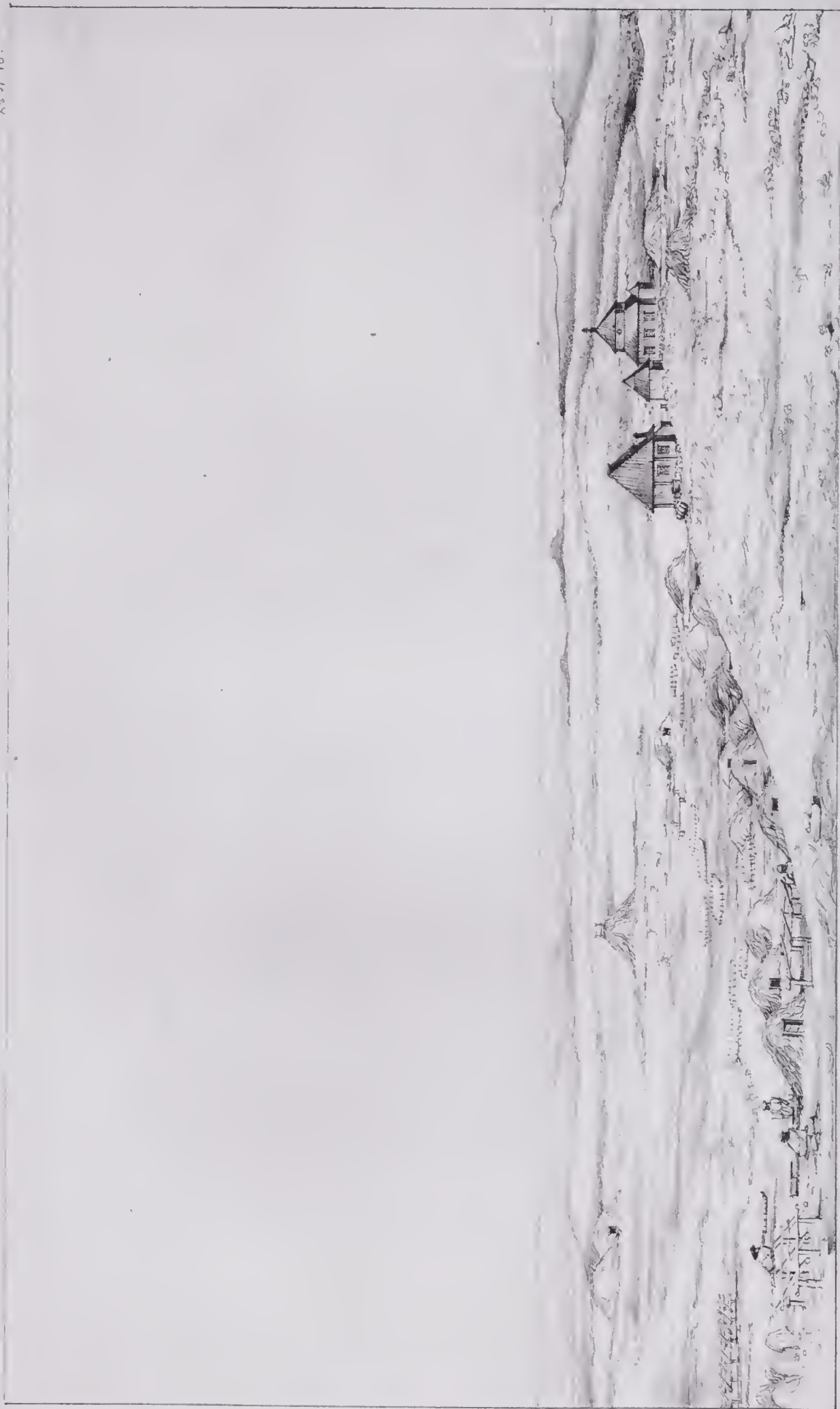
During the spring and fall of 1843 and in August of 1844, Il'la Voznesenskii visited the Pribilof Islands, where he made observations and illustrations of the St. Paul and St. George village settings. The drawings were done in both pencil and India ink.²² Voznesenskii's artworks remain in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg, Russia.²³

- 1 Ioann or Ivan is also translated as “John.”
- 2 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* (*Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla*), ed. Richard A. Pierce, trans. Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1984), vi.
- 3 *Ibid.*, vii.
- 4 “Meeting of Frontiers: Gallery—Father Ioann Veniaminov,” <http://memory.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mfak/igfather.html> (accessed Jan. 19, 2006).
- 5 Meeting of Frontiers: Gallery—Father Ioann Veniaminov, <http://memory.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mfak/igfather.html> (accessed Jan. 19, 2006). Knut Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994), discusses Veniaminov’s efforts to create a written Aleut language (Unangam Tunuu) on pages xxiii–xxiv; Bergsland states that Ivan Pan’kov was an Aleut Chief on Tigalda Island among the Krenitzin Island group (pages viii and xxiii), and credits Iakov Netsvetov, the Atkan priest born and raised on St. George Island, with providing capable linguistic assistance to Veniaminov; Waldemar Jochelson, *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin = Unangam Uniikangis Ama Tunuzangis = Aleut Tales and Narratives, Collected in 1909–1910*, ed. Knut Bergsland and Moses L. Dirks (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1990), 7, noted that translation assistance was provided by Aleut Semyon Pan’kov and Atkan Creole, Iakov Netsvetov; and William H. Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870), 334, commented “the noble and devoted missionary [Veniaminov], was sent to Unalaska and began his labors among the Aleuts, 1824.”
- 6 Ivan Veniaminov, *The Aleut Language*, ed. Fredericka I. Martin, trans. Richard H. Geoghegan (Washington, DC: GPO, 1944), 1.
- 7 Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, viii and xxiii. Veniaminov’s *Opyt Grammatik Aleutsko-Lisjevskago Jazyka* [Essay Toward a Grammar of the Fox Island Aleutian Language] (St. Petersburg, publisher unknown, 1834) source of Veniaminov’s publication derived from Jay Ellis Ransom, “Aleut Linguistic Perspective,” *Southwestern J. of Anthropology*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1946): 48–55.
- 8 Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, xxiii.
- 9 *Ibid.*, viii.
- 10 Waldemar Jochelson, *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin*, 7.
- 11 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Kingston, ON and Fairbanks: Limestone Press, 1990), 522, writes briefly of Veniaminov’s travels in a baidarka through all types of weather.
- 12 Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources*, 444–5; and Pierce, *Russian America*, 522, who qualified that Veniaminov kept weather records for seven of his ten years while stationed in Unalaska.
- 13 Pierce, *Russian America*, 522. Pierce provides a more in-depth account of Veniaminov’s life.
- 14 Pierce, *Russian America*, 522–7; and Dorothy M. Jones and John R. Wood, *An Aleut Bibliography* (Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research, 1975), p. II-87.
- 15 “Meeting of Frontiers: Gallery—Father Ioann Veniaminov,” <http://memory.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mfak/igfather.html> (accessed Jan. 19, 2006).
- 16 Jones and Wood, *An Aleut Bibliography*, state that Veniaminov’s written work was comprised of three volumes. The first volume focused on geology and biology of the Aleutians. The second volume contained his ethnographic notes about the Aleut, as did the third volume, which also included commentaries about the Tlingits.
- 17 Henry Wood Elliott, *Report of Henry W. Elliott on the Condition of the Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska, Together with all Maps and Illustrations accompanying said Report* in U.S. Congress, House, 54th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. no. 175 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 22.
- 18 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, 1872–76, 368. The Aleuts (and others of the Russian Orthodox faith) celebrate birthdays or “name days” on the day that honors the saint for whom they were named.
- 19 Henry Wood Elliott, *A Report Upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1875), 99.
- 20 Betty A. Lindsay and John A. Lindsay, *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*, NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18 (2009), 183.
- 21 St. Paul Island Agent’s Log, 1897, 185–8. Agent Murray was obviously greatly upset by the death of Dr. Voss, as he recorded the same details of the accident in the agent’s log for Aug. 26 and 27.

- 22 E. E. Blomkvist, "A Russian Scientific Expedition to California and Alaska, 1839–1849: The Drawings of I. G. Voznesenskii," trans. Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (1972): 101–70 (originally published in *Collections of Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*, vol. 13, 1951); and Pierce, *Russian America*, 534–6.
- 23 Blomkvist, "A Russian Scientific Expedition," 102; and Katerina G. Solovjova and Aleksandra A. Vovnyanko, *The Fur Rush* (Anchorage: Phenix, 2002), 316, under "Blomkvist, E. E. 1951."



View of St. George settlement from North Rookery, showing the church and other buildings and barabaras. Also shown are the landing with flanking cliffs, a ship under full sail at left, and fur seals at bottom right. Pencil sketch by Il'ia Gavrilovich Voznesenskii. (Courtesy Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, 1142–24.)



View of the St. Paul settlement from the top of Village Hill showing the church and administrator's quarters on hill at right, and barabaras below. Also shown at left are piles of sealskins stretched on the ground to dry, racks for drying fish and meat, and several Aleut men working. Pencil sketch by Il'ia Gavrilovich Voznesenskii. (Courtesy Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, 1142-8.)

W

WARDMAN, GEORGE W. (1838–1914)

Assistant Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. George Island, May 1881–Spring 1885

Writer, Journalist and Newspaper Editor

Genealogy

George W. Wardman was born April 8, 1838, at Buffalo, Erie County, New York, the son of William Wardman from Yorkshire, England, and Jane (Martin) Wardman, a native of Dublin, Ireland. George's parents married in Canada and immigrated to Buffalo, where their four children were born. George was the eldest; the others were Edward Jacob Wardman, born March 24, 1844; Henry Benjamin Wardman, born August 12, 1846; and Jane Wardman, born July 1848. William Wardman died in 1848 at Buffalo, and his widow, Jane Wardman, married Thomas O'Brian, born about 1828 in Ireland. Widowed again, Jane (Martin) Wardman O'Brian passed away in Buffalo on April 12, 1882.

George W. Wardman was married on September 29, 1865, at Idaho City, Territory of Idaho, to Mary Virginia Ervin, born at New Orleans, Louisiana, January 22, 1854. She was the daughter of William C. Ervin and Catherine (maiden name not found) Ervin, both Pennsylvania natives. George and Mary had two sons, John Ervin and George Benjamin. The U.S. Census of 1870 in South Pass City, Wyoming listed John E. Wardman, but as an adult he went through life known as "Ervin."

The older son, John Ervin Wardman, was born December 25, 1865, at Salt Lake City, Utah, and died Jan. 13, 1923, at White Plains, New York. Ervin was married twice in New York City, first to Caroline Klink Eyre on May 14, 1902, and after Caroline's death in 1908 to Violet Boyer of Barrie, Ontario, Canada, on February 8, 1910. Ervin and Violet had one son, George Ervin Wardman, who married Elfrida L. Smith, daughter of Alfred



HENRY B. WARDMAN

Henry Wardman, brother of George Wardman. The two ran Wardman Brothers, a tin and hardware business in South Pass, Wyoming. (George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, vol. 5, 1915, 421.)

roads expanded west, Wardman set out to seek a share of the nation's newly discovered wealth. First, he ventured to Idaho City in the Boise basin of Idaho, where he married Mary Ervin in 1865. The couple moved to Salt Lake City the same year. In 1868, they moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where his brother, Henry B. Wardman, a tinsmith, joined him.³ In Cheyenne, George W. Wardman worked as a journalist and associate editor for the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*.⁴

Large gold deposits had been struck at South Pass City, Wyoming, in 1867.

Gold seekers settled on Willow Creek in 1867. The camp soon became a town, and the town became the largest in the state. Named South Pass City, it grew quickly. Within eighteen months, its population exceeded two thousand. What should have been a curly-haired, short-tempered saloon town became, instead, a family community. Those miners with wives and children, seeking a safe home, chose this town rather than Atlantic City, located five miles east. The women were quick to organize and preserve this precious quality. Some say organization was hastened by the several long meetings held during the Indian raids. Hostiles frequently threatened the town, driving off the stock and stealing whatever was unguarded. During the raids, the women and children were locked in a cave-like recess behind the wine cellar [sic passim] owned by a local merchant. The cellar was protected by a stout iron door. Many a decision was made in the darkness of this hideaway.⁵

In April 1869, George and Henry moved to South Pass City and that fall, on October 4, the brothers became claim holders in the "South Pass City Lode."⁶ They also opened a hardware store specializing in tin ware.⁷

Blackburn Smith of Harmony Hall, Warick, Bermuda, on November 11, 1936, on the island of Bermuda.

Younger son George Benjamin Wardman was born April 21, 1869, at Cheyenne, Wyoming. He was married in California on June 1, 1898, to Emily Alice Wringrose, born June 24, 1873, at Northampton, England. George B. Wardman died January 2, 1951, in Los Angeles, California.

George W. Wardman died of tuberculosis at Monrovia, Los Angeles County, California, on April 22, 1914, and was interred at San Gabriel, California, on April 24, 1914.¹

Biographical Sketch

George W. Wardman lived as a youngster in the Black Rock District of Buffalo, New York, just off the Niagara River. An 1862 gold strike at Idaho City was reputed to have delivered 250 million dollars in gold—more than either the 1849 California or the 1898 Klondike gold strikes.² As gold fever struck thousands of people and rail-

George W. Wardman's father-in-law, William C. Ervin, was a hardware merchant who had ventured west from New Orleans after his daughter, Mary Virginia, was born. William Ervin settled first in California, where the 1860 U.S. Census recorded him operating his first hardware store in Los Angeles. He then sold wares and groceries to miners in the new Wyoming Territory, first in Cheyenne, next Bryan, and then at South Pass City, where in 1868 he built the Idaho House Hotel. In 1869, he renamed it the South Pass Hotel.⁸

In 1869, Democrat George Wardman, by then a well-recognized journalist, was elected as the representative of Carter County (later renamed Sweetwater) to the Wyoming Territory Council.⁹

Once the gold fever died, Wardman left the West for the steel-producing city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he established himself as a newspaper man. The *Pittsburgh City Directories* listed him in 1876 as a resident of that city and editor of the *Evening Leader*; in 1877–90, as editor of the *Dispatch*; and in 1890–97, editor of the *Pittsburgh Press*.¹⁰ In 1879, Wardman traveled to Alaska as a journalist. During the period 1881–85, he was assistant agent for the Department of the Treasury on St. George Island; afterward he went back to Pittsburgh. In 1898, Wardman sold his holdings in the *Pittsburgh Press* and returned to the West as a writer, settling in Eddy, New Mexico.¹¹ Within the next decade, he moved to California to live closer to his son George Benjamin, of San Marino, California.¹² He spent his final days in the San Gabriel Valley at Monrovia, California, where he died in 1914.¹³

Besides working as a news editor, Wardman published *A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative*, "Folk-Lore Scrap-Book," in *Journal of American Folklore*, and "The Fuel of the Future," in *Scientific American Supplement*.

Wardman's son John Ervin followed in his father's footsteps and became a journalist. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, and graduated from Harvard University with an AB degree in 1888. John Ervin, more commonly known as Ervin, worked as a writer in New York City, then began as staff editor and rose to editor-in-chief at the *New York Tribune*, 1888–1895. He was editor at the *New York Press*, 1895–1916; editor at the *New York Herald*, 1920–1923; and finally publisher of the *Sun-Herald*, 1920–1923. Ervin Wardman fathered the phrase "yellow journalism" in 1897 with his attacks against news publishers William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer,¹⁴ whom Ervin alleged resorted to sensationalism to attract readers.¹⁵ John Ervin

Quite a number of our citizens are now out prospecting, among whom are 'Cha's Sickler, Geo. Wardman, Cha's Burbridge, and others. We hope they will have abundant success.

Notice of local mining news in South Pass, Wyoming. (South Pass News, April 9, 1870.)

WARDMAN BROS.,

DEALERS IN

Tin and Hardware,

SOUTH PASS, WYOMING.

Every description of tin work done to order

Newspaper advertisement for the Wardman Brothers' tin and hardware business in South Pass, Wyoming. (South Pass News, April 9, 1870.)

Wardman's son, George Ervin Wardman, settled in Bermuda, where he acquired real estate including elegant hotels; Ervin's grandson, George Alfred Wardman, continues to operate those establishments.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Assistant Agent George Wardman (1881–1885) preceded Assistant Agent William Gavitt (1887–1888) on St. George Island by two years. Nonetheless, when the Congressional Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries convened an investigation of the Seal Islands in 1888, it called Wardman to testify as to his knowledge of the character of Alaska Commercial Company agents accused by Agent Gavitt of improprieties against Natives and non-Natives during Gavitt's tenure on the island (see William Gavitt biography). A *New York Times* article presented Wardman's position:

George Wardman, who was a special agent at the island of St. George from 1881 to 1884 [should have stated 1885] said he never knew a woman or a girl upon the island that was assaulted, or a man or a boy to be abused by any of the company's agents; nor did he ever know of a native woman living in the company's house with one of the employees. Regarding Webster, [the] witness said he was a querulous, dyspeptic old man, with whom he had had one minor difficulty. He never saw anything which would lead him to believe that the company's house was converted into a house of ill repute.¹⁶

George Wardman wrote of his impressions of the Pribilof Islands in an article, "The Seal Islands of Alaska," published in *The Overland Monthly* in 1883,¹⁷ and the next year in his book *A Trip to Alaska* about his 1879 trip, excerpted here.

In the summer of 1879, the writer obtained permission from Hon. John Sherman, at that time Secretary of the Treasury, to proceed in the United States revenue steamer "Richard Rush," captain [sic] Bailey, on her cruise from San Francisco to Sitka, the Fur Seal Islands, the Sea Otter Grounds, and other points in Alaskan waters. The voyage proved exceedingly interesting, and the author gave an account of what he saw and heard to certain newspapers, in a desultory way, but he has been led to believe that his observations may be read in a more permanent form with interest, and he hopes with profit, by those who may be in search of information concerning Alaska.¹⁸

The natives of St. Paul's and St. George's Islands live in a sort of communistic state, and are, withal, purse-proud aristocrats. They perform a few days' labor for the company outside of seal-taking, for which they are paid at the rate of ten cents per hour. All earnings for killing seals are distributed pro rata in classes, not only to those who work according to their ability, but to some who are unable to perform any labor. They are not frugal in their habits. They spend the greater part of their money on luxuries. Having house rent, fuel, fish and seal meat, doctor and school-master free, they look around for something to buy. For the one hundred and twenty women on one island the company carried up a hundred dozen fine silk handkerchiefs, which are generally worn on the head, a hundred dozen fine worsted colored stockings, almost as many scarfs [sic] and nubias [sic], dozens of fine shawls, one thousand two hundred yards of calico (some of these seal-killers' wives have a dozen dresses at a time), three hundred yards of other dress goods and flannels, with three suits of clothing, boots, and caps for every man and boy in the village, and good cassimere [sic] clothing is the kind they demand.

For food supplies on one island they have thirty-five thousand pounds of biscuit and crackers and two hundred and thirty barrels of flour; seventy chests of tea, fifty-two pounds each; four hundred boxes candles, stearine [sic] and paraffine; one thousand sacks of rice, fifty pounds each; one thousand gallons kerosene, etc.

A few years ago these same natives lived in barabaras (sod huts), twenty-five to forty persons in one room. They used blubber for lights and fuel till the lampblack hung in strings from the ceiling. Now they have frame houses, cook-stoves, coal, kerosene, and paraffine candles. They have good church buildings on each island, and schools with teachers as well as doctors, at the expense of the company.

The natives of the seal islands are not long lived. Sixty is old age, to which few ever reach, and even those of fifty are scarce. The population has not increased to any appreciable extent since the United States came into possession.

Like all other Aleuts, the natives of the seal islands die generally of consumption. When it once appears it makes rapid work, and in a few days its victim is laid away. Whatever may be the restorative qualities of fish-oil blubber, it does not seem to benefit these people. They all eat enormously of these commodities, and, as a rule, die early. When attacked, physicians are in vain, and the patient falls at once into a condition of hopeless indifference, generally refusing medicine, or neglecting to take it during the doctor's absence.

These people give liberally toward the support of their church, and buy many blessed candles at high prices. The church decorations of silver chandeliers, candelabras, and pictures are both elaborate and expensive. Large gilt candles have been sent from the San Francisco Consistory at the rate of three for fifty dollars, and, though this was considered high, they were paid for. They were large candles, it is true, but, judging from the material of which they are composed, they should not cost more than four or five dollars each, even including the rather tawdry gilding upon their surfaces. But the seal-islanders believe in blessed candles and can afford to pay for them.

The "second" priest, or "striker," as he is sometimes denominated by irreverent Yankees, the "second mate," as the sailors call him, is an institution of the Russian Church in Alaska. The second priest can hold services, but is not endowed with the right to perform the marriage ceremony. He leads the choir and attends on the first priest at mass. Sometimes the marriage ceremony is waived by parties entering into the marital state in the absence of a first priest, but when that individual comes around, he makes it all right, and it is considered that no harm has been done.

The vestments worn by the priest are very rich, but sometimes when he appears in garment of gold and white, with cavalry boots below, as often happens, the effect strikes strangers as being strong and novel rather than strictly ecclesiastic. It speaks somewhat loudly of church militant.

There is no beer nor whiskey to be had by the natives of the fur-seal islands. The Treasury Department forbids the manufacture here or the introduction of beverages of an intoxicating character. Efforts have been made in other Aleutian settlements to prevent the manufacture of "quass," a sort of sour beer manufactured out of sugar, flour, and water; but where there are two or more trading companies in competition, the sugar can be obtained from one, if not from the other, and the suppression of the traffic in such a community is almost impossible. On the fur-seal islands, however, Treasury and company agents unite in efforts to suppress the manufacture of strong drink. It was, for a long time, difficult to reconcile these Aleuts to getting along without spirits. Under Russian rule it was the custom to issue spirits to the men when at work, and this created an appetite, which was sought to be allayed by other drink when merchantable whiskey could not be had. . . .

Tea is now the strongest beverage that these people absorb. The tea used here is of a superior quality, the same chop as that furnished by the Russians years and years ago. The people don't want any other kind, and the company is perfectly willing to provide that which they prefer.

The seal islands are situated in Behring Sea, and during the warmer months are almost continually enveloped in fogs and mist. This is one reason why the seals make them their breeding grounds. There is no such thing in the seal business as "making hay while the sun shines," for the sun will drive the warm-coated animals into the water, when men with

clubs could not do it; for though the two and four-year-olds may be herded and driven like sheep, the older bulls, when on the rookeries, cannot be forced away by threats of violence. Continued sunshine, however, would soon banish them from the islands.

St. George's Island which, on a clear day, can be seen from St. Paul's, is an epitome of the larger one. The population, at the last count, was one hundred and two persons. They have a church, school-house, and frame dwellings for the people provided by the company, which controls in all these matters and furnishes the modern improvements according to the ideas of its officers, whose suggestions in these matters are adopted.

Near Garden Cove, on the southeast coast of St. George's Island, is a large sea-lion rookery, the beach being red with the monsters, which lay packed together like hogs in a stock car going to market. The sea lion is found also on St. Paul's, but not so numerous as on St. George's. The sea lion seems to be more like an overgrown seal, larger than the fur-seal bulls, but their coat consists of hair only, which is of a coarse reddish brown. The flesh of the sea lion is preferred to that of the fur seal, and the hide, while having no value in the markets of the world, is in great demand among the Aleuts and Indians of the Northern Pacific and Behring Sea. The leather is, however, used to a limited extent on emery wheels for polishing in cutlery factories.

The flippers of the sea lion are used for soles of the Aleut waterproof boots; the skin is converted into coverings for the large open boats known as "bidarras." These boats consist of a frame of wood with ribs imported from the Eastern States. The lion skins, the hair shaved off, are stretched over the frame, fifteen or twenty being sewed together, and when dry they are as tight as a drum. These boats are constructed about forty feet in length and ten or twelve feet beam, with a carrying capacity of from two to four tons.

The bidarra is the favorite craft with the seal islanders as the two-hole bidarkie is with the Western Aleuts, the three-holed with the Kadiackers, and the fifty-foot cedar dugouts with the Hyda Indians. . . .

Sea Otter Island, lying about five miles southwardly from St. Paul's, is another landing-place for the fur seal, but only to a limited extent. Owing to the fact that it is not permanently inhabited, some marauders were in the habit of landing on the opposite side, where they could not be seen from St. Paul's, and killing whatever seal they could find, without regard to sex, age, or condition. The company reported these facts to the Secretary of the Treasury, who decided that the intention of the act under which the lease was authorized appeared to be to give all the islands of the group to the lessees, for the regulation of the traffic and preservation of the fur seal. Then, as the company could not defend Sea Otter Island, the Government was asked to do so, and now the practice is to leave a revenue marine guard there during the sealing season.

Sea Otter Island is famous for sea fowls' eggs, and also for foxes, [the] latter [of which] so infest the place that a former revenue marine officer experienced great difficulty in keeping the pests from destroying everything destroyable in his cabin. Birds' eggs, buried beneath the floor were ravished by these cunning animals, which, during the officer's absence, dug under the walls and made their way into the house. They are principally blue foxes, such as are found on St. Paul's and St. George's.

There is one more, Walrus Island, in the Prybilov group, about six miles eastward from St. Paul, to which male walruses resort in considerable numbers each year. It is also famous for sea fowl, which resort thither in countless millions for breeding purposes. But no fur seals are killed by the lessees upon either Otter or Walrus islands.

As only natives may be employed to kill the seals, no whites are permitted to remain upon the Prybilov Islands unless either in the service of the United States or of the Alaska Commercial Company—except the Russian priests.¹⁹

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

George Wardman deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Notary Public Charles L. Hughes at Washington, D.C., on April 26, 1892. The following is an excerpt from his deposition.

I am George Wardman . . . of Pittsburg [sic], Pennsylvania. . . . I am 50 years of age, and editor of the *Pittsburgh Press*. In 1879 as a journalist I made a trip to Alaska on the United States revenue steamer *Rush* during her summer cruise. On that trip I stopped at many points along the northwest coast, the Alaskan coast, and the Aleutian chain, and also visited the Pribilof Islands and St. Michael, going as far north as Bering Straits. On April 4, 1881, I was appointed Assistant Special Treasury Agent for the Seal Islands, and immediately after such appointment proceeded to San Francisco and sailed for the islands, arriving there in the latter part of May. I was then detailed by Colonel [Harrison] Otis, Special Treasury Agent for the Seal Islands, to the Island of St. George, and until May 29, 1885, I remained in charge of that Island.²⁰

WASHBURN, SETH MONROE (1849–1942)

Assistant Agent and Teacher, Alaska Commercial Company, 1874–1877

Genealogy

Seth Monroe Washburn was born May 23, 1849, in Randolph, Vermont, to Levi Washburn and Prudentia (Flint) Washburn.²¹

Biographical Sketch

Seth returned from Alaska and joined his father-in-law in a dry goods and general merchandise business in Bethel, Vermont. He became a partner and the store became Brooks and Washburn.²²

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Seth Washburn deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Notary Public Guy Wilson at Bethel, Vermont, on June 13, 1892. The following is an excerpt from his deposition.

I am 42 years of age, and reside in Bethel, Vermont, where I have been a merchant since 1878. I was born in Randolph, Vermont, and lived there until 1874. I was a graduate of the State Normal School of Vermont, and in 1874 was employed by the Alaska Commercial Company . . . as Assistant Agent and teacher. I went there in 1874 and remained continuously until 1877, my residence there covering four sealing seasons.²³

WEBSTER, DANIEL (1832–1900)

*Agent, Alaska Commercial Company, 1870–1890**Agent, North American Commercial Company, 1890–1900*Genealogy

Daniel Webster was born at New London, Connecticut, in April 1832. In about 1859, after Webster had been a whaler for fourteen years, he married Emma Bailey (1841–1901) at New London. Emma was the daughter of shoemaker Charles W. Bailey and Elizabeth Bailey. Emma's brother Charles Jr. was also a whaler. Daniel and Emma had a son, George, who died shortly after his birth in April 1860 in New London. In January 1862, another son was born whom they also named George, but with the middle name of Payne. The Webster family spent summers on the Pribilof Islands during George's early years, as noted in the Agent's Log, which listed arrivals to the island: "Wednesday, May 28, 1873, arrive at St. Paul, Daniel Webster, wife and son George."

Daniel Webster died in June 1900 on St. George Island during a three-week epidemic of *la grippe*.²⁴ Emma Webster was living in Oakland, California, at the time, with son George (1862–1953), George's first wife, Ida B. Williams Webster, and their daughter, Gladys, plus George's mother-in-law, Harriet Williams. Emma Webster died the next year, on August 27, 1901, in Oakland. George Payne Webster became a well-known actor in the San Francisco theater and lived to be 91 years of age. His daughter, Gladys, remained single and followed her father into show business as an actress and a teacher of theater arts.²⁵

Biographical Sketch

At the age of fourteen, Daniel Webster ventured to sea as a "whale-man." He testified that he spent twenty-three years in the Bering Sea and the North Pacific as a whaler.²⁶

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

Daniel Webster deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration before Treasury Agent-in-Charge William H. Williams at St. George Island, Alaska, on June 11, 1892. The following is an excerpt from his deposition.

I am 60 years of age, and am a resident of Oakland, Cal; my occupation is that of local agent for the North American Commercial Company, and at present I am stationed on St. George Island, of the Pribilof Group, Alaska. I have been in Alaskan waters every year but two since I was fourteen years of age. I first went to Behring Sea in 1845 on a whaling voyage, and annually visited those waters in that pursuit until 1868, at which time the purchase and transfer of Alaska was made to the United States; since that time I have been engaged in the taking of fur seals for their skins. In 1870 I entered the employ of the lessees of the Pribilof Islands and have been so engaged ever since, and for the last thirteen years have been the company's local agent on St. George Island, and during the sealing season have, a part of the time, gone to St. Paul Island and took charge of the killing at Northeast Point, which is known to be the largest fur seal rookery in the world. For ten years prior to 1878 I resided most of the time at Northeast Point, having landed and taken seals there in 1868. I have had twenty-four years' experience in the fur-seal industry as it exists in the waters of the North Pacific and Behring Sea.²⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

Daniel Webster went to the Pribilofs from the whaling center of New London, Connecticut. The whaling fleet at New Bedford, Massachusetts, is better known, but New London's fleet was smaller by only one vessel.²⁸ "Webster came ashore on St. Paul Island in the spring (April) of 1868, an employee of Williams and Havens, of New London, Connecticut. He took charge of the sealing then begun on behalf of this firm at Novastoshna(h) or North East Point. Hutchinson, Kohl and Co. had the only other party up there at that time. This was the first irregular sealing ever done upon this island since 1804.

"Webster said that H. K. and Co. and he took over 75,000 young male seals at N. E. Point alone, that summer of 1868, and only stopped work from sheer exhaustion of their men, who were not only physically "used up," but also they had used up all their salt and had no suitable means left of saving any more skins."²⁹

Webster's travels as a whaler probably brought many opportunities to acquire valuable goods and may be how Webster acquired a ruby ring and the ivory-tipped cane that, according to local Pribilof lore, he always carried.

He is said to have had the respect of the Aleuts, even though he was occasionally gruff. Assistant Agent William Gavitt accused Webster and others of gross misconduct during Gavitt's time on St. George, 1887–1888, accusations that led to a Congressional investigation. Numerous individuals testified before the Congressional committee, and nearly all of those who mentioned Webster spoke kindly of him.³⁰



Daniel Webster with walking cane on a warehouse porch; Alex Hanson stacking seal skins in wagon, St. Paul Island. (NAA, Joseph Stanley-Brown Lantern Slide Coll., lot 54-368.)

Former Assistant Treasury Agent George Wardman reflected upon Webster's character over the course of his testimony before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in 1888:

Mr. Webster is an old "shell-back," a white headed old man. He was an old whaler. He had been whaling up in the Ochotsk [sic] Sea and in the Arctic Sea before the United States acquired Alaska. I think he was in the Arctic Sea in 1854. . . . He was a quarrelsome old man. I never had any trouble with Mr. Webster. If I found him growling, I would turn him and give him a "bluff."

. . . when I wanted to seize the schooner *Alexander*, and had left Mr. Kirk aboard till I talked with Webster. I would not seize her formally unless Webster would take her, because I did not want her to go on the rocks there. There was no harbor. I went ashore and told Mr. Webster that if he would take her over to the other island [St. Paul] or down to San Francisco and deliver her to the United States marshal, I would seize her. He said he would see the Government damned first. He said he had had one experience of that kind and that one was sufficient. . . .

During the winter there was a good deal of "chaffing" and joking going on between Dr. Noyes and Webster. Dr. Noyes used to put hair nets and garters and such things in old man Webster's bed—he used to slip in there when Webster was out—so that the woman who made up the beds would see them, and she would tell all over the village that a woman had been sleeping with Mr. Webster. They had great sport out of that.³¹

Daniel Webster was eulogized in the St. Paul Island Agent's Log soon after word came of his death on St. George Island:

Captain Webster was an old and highly respected resident of Alaska he having lived on the Seal Islands almost continuously since American Occupation.³²

WENTZ, HERBERT B.

Physician in Charge, St. George Island, 1946

Pribilof Islands Experience

Soon after evacuees were returned to the Pribilofs at the end of WWII, Dr. Herbert Wentz wrote about nutritional concerns:

St. George is a village on an island of the same name, comprising 30 houses for the villagers' 32 families that vary in number from 1 to 14.

As food—celery, cabbage, lettuce, onions, radishes, turnips, etc., is essential to a well balanced diet, and a well balanced diet is urged so that a green house, having a floor space of at least 10,000 square feet be erected here as speedily as possible.

That a green house can be operated here successfully is demonstrated by the green house operated by the Agent and the Storekeeper.³³

The doctor's recommendation apparently went unheeded on St. George Island. During earlier times greenhouses had been successfully used on St. Paul Island, but their yield was primarily for the government employees and the island's priest.



Greenhouse located on Sandy Lane with six-car garage in background, St. Paul Island, 1946. (NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Administrative Correspondence, ca. 1888–1987, RG 22-95-ADMC-735.)



Greenhouse located near the Government House and Priest's House on Old Village Hill, St. Paul Island, circa 1952. (NARA, College Park, MD, 22-RB-1952-33.)

WHITNEY, ALVIN GOODNOW

Schoolteacher, St. Paul Island, 1912–1914



Alvin Goodman Whitney, 1944. (New York State Museum, Albany.)

Genealogy

Alvin Goodnow Whitney was born March 4, 1883, in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, the son of George Plummer Whitney and Carrie (Goodman) Whitney. George Whitney worked as a carder.³⁴ On July 28, 1912, in Washington, D.C., Alvin Whitney married Elsie Julia Gibson, born March 15, 1885, in Ryegate, Caledonia, Vermont, to Albert and Ruth (Brown) Gibson. Alvin Whitney died June 19, 1960 in Delmar, Albany, New York, where Elsie Whitney died ten years later, January 16, 1970.³⁵

Biographical Sketch

Alvin Whitney graduated from Dartmouth College. He was on the faculty of Syracuse University School of Forestry and the University of Michigan School of Forestry before becoming assistant director of the New York State Museum in Albany.³⁶

Whitney's strong character exhibited itself in the Pribilofs, as discussed below, and also afterward, when he found himself accused of sedition. *The Syracuse Herald* (New York) ran a story under a back-page headline, "Alvin G. Whitney, Forestry Instructor Held on Charge of Sedition." He was a thirty-four year-old graduate student at the State College of Forestry, Syracuse, New York, when he filled out a U.S. Census form and challenged the government's involvement in "The Great War," now known as World War I. Whitney reportedly stated on the form that he was claiming "an exemption from military duty because he was unwilling to assist the state or national government in the present dishonorable war." He told reporters, "I am conscientiously opposed to all war. I thought that every one in this country had the right of free speech and of expressing an opinion according to his conscience. I am not a religious member of any sect against war, but those are my personal views. I am a believer in constructive work and not work of destruction, which I regard this war to be. I am an American and a firm believer of American institutions. I was employed by the Government to make a survey of the fisheries conditions in Alaska three years ago, and made a report which was pronounced, I am told, very satisfactory."³⁷ We did not learn how Whitney's case was officially settled, but given his subsequent career record, as previously noted, it appears he was not professionally ruined by his outspokenness.

Pribilof Islands Experience

During the course of his career, Alvin Whitney had clerked for Clinton Hart Merriam, who had been on the Bering Sea Commission to investigate the Seal Islands (see Merriam's biography). Whitney's professional relationship with Dr. Merriam led to a government offer to teach on St. Paul Island, but the position required that he be married. A local newspaper made much of his ensuing wedding ("Bureau of Fisheries as a Matrimonial Agency" was the headline), but he and Elsie Gibson were already engaged. The lengthy newspaper story concluded:

The school system of the Pribiloffs is a division of the work of the bureau of fisheries. It is the intention of the government to have two teachers on each of the large islands of the group. The fisheries people prefer that they have a man teacher and a woman. They also prefer to have them a married couple. . . .

So Mr. Whitney betook himself to a telegraph office and sent the following to his fiancée, Miss Elsie J. Gibson of Burlington, Vt., who was attending the summer school for teachers at Dartmouth college:

"Have offer for good teaching position for you at St. Paul, Pribiloff island. Salary twelve hundred, matrimony a pre-requisite. Answer paid."

Twelve hours later Mr. Whitney received an even shorter dispatch. It said:

"Leaving for Washington; arrive Sunday morning."

Mr. Whitney went to the bureau of fisheries and told Chief Barton W. Evermann of the Alaskan division [sic] he had the candidate for the other teaching vacancy.

"Name please?" said Mr. Evermann.

"It's Gibson now, but if you don't want to make out the papers until Monday, it will be Whitney," replied the male candidate.³⁸

The Whitneys taught school as government employees on St. Paul Island during the 1912–1914 school years. The St. Paul Island Agent's Log recorded their arrival aboard the steamer *Homer* on August 28, 1912, identifying Whitney as the schoolteacher and Elsie Whitney as the "assistant school-teacher." Few detailed references to the Whitneys were entered into the St. Paul Island Agent's Log during their two-year stay. The following examples were among them.

[On October 2, 1912] at 8.30 p.m. all hands were turned out with lanterns in a pouring rain to search for Mrs. Whitney who had left the village alone at 3 p.m. Although at her departure she had said nothing to anyone as to her destination, I gathered from the statements of her husband, who had watched her as far as he could from Telegraph Hill, that she was somewhere between the village and Halfway Point and south of the wagon road to North East Point. The night was pitch dark.

The advance guard of the searching party . . . encountered Mrs. Whitney on the wagon road between the wells and the ice-house lake, returning unconcernedly, although wet to the skin. She had climbed Polavina according to her statement.³⁹

An Agent's Log entry in December 1912 credited the Whitneys with putting on a Christmas Eve skit involving the schoolchildren—"Little Jack Horner and his Christmas Pie"—in the Native shop.⁴⁰

NATIONAL CAPITAL AFFAIRS

Bureau of Fisheries as a Matrimonial Agency



WASHINGTON.—As a matrimonial agency the United States bureau of fisheries has stepped into sudden prominence. The methods of the bureau are unique. The unions are obtained with speed and precision. The bureau embarked in its new line of endeavor the other day. The result of its first attempt is speeding happily westward with a honeymoon in the sweet breezes of the Pribiloff islands as an objective. It all came about in this way.

Out in the Pribiloffs there are few white people, but many Alients, and the progeny of the Alients are both numerous and ignorant. To the bureau of fisheries, which is the real government of the Pribiloffs and the Alients and seals which there abound, has been delegated the task of bringing light where heretofore was darkness. The school system of the Pribiloffs is a division of the work of the bureau of fisheries. It is the intention of the government to have two teachers on each of the large islands of the group. The fisheries people prefer that they have a man teacher and a woman. They also prefer to have them a married couple.

Casting about for new material, the bureau found that Alvin G. Whitney of Groton, Mass., wanted to become an

Alaskan school teacher. Mr. Whitney passed the examination in fine style. He was just about to be appointed when it was explained to him that the Pribiloff government, which is the bureau of fisheries, wanted married teachers. The case was explained to him by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, one time biologist of the department of agriculture, whose secretary Mr. Whitney formerly was.

"Do you know any one who could fill the vacancy at the island of St. Paul to which you will be assigned?" asked Mr. Merriam.

"Sure," replied Mr. Whitney, "I'll telegraph and find out about it right away."

So Mr. Whitney betook himself to a telegraph office and sent the following to his fiancée, Miss Elsie J. Gibson of Burlington, Vt., who was attending the summer school for teachers at Dartmouth college:

"Have offer for good teaching position for you at St. Paul, Pribiloff island. Salary twelve hundred, matrimony pre-requisite. Answer paid."

Twelve hours later Mr. Whitney received an even shorter dispatch. It said:

"Leaving for Washington; arrive Sunday morning."

Mr. Whitney went to the bureau of fisheries and told Chief Barton W. Evermann of the Alaskan division that he had the candidate for the other teaching vacancy.

"Name, please?" said Mr. Evermann.

"It's Gibson now, but if you don't want to make out the papers until Monday, it will be Whitney," replied the male candidate.

In 1913, Mr. Whitney was noted as accompanying Professor George Clark, presumably as part of Clark's introduction to the island environment. "Messrs. Clark and Whitney were sent in the launch to Zapadni, whence they walked to the village photographing the rookeries en route."⁴¹

The Whitneys' own writings during this period are much more dramatic. According to a news article, they kept a daily diary from July 1913 to May 17, 1914,⁴² and within that diary they "recited almost daily allegations of scandalous conduct on the part of officials."⁴³ Purportedly, the diary documented malfeasance by five government employees. We did not locate the Whitneys' diary or any government documents quoting from it. However, the *New York Times* reproduced some of their entries in a story on July 21, 1914, and several are recounted here.

Aug. 19 to 22, 1913. The yacht *Adventuress* arrived Aug. 19 with Roy C. Andrews and the yachting and hunting party he accompanied [see Roy Andrews biography]. [Agent and Caretaker, Phillip R. E.] Hatton, Tongue, and Dr. McGovern spent days entertaining the party on shore or visiting on board the yacht. Their entertainment was invariably gambling and drinking day and night. During this interval Mr. Andrews and I were occupying our time with photographic work.

While one would not expect Agent Hatton to include entries in his log of "gambling and drinking day and night," some of his entries seem to undercut at least some of the Whitney's allegations, including one about the Whitneys spending an evening on the yacht *Adventuress*.⁴⁴

Tuesday, Aug. 19, 1913

At 5:30 P. M. today the yacht *Adventuress*, belonging to Mr. John Borden came to anchor off village landing. Mr. Tongue and I went out to [the] yacht with several natives at 7 P.M. and Mr. Andrews came ashore with us to spend the night.

Wednesday, Aug. 20, 1913

Messrs. John Borden, Scott, Brown, Harris, and Capt. Sparks were ashore to lunch and dinner. Messrs. Andrews, Borden, Harris, Brown, and Scott stayed ashore for the night. Crew from yacht visited Reef rookeries today with an escort.

Thursday, Aug. 21, 1913

On Mr. Borden's invitation, Mrs. Chamberlain, Mr. and Mrs. Whitney, Mr. Tongue, Dr. McGovern and I [Hatton] had dinner aboard the yacht at 6 P.M. Mr. Borden and the whole party were very nice to all and we returned about 9 o'clock, having spent an enjoyable evening.

Friday, Aug. 22, 1913

Mr. Andrews received a message from Unalaska tonight which required his presence on the yacht. I [Hatton] went out to the ship with Mr. Andrews and several natives in the launch at 9 P.M. [The] boatkeeper and engineer for launch, was running the engine and I discovered, after leaving the dock, that he was so drunk that he could hardly understand anything about the engine. I then told Mike Kozlof to take the tiller and ordered [the boatkeeper] out of the engine room and ran the engine myself. [The boatkeeper] is a good man about the boats and engine when he is sober, but when even slightly drunk not a bit of reliance can be had in his actions. We returned from the yacht at 10 P.M.

Regarding the above incident, the Whitneys reportedly stated in their diary:

When Mr. Andrews and Mr. Hatton went out to the yacht in the evening to bring the former's outfit ashore the native engineer was so drunk as to be useless and came near sinking the launch. The weather was stormy and dark and the sea rough. The delay of the party in returning caused great apprehension on shore and finally a rescuing party prepared to set out. At this juncture Dr. McGovern who was drunk got into a quarrel with the native boatsman and ended up by a fist fight with the Russian priest.⁴⁵

The next day, Agent Hatton wrote in the log.

Saturday, Aug. 23, 1913

Yacht *Adventuress*, left about day[break] this morning for Unalaska. Mr. Andrews did not leave on the yacht but will go to Unalaska on a cutter later on.

Agent Hatton did record in the log that Alvin Whitney accompanied filmmaker Roy C. Andrews over several days in August 1913, to film seals at Reef, Gorbach, and Northeast Point rookeries⁴⁶ (see Roy Andrews biography).

About two weeks after the *Adventuress* departed the Seal Islands, and about a year before the Whitneys released their allegations, schoolteacher Whitney was accused by boatkeeper Neon Tetoff of assaulting his sixteen-year-old son.

Neon Tetof [sic] came to the office after dinner tonight and complained that his son Dimitria [sic] had been beaten in a shameful manner by Mr. Whitney in the school this afternoon. I requested Mr. and Mrs. Whitney to come down to the office and we all talked the matter over.⁴⁷

Whitney explained the incident to the satisfaction of Agent Hatton, who in turn explained the basis for Whitney's actions to Dimitria's father, which conflicted with the story told by the young Tetoff.

We explained the case to Neon and told him that Dimitria was entirely wrong and that he would have to do better in school or some severe measures would be taken. Neon finally agreed that his son had acted the wrong part and promised to censure him good before sending him to school tomorrow.

It is quite evident that the natives on these islands are opposed to any school teacher and they all look upon the teachers as enemies. If who is in charge did not back up the teachers and help them maintain order and attendance then the school department here would be worse than useless.⁴⁸

According to the *New York Times* (July 21, 1914), other entries in the Whitney diary included:

Sept. 20, 1913. A dance was held at night at the native shop. Several natives were drunk there.

Nov. 23 to 29, 1913. This was foxing week when most of the native men were away from the village trapping. The white men embraced this opportunity to seduce native women, as I afterward learned. When the hunters returned at the end of the week there was a grand celebration, practically the whole community being drunk.

In 1914, as the *New York Times* article stated, Alvin and Elsie Whitney brought allegations against five government men on the Pribilof Islands.

Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce has submitted all the original complaints in the Pribilof Islands scandal to Attorney General McReynolds for action. The Whitneys charge gross immorality, seduction of the native women by Government agents,

flagrant law violation in furnishing intoxicating liquors to the natives, and illegal killing of fur seal pups.⁴⁹

Allegations were made against St. Paul and St. George Agents and Caretakers Phillip R. Hatton and A. H. Proctor, respectively; St. Paul storekeeper L. N. Tongue; former physician Dr. C. J. McGovern; and the Navy's wireless operator on St. Paul, P. L. McClenny.

After Mr. and Mrs. Whitney had forwarded their original report, Hatton on June 2 telegraphed his resignation to the Government [sic]. At the same time Dr. Henry Esmond, a physician in the Federal Fisheries Service on the island, resigned. Mr. Whitney learned of this and he at once sent this radio message to Secretary Redfield:

Earnestly request immediate inquiry into existing conditions on St Paul Island on account several employees preparing to leave. I request that all island officials be held pending investigation.

Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries Ernest Lester Jones happened to be in Alaskan waters to investigate the halibut industry. He was instructed on June 11 to proceed immediately on the *Albatross* to the Pribilof Islands to investigate the scandal (see E. Lester Jones biography).⁵⁰

The following telegram was sent to Whitney:

Do not allow any employe [sic] to leave pending Jones's arrival.⁵¹

On June 12 the resignations were refused and the following radio message was sent to Hatton by the fisheries commissioner:

Hatton, St. Paul Island, Alaska (wireless via North Head, Wash.):

Your resignation not accepted pending investigation by Deputy Commissioner Jones, due at islands about July 17. Do not leave prior to his arrival or allow any employe [sic] to do so.

SMITH, Commissioner of Fisheries⁵²

Presumably, the Whitneys departed St. Paul Island with investigator E. Lester Jones following his on-island investigation.

According to the Bureau of Fisheries Commissioner's annual report for the 1914–1915 school year, school conditions improved remarkably under Mr. and Mr. George Haley following the departure of the Whitneys.⁵³

Alvin Whitney told newspaper reporters, as noted earlier, that he was hired by the government to report on the fisheries of Alaska. We did not find any other reference to such a report, but Whitney was given credit for making various natural history collections on St. Paul Island. In a 1923 Bureau of Biological Survey report on the topic of the Pribilof Islands, author Edward Preble wrote:

Alvin G. Whitney, school-teacher on St. Paul Island from the summer of 1912 to the summer of 1914, made considerable collections of insects and shells and some other invertebrates, but his contributions to ornithology and mammalogy were small.⁵⁴

Preble did not cite any report by Whitney in those regards. Many years later, in 1960, former Pribilof Islands schoolteacher and natural historian G Dallas Hanna mentioned Whitney in responding to a question about the name and number of lakes on St. Paul Island. Not all the lakes were named during his time on the island, Hanna said, but they

were numbered. "We used those numbers to a certain extent. And there is one that was named after I came here called Whitney Pond. I do not remember where Whitney Pond is or which one it was. Whitney was a schoolteacher here in 1913 and he collected about a half a dozen birds, some of which were very important, too, but that lake came to be called Whitney Pond. You'll see it referred to in some of the literature, I think. In [George] Haley's notes it is referred to very frequently. I do not recall that any of the lake numbers were ever published."⁵⁵

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM H. (1835–1909)

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury, St. Paul Island, 1891–1892

Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury Foreign Office, Paris, France, 1893–1908



Civil War monument to the 42nd Ohio Infantry, Vicksburg National Military Park. (National Park Service.)

Genealogy

William H. Williams was born in 1835 at Lafayette, Medina County, Ohio, the son of Roswell Williams (1808–1834) and Clarinda Irena (Jenkins) Williams (1812–1870). William Williams married Louisa Corinne Hitchcock, daughter of William Hitchcock and Almira Ann (Bissell) Hitchcock, on March 26, 1860, in Medina County, Ohio. Their children, all born in Medina County, were: Gertrude J. Williams (born 1863, married Charles R. Bradley); Don R. Williams (born 1868); Clare Garfield Williams (born May 16, 1872, married Lulu Martin; Clare died September 14, 1957, in Los Angeles, California); Carl S. Williams (born May 16, 1872, married Annette Pratt; Carl died

November 9, 1960, at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania); and Blake Williams (born 1876).⁵⁶ Major William H. Williams died September 18, 1909, at Oak Park, Illinois, at the age of seventy-three.⁵⁷

Biographical Sketch

The pioneers who settled at Lafayette, Ohio, in the 1820s included William Williams' father, Roswell Williams, one of the founders of the first Congregational Church at Lafayette (April 17, 1824).⁵⁸ William H. Williams and his brother Henry and sisters Mary and Laura grew up in Lafayette. William and his wife, Louisa, settled after their marriage in 1860 in the town of Medina, Ohio, where William was a teacher.⁵⁹ At the outbreak of the Civil War, he enlisted in the Union Army as a captain of the 42nd Ohio Infantry. He showed leadership abilities in many battles and by May of 1863 was serving as a major under Major General Ulysses S. Grant at Vicksburg, Mississippi. A monument to the 42nd Ohio Infantry, bearing William H. Williams' name, is located on Union Avenue at Vicksburg National Military Park.⁶⁰

After the Civil War, Major Williams returned to the family farm at Lafayette.⁶¹ Ten years later, the Williams family was living in Chatham, Ohio, a few miles from Lafayette. William became a cheese manufacturer,⁶² but by 1891 he and his family had moved to the larger community of Wellington, Ohio, in the neighboring county of Lorain, and William took on a new job.

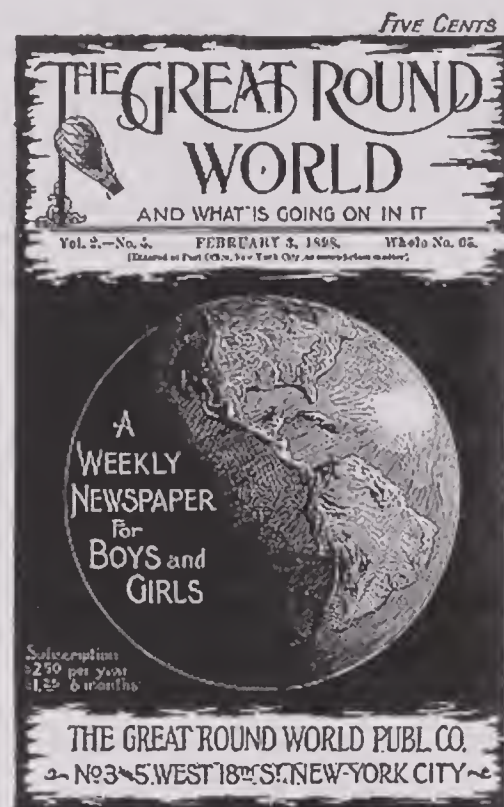
On May 27, 1891, Major Williams, as Special Agent for the Department of the Treasury, left San Francisco, California, for the Pribilof Islands, in the company of Special Commissioner Joseph Stanley-Brown and Special Agent Louis Nettleton.⁶³ Thus began Williams' service with the Treasury Department, which lasted for fifteen years and included the uproarious pelagic sealing era. Major Williams played a leading role in the Fur-Seal Arbitration at Paris, France.

Major Williams, one of the American *attachés*, said that the result of the regulations [put forward by the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration] would probably be the abandonment of the Canadian pelagic hunting, as it would not pay under the restrictions imposed. The consensus of opinion among the American agents and counsel is that, though technical success rests with Great Britain on local points, on practical grounds the victory is to the United States, as the arbitration was entered upon to preserve the seals and the decision achieves that result.⁶⁴

As time would soon reveal, Major Williams erred in his assessment that the award was in favor of the United States. Regardless, following the Fur-Seal Arbitration of 1893 he was appointed head of the Europe Foreign Office as Special Agent of the Treasury, with an office in Paris. He was sent to London in 1898 when the law against pelagic sealing was not being enforced.

Major Williams . . . has acknowledged that his inquiries have discouraged him. He believes it will be impossible for the Government to enforce the law in its present form. Comparatively few of the sealskins can be identified after they have passed through the hands of the wholesale and the retail dealers. So it looks as if the Government would have to find some other way to protect the seals from threatened extinction.⁶⁵

On October 1, 1904, at the age of sixty-eight, Major Williams arrived in New York from Europe with his wife, Louisa, age sixty-four. They settled in Oak Park, a suburb of Chicago, Illinois. At the time of his death, their son Carl was a physician practicing sports medicine in Philadelphia, and son Clare was a U.S. Customs House inspector in San Francisco.⁶⁶



Cover of *The Great Round World*, which published an article about the plight of the fur seal following the award of the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration.

Fur-Seal Arbitration Deposition

William H. Williams deposed for the Tribunal of Arbitration on March 19, 1892, before Notary Public Charles H. Hughes at Washington, D.C. The following is an excerpt:

I reside at Wellington, Ohio and am 55 years of age. I am the United States Treasury Agent in charge of the Seal Islands in Bering Sea.

That thousands of female seals were captured by the pelagic hunters in Bering Sea during the season of 1891, the most of which had to be secured quite a distance from the rookeries, owing to the presence of armed vessels patrolling the sea for miles around the islands, and that the slaughter of the seals was mostly of females, was confirmed by the thousands of dead pups lying on the rookeries starved to death by the destruction of their mothers.

My investigation confirms what has been so often said by others who have reported upon this subject, and that is that the Pribilof Islands are the great breeding grounds of the fur-seals, and that they can be reared in great numbers on said islands, and at the same time, under wise and judicious restrictions, a certain number of male seals can be killed from year to year without injury to the breeding herds, and their skins disposed of for commercial purposes, thereby building up and perpetuating this great industry indefinitely, and thus adding to the wealth, happiness, and comfort of the civilized world, while, on the other hand, if the pelagic hunting of this animal is to continue, and the barbarous practice of killing the mother seal with her unborn young, or when she is rearing it, is to go on, it will be but a very short time before the fur seal will practically become extinct and this valuable industry will pass out of existence.⁶⁷

Pribilof Islands Experience

Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster issued a "Letter of Instruction to Special Agent Williams" as the latter prepared to undertake his position on the Pribilof Islands. Excerpts from Foster's letter provide some insight into the critical comments in Williams' annual reports on the situation of the islands' Native population.

Mr. Nettleton, one of the Treasury agents for the islands . . . will be accompanied by Mrs. Nettleton, who goes to teach the school upon the island where her husband may be stationed.

Mrs. Nettleton will accompany her husband, and you are hereby directed to place her in charge of one of the schools, and to determine with the company, a fair compensation for her services. . . . The schools will be maintained from September 1 to May 31, and be open for five days in a week. . . . It will be the principal duty of the teacher to instruct the children in acquiring a knowledge of the English language. Russian is not to be taught in the schools, and the church officers must be restrained from interfering with the children in acquiring a knowledge of English, and should be advised that they will only do harm if they attempt to thwart the purpose of the Government in having the children educated in the language of the country.

You will endeavor to secure the good will and confidence of the native inhabitants of the islands, and advise them, whenever practicable, of their rights and duties as American citizens, and by proper means try to increase their friendship for the Government and the people of the United States.

The care and welfare of the natives are matters which should receive your careful attention, and among your most important duties is the insistence that the North American Commercial Company shall fulfill all the obligations of their lease toward these people. The Government maintains a protectorate over them, and they look to its agents to see that their employers, the lessees, carry out in good faith all they promise.

The question of the depopulation of the islands of St. Paul and St. George is a serious one and demands attention. Through some false notions, said to have been inculcated among the natives by the church authorities on the islands, they are not permitted to intermarry if there is between them the remotest degree of consanguinity, and even the relation of godfather or godmother is held to be sufficient to prevent a union. As the regulations prevent any male person from going to the islands to reside permanently, there is a dearth of young men, and the young women are more apt to find husbands elsewhere. The number of natives on the islands is gradually diminished and each year laborers are taken there for the season from Unalaska and vicinity. It is understood that residence upon the Pribilof group of islands is considered by the Aleuts to be very desirable and to insure a comparatively comfortable existence, which they do not always have in other parts of Alaska. You will, therefore, take into consideration the proposition to recruit the permanent inhabitants of the islands of St. Paul and St. George by placing upon them next year a small number (ten or twenty) of young men, or transferring to these islands several families in which are a number of young men. It is thought that there will be no trouble in finding suitable persons willing to go there, and it may well be to canvass the matter among the people now living upon the islands and devise some way of making the selection. Care should of course be taken not to add to the number of sick or infirm persons already there, but the bringing of men from the Aleutian chain to remain for the season only has a demoralizing effect, both upon them and upon the permanent residents of the islands.⁶⁸

William Williams responded, at least through his annual reports, regarding many of the directives in the Secretary's letter.

The care and welfare of the natives and the obligations of the North American Commercial Company . . . to these people are subjects to which I have given careful attention. The supplies provided by the company for the last year and kept on sale at the company's stores were of good, substantial quality, and were sold at very reasonable prices. I note one exception to the above statement, and that is the price . . . charged for coal--\$33.60 per ton. I deem this to be exorbitant, and see no good reason why the natives should be charged any more than the price paid for coal furnished the Government house, to wit, \$15 per ton. The question of sufficient fuel on the islands is a serious one, and demands careful consideration by the Department. The lessees are required, under their lease, to furnish 80 tons of coal, and this, with what driftwood can be secured and the blubber taken from seals during the killing season, is expected to provide fuel sufficient for about 60 families in a climate where it is necessary to have a fire every day in the year. The driftwood is very hard to secure, of limited supply, very poor in quality, and in most cases is thrown upon the shores miles from the villages. They have no means of transporting it except on their backs or on hand sleds drawn over the crusted snow in midwinter. The blubber is stored in barrels and boxes for winter supply, and in a short time becomes rancid, the stench arising from its use permeates every part of their dwellings, and is unhealthy, sickening, and disgusting. Other fuel should be substituted, even if it has to be done at the expense of the Government.

Under Department instructions of May 21 last . . . I increased the amount of coal from 80 to 160 tons, giving 100 tons to natives on St. Paul and 60 tons to natives on St. George Islands. This, with what other fuel they have on hand, will make them fairly comfortable for the winter. I would recommend hereafter [that] arrangements be made by which the inhabitants on St. George shall have 100 and on St. Paul 200 tons of coal. This would require 220 tons to be furnished by the Government in addition to the 80 tons furnished by the company, and would give 5 tons to each family.⁶⁹

Williams argued in his 1891 and 1892 annual reports to the Secretary of the Treasury that the education of the Native children paid for by the lessees was wholly inadequate.

Especial attention is invited to the schools on the seal islands. They have been in operation over twenty years, and yet they have not succeeded in teaching a pupil to read or write a sentence in the English language. Schools in charge of good, competent teachers, who

have other qualifications than those of being bookkeepers or seal clubbers, should be insisted upon by the Department, and the school season should be changed from the short, cold, dark, and blustering days of winter, when, on account of the inclemency of the weather, the school has to be discontinued for days at a time, to the more pleasant months of summer. Radical changes are absolutely necessary in these respects if it is the desire of our Government to civilize, educate, and improve this people. That these people are quick to learn and susceptible to rapid improvement is demonstrated in the charity school at Unalaska, conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Tuck. Six of the most promising orphans on the islands were sent there in September, 1890, and I found on visiting the school this year that they could talk the English language quite fluently and read and write quite intelligently. The teachers as well as the physicians should be employees of the Government. . . .⁷⁰

The lessees complied with their contract and furnished teachers for the length of time required, but so far as producing favorable results is concerned it was a waste of time and money, and so it will be as long as the present condition exists. When the time arrives that these children can be placed under faithful Christian teachers who will teach them habits of industry and morality, and under these conditions the blessing of home and home life, then may we look for gratifying results, but not before. A practical demonstration of this is to be seen at the native school at Unalaska presided over by Mr. and Mrs. Tuck.⁷¹

The native priests can neither speak nor write a word of English, and it would seem as if the Greek Church was opposed to that language being spoken on these islands, for they persist in sending priests to the islands who can speak the Russian language only. While there is no disposition on my part to interfere with religious worship, I submit the suggestion that the authorities of the Greek Church be required to send to the islands only such priests as are capable of conducting their church services in the English language.⁷²

Education for the islands' children, especially in regard to their learning English, would be a concern for a long time.

In the past they have been cared for very much as an animal would be cared for by its owner. Their physical necessities have been in the main fairly well supplied, but their moral, social, and civil rights have been wholly ignored, and they have been treated more like beasts of burden and slaves than as American citizens. Had a policy of kindness to the native man and protection to his wife and daughter been pursued in the past we would, no doubt, find them much further advanced in civilization and a much more healthy and useful people; and while there has been considerable improvement in many respects during the last year over what it must have been but a short time previous, still there is need of a decided stand to be taken by the Government, [against] who [ever] is insubordinate or who violates the laws of decency, or in any way interferes with the civil rights of the natives. I find these people civil, obedient, kind, and easily governed, and any system of labor or government which tends to degrade their family relations or takes away or destroys their rights as American citizens ought not to be tolerated.⁷³

Williams also responded to Secretary Foster's expression of concern over depopulation and the islands' workforce.

The gradual decrease of population on the islands of St. George and St. Paul is a subject to which I have given careful consideration. Owing to the limited catch this year and the unfavorable opportunity for those already upon the islands to earn enough to support themselves, I did not deem it advisable to encourage immigration.

One of the customs of the church authorities on these islands is to prohibit any of its followers to intermarry if there is the remotest degree of consanguinity, and even the [relationship] of godfather or godmother is held to be sufficient to prevent a union.

Consequently I found most of the young people on the islands, of suitable age, prevented from marrying on account of relationship. Hygienic and sanitary laws, religious customs, and civil privileges, all enter into this question, and require good judgment in arriving

at a wise conclusion. I conferred with the natives on the subject and suggested certain conditions whereby permanent residents might be brought upon the islands, and it apparently met their approval, but it further developed the fact that the practice of bringing people from Unalaska or any other place to work during the sealing season has a demoralizing effect upon the native inhabitants and should never be permitted under any circumstances.⁷⁴

David Starr Jordan quoted Williams on the direct effects of pelagic sealing:

Mr. Williams and his assistants reached the conclusion, true beyond all question, that "the seals were decreasing very rapidly, and that the cause of their decrease was pelagic or deep-sea hunting." "I am convinced," he says, "that the conclusion arrived at is the correct one, and any attempt to make it appear to be due to other causes is not warranted by the facts."

The many subsequent investigations have only confirmed this just conclusion, and it is the essential fact in the whole fur-seal controversy. It is, moreover, one which every British discussion of the subject, of whatever grade, has persistently avoided.⁷⁵

In the spring of 1892, during Williams' tenure, the Bering Sea Arbitration Hearings were in progress and the United States Treasury was gathering documentation to support its case before the hearing committees in Paris. Joseph Stanley-Brown had been assigned as Special Treasury Agent, with Clerk Assistant Harry D. Chichester, to compile maps, photographs, and other data for government authorities in Washington. Williams' role was to administer oaths, using his authority under section 1976, Revised Statutes of the United States, and to collect testimonials from certain people on St. Paul Island. On May 30, 1892, he began gathering information.

I called the oldest and most prominent men together and explained how their affidavits should be made, and the necessity that they should tell the whole truth and only the truth as they know the facts. Simeon and Antone Meliviedoff (sic) very kindly agreed to assist in the work of taking affidavits.⁷⁶

Williams deposed the following people on St. Paul Island (all spellings of names are as written by William Williams): Kerrick Artomanoff, Native Chief of St. Paul Island; Milton Barnes, special employee of the U.S. Treasury; Karp Buterin, Head Chief in charge of seal drives; John Fratis, resident and employee of the North American Commercial Company (NACC); Aggie Kushin, assistant priest and employee of NACC; Jacob Kotchooten, Native sealer; Nicoli Krukoff, Native employee of NACC; Anton and Simeon Melovedoff; Neon Mandregin; Apollon Borudakaffsky; J. C. Redpath; C. L. Fowler; and J. C. S. Akerly. Portions of some of their testimonials are presented throughout this book.

- 1 U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications 1795–1905, NARA, RG 59, microfilm publ. M1372, passport no. 5290, issued Apr. 1, 1878, and passport no. 7143, issued Feb. 10, 1896 (George Wardman); U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications 1906–1925, NARA, RG 59, microfilm publication M1490, no. 52407, issued Mar. 6, 1915 (Mary V. Wardman); George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, vol. 4 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1915), 420; Family Group Record, “William Wardman,” Family Search International Genealogical Index v5.0, http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/search/IGI/family_group_record; U.S. Census, 1880–1910, George Wardman; Utah State Archives, “George Wardman, defendant,” Salt Lake County Probate Court, Salt Lake City, UT, series 373, reel 22, case 222, July 3, 1873–July 12, 1873; Dumas Malone, “Ervin Wardman,” in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1964), vol 10, 445–6; San Francisco, CA, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at San Francisco 1893–1957, NARA, RG 085, microfilm M1410, arrival Apr. 21, 1926, SS *President Lincoln*, no. 101; State of California Death Index, 1940–1997, George Benjamin Wardman and Emily Wringrose Wardman, Ancestry.com; and State of California Dept. of Public Health, Vital Records, Wardman, George, Death Record no. 14-11091.
- 2 Norman D. Weis, *Ghost Towns of the Northwest* (Caldwell, ID: Caston, 1988), 167–74.
- 3 Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 420.
- 4 Marion McMillan Huseas, *Sweetwater Gold: Wyoming’s Gold Rush, 1867–1871* (Cheyenne, WY: Cheyenne Corral of Westerners International, 1991), 91; and Wardman Bros. advertisement, *South Pass News*, Apr. 9, 1870.
- 5 Weis, *Ghost Towns of the Northwest*, 198–9.
- 6 South Pass City Lode, Wyoming Mine Claims Carter County Book 19, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, WY, 34.
- 7 Huseas, *Sweetwater Gold*, 91.
- 8 Ervin Wardman’s Idaho House is now (2008) called the Sherlock Hotel. It is an American Historic Building at the South Pass City State Historic Site, and it was reconstructed in 1970–71. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), WY-48, “Historic American Engineering Record,” <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>; Huseas, *Sweetwater Gold*, 91; and “Prospecting Notice,” *South Pass News*, Sept. 27, 1870.
- 9 Taft Alfred Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed., revised (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1978), 72 n7.
- 10 Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, City Directories, Senator John Heinz Research Center, Pittsburgh, PA, verification of George Wardman’s work in Pittsburgh by Heinz Res. Ctr. Assistant Librarian Richard Price to Betty Lindsay, Dec. 17, 2007.
- 11 U.S. Census, 1900.
- 12 “Deaths, Funerals” (George Benjamin Wardman), *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 3, 1951; and “Mrs. Emily Wardman, Obituary,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1958.
- 13 U.S. Census, 1880, Cleveland, Ohio, 102; Sarah H. Killikelly, *The History of Pittsburgh: Its Rise And Progress* (Pittsburgh, PA: B. C. and Gordon Montgomery, 1906), 495; U.S. Census, 1900, Eddy, New Mexico, 12; and U.S. Census, 1910, Long Beach, Ward 4, Los Angeles County, CA, 210.
- 14 W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism, Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2001), 5.
- 15 Marquis, *Who Was Who In America*, vol. 1, 1897–1942 (Chicago, IL: Marquis, 1968), 1299. John Ervin Wardman published the first comic strip in color, “Hogan’s Alley,” with a street urchin in a yellow nightgown drawn by Richard Felton Outcault; “Death of Outcault,” *Time Magazine*, Oct. 8, 1928, 30–31.
- 16 “Abuses in Alaska,” *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1888, 3.
- 17 George Wardman spelled the islands as “Pryvolof” in his 1883 article “The Seal Islands of Alaska,” *The Overland Monthly* 2, no. 7: 28–32.
- 18 George Wardman, *A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative* (San Francisco: Samuel Carson, 1884), 2.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 109–18.
- 20 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*, vol. 3, 177–8.
- 21 “Lenker, Althouse, Loos, Doney, Herrington, Scott, Washburn,” Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (accessed Feb. 23, 2006); Family Group Record, Ancestral File, http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/AF/family_group_record (accessed Sep. 29, 2003); and <http://www.familysearch.org/>

- Eng/Search/Census/household_record (accessed Sep. 29, 2003).
- 22 "Lenker, Althouse, Loos, Doney, Herrington, Scott, Washburn," Ancestry World Tree at Ancestry.com (accessed Feb. 23, 2006); and "Washburn Family in America," Rootsweb, at Ancestry.com (accessed Sept. 23, 2006).
 - 23 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 154–5.
 - 24 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 23, 1900, 462.
 - 25 U.S. Census, 1850, New London, CT, NARA, microfilm roll M432, box 49, 143; U.S. Census, 1860, New London, CT, NARA, microfilm roll M653 box 89, 261; U.S. Census, 1880, San Francisco, CA, 8th Ward, NARA, microfilm roll T9, box 75, 329A; U.S. Census, St. George Island, Southern Supervisors District, AK, NARA, microfilm roll T623, box 1832, ED 23, 5A; U.S. Census, 1900, San Francisco, CA, NARA, microfilm roll T623, box 105, vol. 33, ED 186, 8; U.S. Census, 1920, San Francisco, CA, NARA, microfilm roll T625, box 142, ED 319, 16A; U.S. Census, 1920, Oakland, CA, NARA, microfilm roll T625, box 90, ED101, 1B; and State of California Dept. of Health Services, California Death Index, 1940–1997, San Francisco, George Payne Webster, May 19, 1953, Ancestry.com (accessed June 10, 2009).
 - 26 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1898), vol. 2, 103.
 - 27 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 179.
 - 28 "Robert Owen Decker, Connecticut Whaling, Central Connecticut State University," 1–6, <http://www.cthum.org/encyclopedia/topicalsurveys/whaling.htm> (accessed Feb. 16, 2009).
 - 29 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, "Oral Argument of Regulations by Sir Charles Russell, A.C.M.P., Her Britannic Majesty's Attorney-General, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration" (Washington: GPO, 1895), vol 14, 239.
 - 30 U.S. Congress, House, *Investigation of the Fur-Seal*.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, 209.
 - 32 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, June 23, 1900, 462.
 - 33 Carl M. Hoverson, Agent's Annual Report ending Mar. 31, 1946, RG 22, NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage; and Pribilof Islands Program Agent's Annual Reports 1929–1963, outline no. 13, Physician's Report, Mar. 31, 1946, 17–21.
 - 34 Archives of Ontario, Registrations of Births and Stillbirths, 1869–1900, MS 929, reel 62, p. 181, no. 267, certificate 038871.
 - 35 Social Security Index, Provo, UT, Ancestry.com (accessed June 22, 2008); and "Ancestors of Barbara Winifred Jenkins," <http://FamilyTreeMaker.genealogy.com> (accessed June 22, 2008).
 - 36 "Obituary," *Times Record* (Troy, NY), June 20, 1960.
 - 37 "Alvin G. Whitney, Forestry Instructor Held on Charge of Sedition," *The Syracuse Herald*, Thursday evening, July 12, 1917, 3. We did not find any direct reference to any report on the fisheries or other natural history subjects by Mr. Whitney. However, the St. Paul Island Agent's Log entry under Sept. 27, 1913 stated, "Several boats out fishing. . . . Good number of halibut, cod and sculpin caught. One native brought in a wolf fish which measured about 3½ feet and weighed perhaps 25 pounds. Mr. Whitney purchased the fish and intends saving it for a specimen as he says there are no records of any of this species of fish being around the island; although some natives state that similar fish have been caught here a few times during the last 20 or more years."
 - 38 "Bureau of Fisheries as a Matrimonial Agency," *The Bessemer Herald* (Bessemer, MI), Sept. 28, 1912, 8.
 - 39 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Oct. 20, 1912.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1912.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, July 20, 1913.
 - 42 "Arrest Five Agents in Alaska Scandal," *New York Times*, July 20, 1914, 1; and "Pribilof Orgies Stir Federal Anger," *New York Times*, July 21, 1914, 10.
 - 43 *Ibid.*
 - 44 The *Adventuress* was named a National Historic Landmark in 1990; as late as 2009 it served as an environmental education sail-training vessel in the Puget Sound region.
 - 45 "Pribilof Orgies," *New York Times*, July 21, 1914, 10.
 - 46 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, Aug. 24–25, 1913.
 - 47 *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1913.
 - 48 *Ibid.*

- 49 "Arrest Five," *New York Times*, July 20, 1914, 1; and "Pribilof Orgies," *New York Times*, July 21, 1914, 10.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ward T. Bower and Henry D. Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1914*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. no. 819, 77; and Bower and Aller, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1915*, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. no. 834, 76–7.
- 54 Edward A. Preble and Waldo L. McAtee, *A Biological Survey of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska*, North American Fauna no. 46, U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey (Washington, DC: GPO, 1923), 3.
- 55 G Dallas Hanna, *A Comparison of Conditions on St. Paul Island during 1913–1920 with the Present* (Belvedere Scientific Fund, 1960), 13, found in the Fur-Seal Archives at the NMML Library, Seattle, WA.
- 56 "Roswell Williams," Family Group Record AFN: 134C-P10, <http://familysearch.org>; "Walzer Family Tree," <http://wc.rootsweb.com>; U.S. Census, Medina County, Lafayette, OH, 1850, 256, Lafayette, 1870, 21, and Chatham, 1880, 13; and State of California, California Death Index, 1940–1997, Los Angeles, Sept. 14, 1957. Additional information about Carl S. Williams derived from U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925; NARA, M1490, Apr. 24, 1922, Annette Pratt Williams, no. 452244; and "Dr. Carl Williams Dies," *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1960, 47. Annette Pratt was the granddaughter of the first chief justice of the California Supreme Court, "Obituary, Mrs. Carl S. Williams," *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1952.
- 57 "Chicago Treasury Agent Dies, Maj. W. H. Williams, Former Member of President Garfield's Regiment, Dead in Oak Park," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Sept. 19, 1909, 2.
- 58 N. B. Northrop, *Pioneer History of Medina County* (Medina, OH: Geo. Redway, 1861), 168.
- 59 U.S. Census, Medina County, Lafayette, OH, 1850, 256, and Chatham, 1860, 211.
- 60 Vicksburg National Military Park, Vicksburg, MS, <http://www.nps.gov/archives/vick/oh/oh42inf.htm> (accessed Jan 10, 2008).
- 61 U.S. Census, 1870, Lafayette, OH, 21.
- 62 U.S. Census, 1880, Chatham, OH, 13.
- 63 "Going to the Sealing Grounds," *New York Times*, May 28, 1891, 1.
- 64 "More Than Was Asked," *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1893, 2.
- 65 "The Great Round World and What is Going On In It," *Great Round World* 2, no. 5 (Feb. 3, 1898), 65. (Note: this was a New York weekly newspaper.)
- 66 Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1897–1957, NARA, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, microfilm year 1904, film T715_500, 101 line 23; U.S. Census, 1910, Philadelphia, PA, 438, and Oakland City, CA, 5A.
- 67 U.S. Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration*, vol. 3, 93–94.
- 68 U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska*, vol. 1, 267–70.
- 69 Ibid., 277.
- 70 Ibid., 278–9.
- 71 Ibid., 309.
- 72 Ibid., 280.
- 73 Ibid., 278.
- 74 Ibid., 280.
- 75 Ibid., 499.
- 76 St. Paul Island Agent's Log, 1892, 469.

BIOGRAPHIES: ADDENDUM

The following abridged biographies were unable to be included in the main sections.

BERGSLAND, KNUT (1914–1998)

Linguist

Biographical Sketch

Active in Aleut linguistics since 1950, Bergsland became a professor at the University of Alaska following his retirement from the University of Oslo in 1981. He worked closely with Unangan people to record, document, and promote Unangam Tunuu. His major works were *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii* (1994), *Aleut Grammar* (1997), and *Ancient Aleut Personal Names* (1998). In addition, he and Moses Dirk edited the Jochelson material collected in 1909–1910 in *Aleut Tales and Narratives* (1990).

Pribilof Islands Experience

Bergsland worked with several Pribilof people on the language, including Gabriel and Xenia Stepetin, Sally Bear, and Tatiana Bendixen. His work introduced a new orthography for the language and helped to standardize spellings.

BLACK, LYDIA (1925–2007)

Historian and Ethnographer

Biographical Sketch

Born in Kiev, Ukraine, Lydia Black immigrated to the United States in 1950. In 1975 she made her first visit to the Aleutian Islands. She eventually became a professor at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Pribilof Islands Experience

Her work as an ethnographer and historian have had a great influence on Unangan art and identity. Among her most important original works are *Aleut Art: Unangam Aguqaadangin* (1982, republished in 2003) and *Russians in Alaska, 1732–1867* (2004). She also translated material from many Russian sources, including works by Venaiminov and Netsvetov.

HOPE, ALICE (1900–1966)

Weaver and Health Provider

Biographical Sketch

Alice Merculief, born at St. Paul, was the daughter of Alexander D. Merculief and Agafia V. Balakshin. After her marriage to Charles Hope, she moved to Unalaska. She was taught how to weave exquisite Aleut baskets by Vassa Prokopiuff of Attu. Alice Hope went on to teach many other weavers. She was a trained midwife who for years provided the only health care at Unalaska.

ROSANOF, PETER (C. 1900)

Early Informant on Aleut place names

Biographical Sketch

Peter Rosanof, described as “a native and long-time resident of the Pribilof Islands, who is fairly familiar with the English as well as the Russian and Aleut languages,” gave G. R. Putnam over 60 geographic names for locations on St. George Island. Putnam, an assistant in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, published the names in 1903 in “Geographic Names in Alaska” as appendix 7 to *Coast and Geodetic Survey Report*.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Bristow. Papers, 1853–1970, 1862–1957. Collection no. 3205, series I. Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY.
- Adams, George R. 1982. *Life on the Yukon 1865–1867*. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.
- Afonsky, Gregory. 1977. *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska (1794–1917)*. Kodiak, AK: St. Herman's Theological Seminary.
- Alaskan Boundary Tribunal of United States and Great Britain. 1904. *Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, Convened at London, Under the Treaty Between the United States of America and Great Britain, Concluded at Washington, January 24, 1903, for the Settlement of Questions Between the Two Countries with Respect to the Boundary Line Between the Territory of Alaska and the British Possessions in North America*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Alaska Geographic Society. 1980. *The Aleutians*. Alaska Geographic Series 7, no. 3.
- . 1982. *Islands of the Seals: The Pribilofs*. Anchorage: Alaska Geographic Society Series 9, no. 3.
- Alekseev, A. I. 1990. *The Destiny of Russian America 1741–1867*. Edited by R. A. Pierce. Translated by Marina Ramsay. Kingston, ON and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press.
- Aleutian Pribilof Island Community Development Association. 2004. *2004 Multi-Species Community Development Quota: Third Quarter Report (public version)*. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian Pribilof Island Community Development Assn.
- . 2005. *2005 Multi-Species Community Development Quota: Second Quarter Report (public version)*. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian Pribilof Island Community Development Assn.
- Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association. 1993. *Making it Right: Restitution for Churches Damaged and Lost during the Aleut Relocation in World War II*. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Assn.
- Alexander, Philip W. 1916. *History of San Mateo County: From the Earliest Times, with a Description of its Resources and Advantages, and the Biographies of its Representative Men*. Burlingame, CA: Press of Burlingame.
- Aller, Henry D. 1911. "The Work of the Marine Biological Station of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries at Beaufort, N.C. during the Year 1910." *Science* 33 (861): 997–1001.

- . 1912. "Notes on the Distribution of the More Common Bivalves of Beaufort, NC." *Science* 36 (August 2): 157–8.
- Allis, Watson Colt. Photo Album and Scrapbook, PCA 397. Alaska and Polar Regions Dept., Archives and Manuscript Unit, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library. Univ. of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- Amherst College. 1927. *Amherst College Biographical Record. Centennial Edition (1821–1921)*. Amherst, MA: Fletcher and Young.
- Andrews, Clarence L. 1938. *The Story of Alaska*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers.
- Andrews, Roy Chapman. 1943. *Under a Lucky Star*. New York: Viking.
- Anon. 1900. "The Late E. J. Phelps." *Harper's Weekly*, March 24.
- . 1931. "Obituary, David Starr Jordan." *Science* 74 (October 2), 327–9.
- . 1986. *These Truths We Hold - The Holy Orthodox Church: Her Life and Teachings*. [Compiled and Edited by A Monk of St. Tikhon's Monastery.] South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press.
- Appleton's. 1889. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1889*. New series, vol. 14. New York: Appleton's.
- Atherton, Gertrude. 1946. *My San Francisco: A Wayward Biography*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Atkins, Barton. 1898. *Modern Antiquities: Comprising Sketches of Early Buffalo and the Great Lakes, Also Sketches of Alaska*. Buffalo, NY: Courier.
- Atkinson, George W. 1890. *Prominent Men of West Virginia*. Vol. 2. Wheeling, WV: W. L. Callin.
- Austin, Oliver L. Jr., and Ford Wilke. 1950. *Japanese Fur Sealing*. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Special Scientific Report, Wildlife 6. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Baird, Spencer F. Papers. Incoming correspondence, 1845–87. RU 7002, box 19, folder 29–30, collection division 3. SIA, Washington, DC.
- Ballenger, Bruce. 1997. "Methods of Memory: On Native American Storytelling." *College English* 59 (7).
- Baltzo, Ann, Stan Baltzo, Dorothy Baltzo, and Howard Baltzo. 1965. "A Family Summer at the Pribilofs." *Alaska Sportsman*, November.
- Baltzo, C. Howard. 1963. *Living and Working Conditions of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska*. U.S. Fisheries Leaflet 548. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1963. "Program for Administration of the Pribilof Island Federal Reservation Embracing Management of the Fur Seal Resources and Development of the Resident Aleut Inhabitants." Fur Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.

- Bancroft, Frederic. 1900.** *The Life of William H. Seward*. Vol. 2. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. 1886.** *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*. Vol. 33, *The History of Alaska, 1730–1885*. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft.
- Bauman, Beth Hughers, and Dorothy J. Jackman. 1978.** *Burleigh County: Prairie Trails to Hi-Ways*. Dallas, TX: Taylor.
- Beach, Rex. 1945.** *The World in His Arms*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Beckwith, H. W. 1880.** *History of Vigo and Parke Counties*. Chicago: H. H. Hill.
- Belden, A. L. 1917.** *The Fur Trade of America*. New York: Peltries.
- Bell, Ernest A. 1909.** *War on the White Slave Trade*. Chicago: Charles C. Thompson.
- Bergsland, Knut. 1959.** *Aleut Dialects of Atka and Attu*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Ser. 49 (3). Philadelphia, PA American Philosophical Society.
- . **1994.** *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, Univ. of Alaska.
- . **1997.** *Aleut Grammar: Unangam Tunuganaan Achixaasiġ*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, Univ. of Alaska.
- , ed. **1998.** *Ancient Aleut Personal Names: Kadaangim Asangin/Asangis, Materials from the Billings Expedition 1790–1792*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, Univ. of Alaska.
- Berkh, Vasilii N. 1974.** *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands or the Exploits of Russian Merchants: With a Supplement of Historical Data on the Fur Trade*. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. Translated by Dmitri Krenov. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press. Originally published as *Khronologicheskaiia istoriia otkrytiia Aleutskikh ostrovov, ili podvigi Rossiiskogo kupechestva*. (St. Petersburg: N. Grech, 1823).
- Bersey, John. 1900.** *Cyclopedia of Michigan: Historical and Biographical Synopsis of General History of the State and Biographical Sketches of Men who Have in Their Various Spheres Contributed Toward its Development*. NY and Detroit, MI: Western Publishing & Engraving.
- Bingham, S. D. 1888.** *Early History of Michigan with Biographies of State Officers, Members of Congress, Judges and Legislators, Published Pursuant to Act 59, 1887*. Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godrey.
- Biographical Review. 1895.** *Biographical Review: This Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of the Leading Citizens of Livingston and Wyoming Counties, New York*. Boston: Biographical Review.
- Black, Lydia T. 1982.** *Aleut Art, Unangam Aguqaadangin*. Anchorage, Alaska: Aleutian/Pribilof Island Association] (second ed. published by The Donning Company Publishers in 2003).

- . 2004. *Russians in Alaska: 1732–1867*. Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska Press.
- Blackmar, Frank W., ed. 1912. *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History*. Vol. 1. Chicago: Standard.
- Blomkvist, E. E. 1972. "A Russian Scientific Expedition to California and Alaska, 1839–1849: The Drawings of I. G. Voznesenskii." Translated by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 73 (2): 101–70.
- Blond, Georges. 1951. *The Plunderers*. Translated by Frances Frenaye. New York: Macmillan.
- Bolkhovitnov, Nikolai N. 1996. *Russian-American Relations and the Sale of Alaska 1834–1867*. Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press.
- Boston Biographical Review. 1897. *Biographical Review Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Plymouth County, Massachusetts*. Vol. 18. Boston: Biographical Review.
- Bower, Ward T. 1919. *Alaska Fishery and Fur Industries in 1918*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 872. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1920. *Alaska Fishery and Fur Industries in 1919*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 891. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1921. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1920*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 909. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1922. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1921*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 933. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1923. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1922*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 951. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1925. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1923*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 973. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1925. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1924*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 992. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1926. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1925*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 1008. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1927. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1926*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 1023. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1928. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1927*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 1040. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1929. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1928*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 1064. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1930. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1929*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 1086. Washington, DC: GPO.

- . 1931. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1930*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1932. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1931*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1933. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1932*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1934. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1933*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1935. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1934*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 19. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1936. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1935*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 23. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1937. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1936*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 28. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1938. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1937*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 31. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1940. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1938*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 36. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1941. *Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1939*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Administrative Rep. 40. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1942. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1940." *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Statistical Digest* 2. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1943. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1941." *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Statistical Digest* 5. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1944. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1942." *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Statistical Digest* 8. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1946. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1944." *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Statistical Digest* 13. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1948. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1945." *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Statistical Digest* 15. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Bower, Ward T., and Henry D. Aller.** 1915. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1914*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 819. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1917. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1915*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 834. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1917. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1916*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 838. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1918. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1917*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 847. Washington, DC: GPO.

- Bowman, Willard L.** Papers, 1952–1979. Univ. of Alaska Library Archives, Anchorage.
- Bowman, Willard L., Roy Peratrovich, Howard Rock, James C. Rettie, and Hugh J. Wade.** 1965. *Economic and Social Conditions on the Pribilof Islands: A Report by Special Commission Appointed by the Governor of Alaska.* Juneau, AK.
- Brady, John G.** 1901–5. *Report of the Governor of the District of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior.* Washington, DC: GPO.
- Brainard, W. F.** 1911. *Who's Who in New York City and State: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporaries.* Fifth biennial edition. New York: W. F. Brainard.
- Brechin, Gray.** 1999. *Imperial San Francisco.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Bristow, B. H.** 1876. Treasury Secretary B. H. Bristow to Senator P. W. Hitchcock, January 15, 1876. Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868–1903. RG 22, microfilm M720, roll 3, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. NARA.
- Bryant, Charles.** 1870. "On the habits of the Northern Fur Seal (*Callorhinus ursinus* Gray), with a Description of the Pribyloff Group of Islands." *Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College in Cambridge* 2 (1): 89–108.
- . 1890. "On the Fur Seal Islands." *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, April.
- Buchanan, L. M.** 1929. "History of the Fur-Seal Industry of the Pribilof Islands." Master's thesis, Univ. of Washington, Seattle.
- Buescher, Craig, Mary Buescher, Jock Hubbell, Jean Hubbell, George Peter, and Dorothy Skalka.** n.d. *Deweese Centennial 1886–1986.* Lawrence, NE: Ostiek.
- Busch, Briton Cooper.** 1985. *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press.
- Butler, Margaret Manor.** 1949. *The Lakewood Story.* New York: Stratford House.
- Buynitzky, Stephen Nestor.** 1871. *English-Aleutian Vocabulary.* Sail [San] Francisco: Alta California Book and Job Printing House. [A copy is located at Loussac Library, Anchorage, AK]
- Byington, Lewis Francis, ed.** 1931. *The History of San Francisco.* Chicago: S. J. Clarke.
- Cabot, C. E.** 1895. "A Chapter of Alaska." *New England Magazine* 11, no. 5 (January): 588–96.
- California Academy of Sciences.** 1954. "George Haley, 1870–1954." *Academy News Letter* 173 (May).
- Callahan, James Morton.** 1967. *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations.* NY: Cooper Square.

- Campbell, Charles S. Jr. 1967. "The Anglo-American Crisis in the Bering Sea, 1890–1891." In Sherwood, ed., *Alaska and its History*, 315–40.
- Campbell, W. Joseph. 2001. *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Association. 2004. *Community Development Plan (CDP) for 2003–2005 Multi-Species Community Development Quota (CDQ) Program: Third Quarter Report 2004*. St. Paul Island, AK: Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Assn.
- . 2005. *Community Development Plan (CDP) for 2003–2005 Multi-Species Community Development Quota (CDQ) Program: Third Quarter Report 2005*. St. Paul Island, AK: Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Assn.
- Chambers, John Whiteclay, II. 1980. "Andrews, Roy Chapman." In Garraty, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography. Supplement Six, 1956–1960*.
- City of Baltimore. 1892. *Guide to Baltimore*. Baltimore: J. Murphy.
- Clark, George A. "Guide to the fur seal controversy papers, 1892–1969." Collection no. M118. Special Collections. Stanford Univ., CA.
- Cocke, Albert. 1974. "Dr. Samuel J. Call." *Alaska Journal* 4 (3): 181–8.
- Cohen, Felix S. 1945. *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Colyer, Vincent. 1869. *Report of the Hon. Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner, on the Indian Tribes and their Surroundings in Alaska Territory, from Personal Observation and Inspection in 1869*. File 19633B. Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley. Also in U.S. Congress, House, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior Concerning Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska*, 1870.
- Coues, Elliott. 1875. "The Ornithology of the Pribylov Islands." In Elliott, *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska*, 168–212.
- . 1903. *Key to North American Birds*. 5th ed. 2 vols. Boston: Dana Estes.
- . Papers. RU 7177, box 2, folder 39. SIA, Washington, DC.
- Cox, Allan, David M. Hopkins, and G. Brent Dalrymple. 1966. "Geomagnetic Polarity Epochs: Pribilof Islands, Alaska." *Geological Society of America Bulletin* 77 (9): 883–909.
- Crossen, K. J., D. R. Yesner, D. W. Veltre, and R. W. Graham. 2005. "5,700-year-old Mammoth Remains from the Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Last Outpost of North American Megafauna." Presented at the annual meeting of the Geological Society of America, Salt Lake City, UT. *Abstracts with Programs* 37 (7): 463.
- Crowley, Joseph B., and Joseph Murray. 1894. "Letter to Secretary of Treasury, J. G. Carlisle, April 26, 1894." U.S. Congress. House. 53rd Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 207. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal*

Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto. Vol. 4

Culbertson, Richard K. Richard G. and Mary S. Culbertson Papers, 1924–1931. MS 4-22-9. Alaska State Library Historical Collections, Juneau.

Curry, James C. Papers. Box 137–141. National Anthropological Archives. Suitland, MD.

Cutter, William Richard, ed. 1914. *New England Families Genealogical Memorial: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of Commonwealths and the Founding of a Nation.* Vol. 3. NY: Lewis Historical.

Dall, William H. 1870. *Alaska and its Resources.* Boston: Lee and Shepard.

———. 1878. “On the Remains of the Later Prehistoric Man Obtained from Caves in the Catherina Archipelago, Alaska Territory, and Especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands.” *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1884. “On Masks, Labrets and Certain Aboriginal Customs with an Inquiry into the Bearing of their Geographic Distribution.” In Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report*, vol. 3, pt. 2. Washington, DC: GPO.

———. Papers, 1839–1927. Correspondence. RU 7073, box 10, folder 10. SIA, Washington, DC.

Daughters of the American Revolution, Michigan Society. 1933. *Michigan Pioneer Experiences 1710–1880 with Genealogical Data and Anecdotes.* Marquette, MI: Marquette Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Davey, Stuart P. 1963. *Reindeer and Their Management on St. Paul Island, Alaska.* U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.

Day, Steven R. 2000. *A Journey into the History of Canada and the United States.* Mukilteo, WA: Steven R. Day.

DeArmond, R. N., ed. 1981. *Lady Franklin Visits Sitka, Alaska 1870: The Journal of Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's Niece.* Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society.

Desmond, Alice Curtis. 1944. *The Sea Cats.* New York: Macmillan.

Dmytryshyn, Basil, and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, eds. 1979. *The End of Russian America: Captain P. N. Golovin's Last Report, 1862.* Portland: Oregon Historical Society.

Dmytryshyn, Basil, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Thomas Vaughan, eds. 1988. *Russian Penetration of the North Pacific Ocean, 1700–1799.* Vol. 2, *To Siberia and Russian America.* Portland: Oregon Historical Press.

- Donald, David Herbert. 1960. *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- du Bellet, Louise Pecquet. 1907. *Some Prominent Virginia Families*. Vol. 4. Lynchburg, VA: J. B. Bell.
- Dundes, Alan. 1966. "The American Concepts of Folklore." *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3 (3).
- Dunn, Robert. 1906. "Alaska, the Seal-Warder [sic], and the Japanese Raiders." *Harper's Weekly* 50 (May).
- Dyson, George. 1986. *Baidarka: The Kayak*. Anchorage, Alaska: Alaska Northwest Books.
- Elliott, Clark A. 1996. *History of Science in the United States: A Chronology and Research Guide*. New York: Garland.
- Elliott, Franklin Reuben. 1854. *Elliott's Fruit Book; or, the American Fruit-Grower's Guide in Orchard and Garden*. New York: C. M. Saxton.
- Elliott, Henry Wood. 1873. *Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska*. Washington, DC: GPO. unpaginated. [Preble and McAtee (1923, 123) cited Elliott's 1873 report as "Elliott, Henry Wood, and Elliott Coues. 1874. *Report on the Pribilov Group or Seal Islands of Alaska*, by Henry W. Elliott, assistant agent, Treasury Department. Published by Treas. Dept.; 129 p. (not numbered) 2 maps, 45 pls.; in appendix is an article entitled 'Ornithology of the Pribilov Islands, by Dr. Elliott Coues, U. S. A. (based on Mr. H. W. Elliott's manuscript and collections)' . . . Bears date of 1873 on title page, and 1875 on cover, but was issued early in 1874." Preble and McAtee's assertion that Elliot's 1873 publication was printed in 1875 or 1874 without illustrations could not be substantiated. However, the authors have examined a hardcover version of *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* with "1874" printed on the cover spine, but with a cover page dated "1875" and without illustrations. No version of this document could be found that included illustrations.]
- . 1875. *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska*. Washington, DC: GPO. [See preceeding reference for additional insight; an unpaginated version of *A Report Upon the Conditions of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska* was published in 1874 without illustrations. Preble and McAtee (1923, 123) described this report by H. W. Elliott and Elliott Coues as being reprinted in 1874 without illustrations and unpaginated. As with the preceeding reference, the authors have not seen an illustrated version of the 1875 report. Also, see Scheffer et al., 1984, 55.]
- . 1878. "Leo Marinus, The Sea-King." *Scribner's Monthly*, October.

- . **n.d. [1880?].** *The Seal Islands of Alaska*. Washington, DC: GPO. [Includes a letter of transmittal from Elliott to the Superintendent of the Tenth Census, Francis A. Walker, dated March 31, 1880; possible proof copy.]
- . **1881.** “The History and Present Condition of the Fishery Industries: The Seal Islands of Alaska.” In *Report on the Tenth Census of the United States*. Washington, DC: GPO. Reprinted, with few changes and the same pagination, as U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Special Bulletin 176, 1882; again issued as Misc. Doc. 42, pt. 8. 47th Cong., 2nd sess., 1884, with three other reports and the addition of an index. Also reprinted as *The Seal Islands of Alaska*, Limestone Press, 1976.
- . **1882.** *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or Seal-Islands of Alaska*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . **1882.** *A Monograph of the Seal-Islands of Alaska*. U.S. Fish Commission Special Bulletin 176. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . **1886.** *Our Arctic Province*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
- . **1896.** *Report on the Condition of the Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska, Together with All Maps and Illustrations Accompanying Said Report*. U.S. Congress, House. 54th Cong., 1st sess. H. Doc. 175. Washington, DC: Also in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., 1898. *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*. Vol. 3, 311–560. [Elliott’s letter of transmittal of his report was dated November 17, 1890.]
- . **1976.** *The Seal Islands of Alaska*. City: Limestone Press. Originally printed in 1881 by GPO.
- Elliott, Henry W., and Andrew F. Gallagher. 1913.** *Reports and Exhibits of the Special Agents of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce Upon the Condition of the Fur-Seal Herd of Alaska and the Conduct of the Public Business on the Pribilof Islands, to the Chairman J. H. Roethermel*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Elliott, H. W., and Washburn Maynard. 1898.** “Report by H. W. Elliott and Lieut. W. Maynard, U.S.N., on the Fur-Seal Fisheries, Etc., of the Pribilof Islands, with Comments on Elliott’s and Maynard’s Reports by D. S. Jordan.” In U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 3. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Elliott, Joseph P. 1897.** *A History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County, Indiana*. Evansville, IN: Keller.
- Ellis, Franklin Ellis. 1870.** *History of Genesee County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*. Philadelphia: Everts & Abbott.
- Ellsworth, Lyman R. 1952.** *Guys on Ice*. New York: David McKay.
- Enckell, Maria Jarlsdotter. 2004.** “Commonly Known Finnish and Baltic Names Found in the Index to Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths in the Archives

- of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska 1816–1866.” Godenhjelm Project. Sitka Lutheran Church, Sitka, AK.
- Ennis, William H. 1868.** “Reminiscence of Cruise of the *Caldera*,” in Ennis’ Journals and Letters: ms and ALS [1865–1869]. Library manuscript MS662. 14 pp. California Historical Society, San Francisco, CA.
- Erskine, Wilson Fiske. 1962.** “Captain Niebaum of Alaska.” *Explorers Journal* 49 (3): 5–12.
- Erwin, Marie H. 1946.** *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal & Political History, Wyoming 1868–1943*. Denver: Bradford-Robinson. Reprint (1974) edited by Virginia C. Trenholm.
- Essig, E. O., Adele Ogden, and Clarence John DuFour. 1991.** *Fort Ross, California Outpost of Russian Alaska 1812–1841*. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press.
- Euneau, H. 1965.** “Sealing Report (December 22, 1965).” Fur-Seal Archives, under the subheading Education. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Evans, Stephen H. 1949.** *The United States Coast Guard, 1790–1915: A Definitive History (With a Postscript, 1915–1950)*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
- Evermann, Barton Warren. 1912.** *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1911*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 766. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1913. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1912*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 780. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1914. *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1913. Appendix 2 to the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries for 1913*. U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 797. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Falconer, Samuel.** Naturalization records, filed Burleigh County, North Dakota, April 12, 1883. State Historical Society of North Dakota. North Dakota Heritage Center, Bismarck.
- Farrar, Victor John. 1966.** *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States*. New York: Russell and Russell.
- Fedorova, Svetlana G. 1971.** *Russkoye Naseleniye Alaski i Kalifornii: Konetz XVIII veka-1867 god* [The Russian Population in Alaska and California: The End of the Eighteenth Century–1867]. Moscow: Izd. Nauka.
- . 1973. *The Russian Population in Alaska and California: Late 18th Century–1867*. Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly. Materials for the Study of Alaska History no. 4. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press. 376 p., illus., maps.

- Flannery, Tim. 2001.** *The Eternal Frontier: An Ecological History of North America and its Peoples*. New York: Atlantic Monthly.
- Foote, Don C., Victor Fischer, and George W. Rogers. 1968.** *St. Paul Community Study: An Economic and Social Analysis of St. Paul, Pribilof Islands, Alaska*. College, AK: Univ. of Alaska Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research.
- Forbes, Alan. 1918.** *Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston; Being a Collection of Sketches of Notable Men and Mercantile Houses Prominent During the Early Half of the Nineteenth Century in the Commerce and Shipping of Boston*. Boston: State Street Trust.
- Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. 1935.** "General Eli Lundy Huggins." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13 (3): 255–65.
- Foster, John W. 1909.** *Diplomatic Memoirs*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Frechin, Donald P. 1951.** "The Lepidopterists' News." *Journal of the Lepidopterists' Society* 5 (6–7): 66.
- Friborg, Arnold E. 1895.** "Memoirs of Saint George (Scrap Book) 1935–36." [Photocopy in possession of the author.]
- . 1936. "Annual Medical Report of St. George Island, Alaska (April 6)." Letter to the Commissioner of Fisheries through the Superintendent. Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Garfield, Brian. 1995.** *The Thousand Mile War: World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians*. Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska Press.
- Garraty, John A., ed. 1980.** *Dictionary of American Biography. Supplement Six, 1956–1960*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Gay, James Thomas. 1973.** "Henry W. Elliott: Crusading Conservationist." *Alaska Journal* 3 (4): 211–6.
- Geoghegan, Richard Henry, and Fredericka I. Martin. 1944.** *The Aleut Language: The Elements of Aleut Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Basic Vocabularies of Aleut and English*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Glenn, James R. 1991.** "The Sound Recordings of John P. Harrington." *Anthropological Linguistics* 33 (4): 357–66.
- Golla, Victor. 1991.** "John P. Harrington and His Legacy." *Anthropological Linguistics* (33) 4: 337–49.
- Golovin, Pavel Nikolaevich. 1979.** *The End of Russian America: Captain P. N. Golovin's Last Report*. Translated, and with introduction and notes by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughn. Portland: Oregon Historical Society.

- . 1983. *Civil and Savage Encounters*. Translated and edited by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan. Portland: Oregon Historical Society. Originally published as “Iz putevykh pisem.” In *Morskoi Shornik* [Naval Anthology] 66 (5): 101–82 and 66 (6): 275–340.
- Gosnell, Harpur Allen. 1937. *Before the Mast in the Clippers: Composed in Large Part of the Diaries of Charles A. Abbey Kept While at Sea in the Years 1856 to 1860*. New York: Derrydale.
- Graburn, Nelson H. H., Molly Lee, and Jean-Loup Rousselot. 1996. *Catalogue Raisonné of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Graham, Judith. 1994. *Current Biography Yearbook 1994*. New York: H. W. Wilson.
- Grainger, Percy Aldridge. 1996. *Lukannon*. Music, with words by Rudyard Kipling. Realized by Barry Peter Ould. Bardic edition BD0619. London: Percy Grainger Society/Estate.
- Grandson, Oscar H. 1931. “Agent’s Annual Report.” Submitted to the Commissioner of Fisheries (April 17). Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Greely, Andrew Washington. 1909. *Handbook of Alaska: Its Resources, Products, and Attractions*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
- Grinnell, George Bird. 1994. *Alaska 1899: Essays from the Harriman Expedition*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Guthrie, R. D. 2004. “Radiocarbon Evidence of Mid-Holocene Mammoths Stranded on an Alaskan Bering Sea Island.” *Nature* 429: 746–9.
- Hall, Andy. 2007. “One f or two?” *Alaska Magazine* 73 (1): 4.
- Hallum, John. 1887. *Biographical and Pictorial History of Arkansas*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons.
- Hanna, G Dallas. 1918. “The Alaskan Fur Seal.” PhD thesis, George Washington Univ., Washington, DC.
- . 1919. “Geological Notes on the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, with an Account of the Fossil Diatoms.” *American Journal of Science* Ser. 4, 48 (September): 216–24.
- . 1923. “Random Notes on Alaska Snow Buntings.” *The Condor* 25, no. 2 (March–April): 60–65.
- . 1923. “Rare Mammals of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska.” *Journal of Mammalogy* 4, no. 4 (November): 209–15.
- . 1960. *A Comparison of Conditions on St. Paul Island During 1913–1920 with the Present*. Belvedere Scientific Fund. [This 24-page, soft-cover paper appears to have been privately published in a limited edition of possibly only two copies, per a suggestion in a cover letter to the document sent

to Victor Scheffer. The authors found this document in the reprint files of the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]

- . 1960. *Random Comparisons of St. Paul Island as Observed by Dr. G Dallas Hanna after an Absence of 40 Years*. August 5. 6 pp. Fur Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA. Unpublished.
- . 2008. *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*. Edited by John A. Lindsay. NOAA. Washington, DC: GPO. [Published in three separate bound editions—buckram, cloth, and leather covers—with a total printing of 750.]
- Harting, J. E. 1875. *The Fauna of the Pribilof Islands*. Abridged from Henry W. Elliott's *Report on the Pribilof Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska*. London: Woodfall and Kinder. [Reprinted from the Natural History Columns of *The Field* for private circulation.]
- Harvard University Press. 1913. *Harvard University Alumni Directory*. Boston: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Haycox, Stephen. 2002. *Alaska, An American Colony*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Hays, Alice N. 1952. *David Starr Jordan, a Bibliography of His Writings, 1871–1931, with a Personal Appreciation by Robert E. Swain*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.
- Healy, M. A. 1889. *Report of the Cruise of the Revenue Marine Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean in the Year 1884*. Washington, DC: GPO. Also published under separate cover as *The Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fiftieth Congress, 1887–88*. Vol. 19. U.S. Congress, House. Washington, DC: GPO, 1890.]
- Heeney, Canon Bertal, ed. 1920. *Leaders of the Canadian Church*. Vol. 2, *Robert McDonald*. Toronto: Musson.
- Her Majesty's Stationary Office. 1893. *Counter-Case Presented on the Part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to the Tribunal of Arbitration Constituted under Article I of the Treaty Concluded at Washington on the 29th February, 1892, between Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America*. No. 3. London: Harrison and Sons.
- Herringshaw, Mae Felts. 1916. *Herringshaw's City Blue Book of Biography: Chicagoans of 1916, Ten Thousand Biographies*. Chicago: Clark J. Herringshaw.
- Hinckley, Ted C. 1972. *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867–1897*. Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books.
- Hoagland, Alison, K. 1997. "Russian Churches, American Houses, Aleut People: Converging Cultures in the Pribilof Islands." In *Images of an American*

- Land*, edited by Thomas Carter, 129–49. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press.
- Holbo, Paul S. 1983.** *Tarnished Expansion: The Alaska Scandal, the Press, and Congress, 1867–1871*. Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press.
- Holm, Theo. 1920.** “James M. Macoun.” *The Botanical Gazette* (Chicago, Ill.) 70: 240.
- Holmes, Thomas, Horace Carpenter, and Samuel G. Ives. 1881.** *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan*. Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman.
- Honcharenko, Agapius.** Publisher, *Alaska Herald*, 1867–73 (San Francisco, CA).
Collection and scrapbook. Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley.
- Hope, Harriet. 1988.** “The Aleuts’ Russian Heritage.” *Alaska* 54 (10): 35, 65, 68, 71, 73.
- Hopkins, David M. 1966.** “Reports: Pleistocene Glaciation on St. George, Pribilof Islands.” *Science* (April): 343–45.
- Hornaday, William T. 1931.** *Thirty Years War for Wildlife: Gains and Losses in the Thankless Task*. Congressional edition. Stamford, CT: Gillespie Bros.
- Howay, F. W. 1914.** *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*. Vol. 2. Chicago: S. J. Clarke.
- Howes, Joshua Crowell. 1892.** *Genealogy of the Howes Family in America*. Yarmouth, MA: F. Hallett.
- Howes, Osborne Jr. 1870.** “The Fur Seal Fishery in Alaska.” In *Old and New*. Vol. 1. Boston: H. O. Houghton.
- Hudson, Ray, ed. 1986.** *People of the Aleutian Islands*. Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History no. 196. Unalaska, AK: Unalaska City School District.
- Hudson, Raymond L. 2007.** *Family After All: Alaska’s Jesse Lee Home*. Vol. 1, *Unalaska, 1889–1925*. Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch Press.
- Huggins, Eli Lundy. 1981.** *Kodiak and Afognak Life, 1868–1870*. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.
- . Papers, 1862–1929. Manuscript 81/51c, box 1. Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley. [Letters also at Oklahoma Historical Society Collection, Oklahoma City].
- Hunt, G. L. Jr., and G. V. Byrd Jr. 1999.** “Marine Bird Populations and Carrying Capacity of the Eastern Bering Sea.” In *Dynamics of the Bering Sea*, edited by T. R. Loughlin and K. Ohtani, 631–50. Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska Sea Grant.
- Hurd, Roy H.** “Pribilof Management Report for August 1967.” Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.
- Huseas, Marion McMillan. 1991.** *Sweetwater Gold: Wyoming’s Gold Rush, 1867–1871*. Cheyenne, WY: Cheyenne Corral of Westerners International.

- Hutchinson, John W. 1896.** *Story of the Hutchinsons: Tribe of Jesse*. Boston: Lee and Shepard.
- Jackson, Sheldon. 1896.** "Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska with Maps and Illustrations, 1895." In *Seal and Salmon fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*. Vol. 3, Washington, DC: GPO. [See U.S. Congress. Senate. 54th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 111.]
- . 1898. "Report on Education in Alaska, 1885-1895 (Decennial Review of Education in Alaska, 1885-1895)." In *Seal and Salmon fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*. Vol. 3, Washington, DC: GPO. [See U.S. Congress. Senate. 54th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 111.]
- . Papers. "Finding Aide to Record Group 239, Background Notes." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society.
- Jacobsen, Johan Adrian. 1977.** *Alaskan Voyage 1881-1883: An Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America*. Translated by Erna Gunther from the German text of Adrian Woldt. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- James, James Alton. 1942.** *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska*. Chicago: Northwestern Univ. Press.
- Jefferson County Historical Society.** History of U.S. Revenue Cutter *Rush* with description card and photographs. Bert Kellogg, #1697, box B, folder 2. Port Townsend, WA.
- Jeffery, Edmond C. 1955.** *Alaska: Who's Here, What's Doing, Who's Doing It, 1955*. Anchorage, AK: Jeffery.
- Jeffries, N. L. 1870.** "Letter dated January 25, 1870, from Jeffries, attorney for the Alaska Commercial Company, to Hon. Nathan F. Dixon, chairman of the House Committee on Commerce, relative to the affairs on the Pribilof Islands." In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, Vol. 1.
- Jensen, Ronald. 1975.** *The Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Jochelson, Waldemar. 1933.** *History, Ethnography and Anthropology of the Aleut*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute.
- . 1990. *Unangam Ungiikangin Kayux Tunusangin: Unangam Uniikangis Ama Tunuzangis: Aleut Tales and Narratives, Collected 1909-1910 by Waldemar Jochelson*. Edited by Knut Bergsland and Moses L. Dirks. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, Univ. of Alaska.
- John, Betty. 1955.** *Seloe, The Story of a Fur Seal*. Cleveland: World.
- . 1987. *Libby: The Sketches, Letters and Journal of Libby Beaman, Recorded in the Pribilof Islands, 1879-1880*. Tulsa, OK: Council Oak Books.

- Johnson, Allen, ed. 1977.** *Dictionary of American Biography. Supplement 5, 1951–1955.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Johnson, Luther B. 1949.** *Eighty Years of It 1869–1949.* Randolph, VT: Haggett.
- Johnson, Rossiter, and John Howard Brown, eds. 1904.** *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans: Brief Biographies of Authors, Administrators, Clergymen, Commanders, Editors, Engineers, Jurists, Merchants, Officials, Philanthropists, Scientists, Statesmen, and Others Who Are Making American History.* Boston, MA: Biographical Society.
- Johnston, Edward C. 1943.** A Report on Pribilof Island Conditions in 1943. RG 22, box 38, records 1923–69. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. NARA.
- Johnston, Edward. 1950.** "Lepidoptera of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska." *The Lepidopterists' News* 4 (3): 27–30.
- Johnston, Samuel P. 1940.** *Alaska Commercial Company 1868–1940: A More or Less Documented History, Evidenced by Papers from Governmental Files and Books; By Old Letters from Company Files; By Newspaper Articles; By Memories of Officials and Employes [sic] of Long Standing.* City unknown: Edwin E. Watcher, printer. [Found in the reprint files of the Library of National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]
- Jones, Dorothy Knee. 1980.** *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule.* Washington, DC: Univ. Press of America.
- Jones, Dorothy M., and John R. Wood. 1975.** *An Aleut Bibliography.* Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research.
- Jones, Ernest Lester. 1915.** *Report of Alaska Investigations in 1914.* U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Jordan, David Starr. 1896.** "Observations on the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands (Preliminary Report)." In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, Vol. 6.
- . 1897. *Matka and Kotik.* San Francisco: Whitaker and Ray.
- . 1898. "Observations on the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands (2nd Preliminary Report)." In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries, Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*, Vol. 6.
- , ed. 1898. *The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean.* 4 pts. U.S. Treasury Department Doc. 2017. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1922. *The Days of a Man.* 2 vols. Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book.
- . Papers. RU 7176, box 4, folder 4, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. SIA, Washington, DC.

- Karr, Heywood Walter. 1887.** *Shores and Alps of Alaska*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, Rivington.
- Kenyon, Karl W.** "Official Memorandum. March 14, 1956, St. Paul Island, AK, to Dr. Robert C. Miller, Director California Academy of Sciences." Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Khlebnikov, Kiril Timofeevich. 1994.** *Notes on Russian America*. Parts 2–5, *Kad'iak, Unalashka, Atkha, The Pribylovs*. Edited by Richard Pierce and translated by Marina Ramsay. Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press.
- Killey, Gwen L. 1988.** "Opening the Door to Alaska: The Cruises of the Revenue Cutter *Thomas Corwin*." *Naval History Magazine* 2 (4): 23–27.
- Killikelly, Sarah H. 1906.** *The History of Pittsburgh: Its Rise And Progress*. Pittsburgh, PA: B. C. and Gordon Montgomery.
- Kincaid, Trevor. 1901.** "Harriman Alaska Expedition." *Mazama* 2 (April): 70–74.
- King, Robert E. 1994.** "The Pribilof Islands in the 1870s: The Stereo-Photographs of Dr. Hugh H. McIntyre." *Alaska History* 9 (1): 38–45.
- . 1994. "The Pribilof Islands in 1871: The Story of Mrs. Hugh H. McIntyre and Her Remarkable Letters." Paper presented at the 21st annual meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association. Historical Anthropology Session, Juneau, AK.
- . 1998. "More than the Murder on Kodiak: The McIntyre Family in Alaska, 1868–1890's." Paper presented to the Kodiak Historical Society, Kodiak, AK.
- Kingsbury, George W. 1915.** *History of Dakota Territory*. Vol. 5. Chicago: J. J. Clark.
- Kipling, Rudyard. 1894.** "The White Seal." In *The Jungle Book*. London: Macmillan.
- . 1894. "Lukannon." In *The Jungle Book*. Macmillan: London. [Composer Percy Grainger (1882–1961) set the words of Lukannon to music, December 1898.]
- . 1896. "The Rhyme of the Three Sealers." In *The Seven Seas*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Kirtland, John C., and David Coffin Jr. 1981.** *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II*. 8 vols. plus master index. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association.
- Kitaysky, A. S., E. V. Kitaiskaia, J. F. Piatt, and J. C. Wingfield. 2006.** "A Mechanistic Link between Chick Diet and Decline in Seabirds?" *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* 273 (1585): 445–50.
- Kitchener, Lois Delano. 1954.** *Flag Over the North*. Seattle: Superior.
- Kohlhoff, Dean. 1995.** *When the Wind Was a River*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Kolpan, Steven. 1999.** *A Sense of Place*. New York: Routledge.

- Krasheninnikov, S. P. 1962.** *The History of Kamtschatka and the Kurilski Islands, with the Countries Adjacent*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. Originally published as *Opisanie Zemli Kamtschatki sotschennoja* (St. Petersburg, 1754). A second revised edition was published in English, translated by James Grieve (Gloucester: R. Raikes).
- Krause, Aurel. 1956.** *The Tlingit Indians*. Translated by Erna Gunther. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press. Originally published as *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, 1885.
- Kubijovye, Volodymyr, ed. 1988.** "The Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, 1832–1916." In *An Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto.
- Lain, B. D. 1976.** "The Decline of Russian America's Colonial Society." *Western Historical Quarterly* 7 (2): 143–53.
- Laird, Carabeth. 1975.** *Encounter with an Angry God*. Banning, CA: Malki Museum.
- Landis, Arthur. 1967.** *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade*. New York: Citadel.
- Langdon, Steve J. 2002.** *The Native People of Alaska*. 4th ed. Anchorage, AK: Greatland Graphics.
- Langsdorff, Georg Heinrich von. 1993.** *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage around the World from 1803–1807*. Vols. 1–2. Translated by Victoria Joan Moessner and edited by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press. 471 p., illus., map. Originally published as *Bemerkungen aus einer Reise um die Welt* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Friedrich Williams, 1812).
- Lantis, Margaret. 1950.** "The Reindeer Industry in Alaska." *Arctic* 3, 27–44.
- , ed. 1970. *Ethnohistory in Southwestern Alaska and Southern Yukon: Method and Content*. Studies in Anthropology 7. Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky.
- Laughlin, William S. 1980.** *Aleuts: Survivors of the Bering Land Bridge*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.
- Lee, Molly. 1998.** "The Alaska Commercial Company." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 89 (2): 59–64.
- Leonard, Mary Hall. 1899.** "Old Rochester and Her Daughter Towns." *New England Magazine*, July.
- Lewis Publishing Company. 1891.** *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California*. Chicago: Lewis.
- Library of Congress. 1859.** "Journal of the House of Representatives, 1859–1860." Vol 56. [While this volume lists 1859 as its publication date, this book incorporates proceedings through April 13, 1860.]
- Lincoln, William Ensign. 1930.** *Some Descendants of Stephen Lincoln*. (NY: Knickerbocker).

- Lindsay, Betty A., and John A. Lindsay. 2009. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*. NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 18.
- Lindsay, John A., Gina Rappaport, and Betty A. Lindsay. 2009. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Guide to Photographs and Illustrations*. NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 20.
- Lindsay, John A., and Karla Sclater. 2009. *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: An Annotated Bibliography*. NOAA Tech. Memo. NOS ORR 22.
- Lipke, John W. 1937. "Report of the Agent and Caretaker St. Paul Island, Alaska, March 31." Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Lucey, William Leo. 1957. *The Catholic Church in Maine*. Frankestown, NH: Marshall Jones.
- Macoun, J. M. 1897. "The Fur Seal of the North Pacific." *Transactions of Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society* 1: 63–74.
- Malloy, Mary Gordon, and Marian W. Jacobs. 1986. *Genealogical Abstracts, Montgomery County Sentinel, 1855–1899*, Rockville, MD: Montgomery County Historical Society.
- Malone, Dumas. 1964. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. 10. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Mankovich, Eugene. 1940. "Annual Medical Report, St. George, Alaska (April 1)." Addressed to Commissioner of Fisheries, Washington, DC. Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Marine Mammal Resources Program. 1970. "Annual Report of Sealing Operation 1970, Pribilof Islands, Alaska." Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Marquis. 1968. *Who Was Who In America*. Vol. 1, 1897–1942. Chicago, IL: Marquis.
- Marshall, Edison. 1927. *The Far Call*. New York: Cosmopolitan Book. Second ed. published 1928 (New York: J. J. Little and Ives).
- Marston, Nathan Washington. 1888. *The Marston Genealogy*. Lubec, ME.
- Martin, Fredericka. 1946. *The Hunting of the Silver Fleece*. New York: Greenberg.
- . 1960. *Sea Bears: The Story of the Fur Seal*. Philadelphia: Chilton.
- . Papers Collection. Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Univ. of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- Maryland Historical Society. 1976. *The Hillandaler*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.
- Mason, Ronald J. 2000. "Archaeology and Native North American Oral Traditions." *American Antiquity* 65 (2): 239–66.

- Mattison, David. 1985. *Camera Workers: The British Columbia, Alaska & Yukon Photographic Directory, 1858–1950*. Victoria, BC: Camera Workers Press.
- Maynard, Richard. Notebooks and Letters, July 1–August 23, 1892. British Columbia Archives Index Guide Room, Victoria, BC.
- Maynard, Washburn. 1874. "The Fur-Seal Fisheries." In *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, vol. 3. [See U.S. Congress. House. 44th Cong., 1st sess. H. Ex. Doc. 43. Washington, DC: GPO, 1876.]
- McCullough, J. G., ed. 1901. *Orations and Essays of Edward John Phelps, Diplomat and Statesman*. New York: Harper and Bros.
- McGeown, Mary G. ca. 1980. "John Macoun: Botanist and Explorer from Maralin." *Review, Journal of the Craigavon Historical Society* 4 (2): 7–11.
- McIntire, Robert Harry. 1949. *The MacINTRYE, McINTYRE and McINTIRE Clan of Scotland, Ireland, Canada and New England*. Norfolk, VA: self published.
- McIntyre, Emma Jane. "Life in the Pribilof Islands." Letter to her mother Julia A. Baker. Original at Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley. Copy of original in manuscript file MS26, Alaska State Library Archives, Juneau.
- McIntyre, H. H. 1870. "Letter." In U.S. Congress, House, *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*. [See 44th Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 83, 25.]
- McIntyre, William J. "Letter to Dr. W. H. Dall, Coast Survey." Box 13, folder 37, corresponding letter. SIA, Washington, DC.
- . 1875. "Letter by William J. McIntyre." In U.S. Department of the Treasury. Special Agents Division. *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*. Vol. 1, 76–7.
- McMillin, L. C. 1936. "Agent's Annual Report, St. George Island, Alaska, March 31." Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.
- Mendenhall, Thomas A. 1912. *History, Correspondence and Pedigrees of the Mendenhalls of England, The United States and Africa, Relative to Their Common Origin and Ancestry*. Greenville, OH: Chas. R. Kemble.
- Mendenhall, T. C., and C. H. Merriam. 1892. "Report of the U.S. Bering Sea Commissioners, June 30, 1892." In U.S. Congress, Senate, *Fur-Seal Arbitration, Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration, Convened at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the Determination of Questions Between the Two Governments Concerning the Jurisdictional Rights of the United States in the Waters of Bering Sea*, Vol. 2, 311–96. [See 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., Ex. Doc. 177.]
- Merriam, C. Hart. 1927. "Wm. Healey Dall." *Science*, April 8.

- Merriam, C. Hart, and J. N. Rose. 1892.** "Plants of the Pribilof Islands, Bering Sea." *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington* 7: 133–50.
- Merrill, Marlene Deahl. 2005.** *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871: Earliest Descriptions and Images from the Field*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press.
- Miller, David Hunter. 1981.** *The Alaska Treaty*. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.
- Miller, Robert C. 1962.** G Dallas Hanna. *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences* 32 (1): 1–40.
- Moore, John Trotwood. 1923.** *Tennessee: The Volunteer State, 1769–1923*. Vol. 2. Chicago: S. J. Clarke.
- Morgan, Murray. 1947.** *Bridge to Russia: Those Amazing Aleutians*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Morris, Lisa Marie. 2001.** "Keeper of the Seal: The Art of Henry Wood Elliott and the Salvation of the Alaska Fur Seals." PhD diss., Univ. of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- Morris, William Gouverneur. 1878.** "Report on the Customs District, Public Service, and Resources of Alaska (November 25)." U.S. Congress, Senate, 45th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 59. In U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, pt. 4.
- Munroe, Eugene. 1950.** "The Occurrence of a Butterfly in the Pribilof Islands." *The Lepidopterists' News* 4 (4–5): 44.
- Munroe, Kirk. 1894.** *The Fur-Seal's Tooth*. New York: Harper and Bros.
- Murphy, John Francis. 1968.** "Cutter Captain: The Life and Times of John C. Cantwell." PhD diss., Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Murray, Marti. 1997.** *Memory Eternal I: A Baseline Inventory of the Burials Surrounding the Holy Ascension Cathedral at Unalaska, Alaska*. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust.
- Murray, Peter. 1988.** *The Vagabond Fleet*. Victoria, BC: Sono Nis.
- Naske, Claus M. 1979.** *Edward Lewis "Bob" Bartlett of Alaska: A Life in Politics*. Fairbanks: Univ. of Alaska Press.
- The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*. 1947.** Vol. 33. New York: James T. White.
- Nelson, Henry Loomis. 1896.** "The Passing of the Fur-Seal." *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* 92, no. 549 (February): 463.
- Netsvetov, Iakov. 1980.** *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years, 1828–1844*. Translated with an introduction and supplementary material by Lydia T. Black. Materials for the Study of Alaska History, no. 16. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.

- Nichols, Jeannette Paddock. 1924.** *Alaska: a History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During Its First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States.* Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark.
- Nickerson and Cox. 1895.** *The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph, Vermont.* Randolph, VT: Nickerson and Cox.
- Niebaum, Gustave.** Sealing in Alaska. Original handwritten notes of 1883–5 about his Alaska experiences. Manuscript collection, PK32, PK38. Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley.
- Noble, Denis L. 1991.** *Alaska and Hawaii: A Brief History of U.S. Coast Guard Operations.* Washington, DC: GPO.
- Northrop, N. B. 1861.** *Pioneer History of Medina County.* Medina, OH: Geo. Redway.
- O'Hara, Doug. 2005.** A Puzzle in the Pribilofs. *Smithsonian*, March.
- Okun, S. B. 1951.** *The Russian-American Company.* Translated by Carl Ginsburg. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Oleksa, Michael J. 1990.** "The Creoles and Their Contributions to the Development of Alaska." In Smith and Barnett, eds., *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, 185–95. Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society
- . 1992. *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission.* Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Olin, K-G. 1998.** "The Cabin Boy who became a Multimillionaire." 2 pts. *The Swedish Finn Historical Society Quarterly* 7 (1): 12–5 and 7 (2): 44–6.
- Orbach, Michael K., and Beverly Holmes. 1982.** "The Pribilof Island Aleuts: Tentative Players in a Hybrid Economy." Center for Coastal Marine Studies, Univ. of California, Santa Cruz. [Located in the reprint files of the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle.]
- Orth, Donald J. 1967.** *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names.* Geological Survey Paper 567. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Osborn, Sannie Kenton. 1997.** "Death in the Daily Life of the Ross Colony: Mortuary Behavior in Frontier Russian America." PhD diss., Univ. of Milwaukee.
- Osgood, Wilfred H. 1941.** "New Habitat Group Shows Seals at Uncle Sam's Fur Farm in Alaska." *Field Museum News* 12 (1): 1–2.
- Osgood, Wilfred H., Edward A. Preble, and George H. Parker. 1914.** "The fur seals and other life of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, in 1914." *Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries* 34. Washington, DC: GPO. [Also in U.S. Congress, Senate, 1915. 63rd Cong., 3rd sess. S. Docs. 820 and 980.]
- Palmer, General Friend. 1906.** *Early Days in Detroit.* Detroit, MI: Hunt & June.
- Palmer, T. S. 1951.** "In Memoriam: Theodore Nicholas Gill." *The Auk: A Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 32, no. 4 (Oct. 1915).

- Parker, George Howard. 1946.** *The World Expands*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Parkhurst, Richard. 1941.** *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port, 1630–1940*. Boston: B. Humphries.
- Pendleton, Catherine L. 2008.** “Changes in Aleut House Construction in the Russian Period: Evidence from the Zapadni Site, St. Paul Island, Alaska.” MA thesis, Univ. of Alaska, Anchorage.
- Perrault, Robert B. 1976.** “One Piece in the Great American Mosaic: The Franco-Americans of New England.” *Le Canado-Américain* 2 (2).
- Peterson, H. A. 1928.** “Agent’s Annual Report.” Submitted to the Commissioner of Fisheries, April 10. Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- Petroff, Ivan. 1884.** “Report on the population, industries, and resources of Alaska.” U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, DC: GPO. In *Report of the 10th Census*, vol. 8. [Also issued as U.S. Congress, House, 47th Cong., 2nd sess., Misc. Doc. 42, pt. 8, cf. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, 1079; and as Senate, 45th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 59, as included in U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, pt. 4, 165–450. According to Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, 26, a preliminary version of the 1880 census was published in 1881, but the final document was not published until 1884.]
- Phelps, Edward John. 1901.** *Orations and Essays of Edward John Phelps, Diplomat and Statesman*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Pierce, Richard A., trans. 1984.** *The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors Communications Sent in 1818*. Kingston, ON, and Fairbanks, AK: Limestone Press.
- . 1990. *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.
- Poland, Henry. 1892.** *Fur Bearing Animals in Nature and Commerce*. London, UK: Gurney and Jackson.
- Powell, William Henry. 1893.** *Officers of the Army and Navy (Volunteer) Who Served in the Civil War*. Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly.
- Preble, Edward A., and W. L. McAtee. 1923.** *North American Fauna, No. 46. A Biological Survey of the Pribilof Islands, Alaska. I. Birds and Mammals. II. Insects, Arachnids and Chilopods*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Biological Survey.
- Pribilof Islands Collection.** Elmer E. Rasmuson Library. Univ. of Alaska Archives, Fairbanks.

- Prowse, D. W. 1895. *History of Newfoundland From the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records*. London: Macmillan.
- Putnam, G. R. 1903. "Geographic Names in Alaska: Native Names for Localities on St. George Island, Bering Sea." *Coast and Geodetic Survey Report*. U.S. Congress, Senate. 5th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Doc. 200, 23: 1011–16.
- Raines, Rebecca Robbins. 1996. *Getting the Message Through: A Branch History of the U.S. Army Signal Corps*. Center of Military History, U.S. Army Historical Series. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Ramsdell, George A. 1901. *The History of Milford*. Concord, NH: Rumford.
- Ransom, M. A. 1964. *Sea of the Bear: Journal of a Voyage to Alaska and the Arctic, 1921*. Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute.
- Ray, Clayton Edward. 1971. "Polar Bear and Mammoth on the Pribilof Islands." *Arctic* 24, no. 1 (March): 9–18.
- Renner, H. M., and R. J. Howard. 2003. *Population Trends of Ledge-Nesting Seabirds in the Pribilof Islands, Alaska, 1976–2002*. Homer, AK: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Alaska Maritime National Refuge.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. 1907. "The Fur-Seal Fisheries." *Metropolitan Magazine*, March, 687–98.
- Sanborn, Colin Campbell. 1948. "Wilfred Hudson Osgood: 1875–1947." *Journal of Mammalogy* 29 (2): 95–112.
- Sauer, Martin. 1802. *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia: For Ascertaining the Degrees of Latitude and Longitude of the Mouth of The River Kovima, of the Whole Coast of the Tshutski, to East Cape, and of the Islands in the Eastern Ocean, Stretching to the American Coast, Performed . . . by Commodore Joseph Billings, In the Years 1785, & c. to 1794*. London: T. Cadell.
- Scammon, Charles M. 1968. *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America*. New York: Dover.
- Scharf, J. Thomas. 1882. *History of Western Maryland*. 1st ed., vol. 1. Louis H. Everts: Philadelphia.
- Scheffer, Victor B. 1940. "Pribilof Report." Victor Scheffer at the Pribilof Islands Research 1940, 3.A. Fur-Seal Archives. Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Seattle, WA.
- . 1951. "The Rise and Fall of a Reindeer Herd." *Scientific Monthly*, December.
- . 1952. "A Mammoth Tooth from Alaska." *Nature Magazine* 45 (1): 6.
- . 1969. *The Year of the Whale*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1970. *The Little Calf*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1970. *The Year of the Seal*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

- . 1971. *The Seeing Eye*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1974. *A Voice for Wildlife*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1976. *A Natural History of Marine Mammals*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1977. "They Stopped the Press on His Book." *Pacific Discovery* 30 (1): 27–30.
- . 2002. "Dr. Victor B. Scheffer." Oral history interview. Super 16-mm film. May 16. Pribilof Project Office, NOAA/NOS/ORR. Archived at NARA, College Park, MD.
- Scheffer, Victor B., Clifford H. Fiscus, and Ethel I. Todd. 1984. *History of Scientific Study and Management of the Alaskan Fur Seal, Callorhinus ursinus, 1786–1964*. U.S. Dept. Commerce, NOAA Technical Rep. NMFS SSRF-780.
- Schlung, Tyler M., and the Students of Nikolski School, Unmak Island, Alaska. 2002. *Umnak: The People Remember—An Aleutian history*. Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch Press.
- Schmidt, Karl Patterson. 1950. "Wilfred Hudson Osgood." *The Auk* 67, no. 2 (April): 183–9.
- Schutz, John A. 1997. *Legislators of the Massachusetts General Court, 1691–1780: A Biographical Dictionary*. Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press.
- Scott, Teresa L., Kymberly M. Yano, Jason Baker, Marcha H. Rickey, Michelle Eaames, and Charles W. Fowler. 2006. *The Northern Fur Seal (Callorhinus ursinus): A Bibliography*. AFSC Processed Report 2006–05. Seattle, WA: NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory.
- Scribner, Benjamin Franklin. Papers, 1846–1900. Manuscript and Visual Collections Dept. coll. SC1322. William Henry Smith Memorial Library. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.
- . 1847. *Camp Life of a Volunteer: A Campaign in Mexico, or a Glimpse at Life in Camp*. Evansville, IN: J. R. Nunemacher.
- Scribner, Theo. T. 1866. *Indiana's Roll of Honor*. Vol. 2. Indianapolis, IN: A.D. Streight.
- Seal Hunting Industry 1897. Images. Museum of Natural History, Univ. of Iowa.
- Selby, Paul, ed. 1909. *Illinois Historical Crawford County Biographical*. Chicago: Munsell.
- Shalkop, Robert L. 1982. *Henry Wood Elliott 1846–1930: A Retrospective Exhibition*. Anchorage, AK: Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum.
- Shelikhov, Gregorii. 1789. "Letter to Delarov, from Okhotsk, August 30, 1789." In Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian American Company*, vol. 2, 19–20.
- Shepard, Isabel. 1889. *The Cruise of the U.S. Steamer Rush in Behring Sea— Summer of 1889*. San Francisco: Bancroft.

- Sherwood, Morgan B. 1965.** *Exploration of Alaska 1865–1900*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.
- . 1967. *Alaska and Its History*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Shiels, Archie W. 1967.** *The Purchase of Alaska*. College, AK: Univ. of Alaska Press.
- Short, Lisa Marie. 1995.** “Fredericka I. Martin.” MA thesis, Alaska Pacific Univ., Anchorage.
- Sims, Edwin W. 1906.** *Report on the Alaskan Fur-Seal Fisheries*. U.S. Congress. House. 59th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Doc. 251. Washington, DC: GPO.
- Slaymaker, Henry Cochran. 1909.** *History of the Descendants of Mathias Slaymaker*. Lancaster, PA: Slaymaker.
- Sloss, Frank H., and Richard Pierce. 1971.** “The Hutchinson, Kohl Story: A Fresh Look.” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 62 (1): 1–6.
- Sloss, Louis. 1887.** *Reply of the Alaska Commercial Company to the Charges of Governor Alfred P. Swineford of Alaska Against the Company in His Annual Report for the Year 1887*. San Francisco: S. W. Raveley.
- Smith, Barbara Sweetland. 2007.** *The Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul on Saint Paul Island, Pribilof Islands: A History 1821–2001*. Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust.
- . 2007. *The Church of the Holy Great Martyr Saint George The Victorious on St. George Island, Pribilof Islands: A History 1833–1998*. Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust.
- Smith, Barbara Sweetland, and Redmond J. Barnett, eds. 1990.** *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*. Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society.
- Smith, Barbara Sweetland, and Patricia J. Petrivelli. 1994.** *A Sure Foundation: Aleut Churches in World War II*. Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association.
- Smith, G. Wayne. 1959.** *Nathan Goff Jr.: A Biography*. Charleston, WV: Education Foundation.
- Smith, Harlan I. 1920.** “James M. Macoun.” *Science*, new series, 51 (1324): 478–80.
- Smith, Hugh M. 1911.** “Making the Fur Seal Abundant.” *National Geographic Magazine*, December, 1139–65.
- Smith, Joseph P., ed. 1898.** *History of the Republican Party in Ohio*. Vol. 1. Chicago: Lewis.
- Snow, H. J. 1910.** *In Forbidden Seas: Recollections of Sea-Otter Hunting in the Kurils*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Solovjova, Katerina G., and Aleksandra A. Vovnyanko. 2002.** *The Fur Rush*. Anchorage, AK: Phenix.
- Stafford, Morgan Hewitt. 1941.** *A Genealogy of the Kidder Family*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle.

- Stanley-Brown, Joseph.** 1971. My Friend Garfield. *American Heritage Magazine* 50 (August).
- Strobridge, Truman R., and Dennis L. Noble.** 1999. *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 1867–1915*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
- Sillman, Eugene Lee.** 2002. “Yellowstone Lake as Seen by Artists.” In *Yellowstone Lake, Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience*, edited by Roger J. Anderson and Roger Harmon, 242–55. Proceedings of 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Great Yellowstone Ecosystem. Mammoth, Yellowstone National Park, Yellowstone Center for Resources and the George Wright Society.
- Slaymaker, Henry Cochran.** 1909. *History of the Descendants of Mathias Slaymaker*. Lancaster, PA: Slaymaker.
- Speer, Rollo Clayton.** 1938. *Genealogy of the Speers-Spears-Speer Family*. Pocatello, ID: pub. unknown.
- Sumner, Charles.** 1867. “Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the Cession of Russian America to the United States.” Washington, DC: Congressional Globe Office.
- Swineford, A. P.** 1876. “History and Review of the Copper, Iron, Silver, Slate and other Material Interests of the South Shore of Lake Superior.” *Mining Journal* (Marquette, MI).
- . 1887. *Report of the Governor of Alaska*.
- Sylvester, Nathaniel Bartlett.** 1880. *History of Rensselaer County New York*. Philadelphia, PA: Everts & Peck.
- Taber Family Papers.** Charles Bryant letter. MSS36, S-g13, series A, S-51, folder 1. Old Dartmouth Historical Society Library. New Bedford, MA.
- Taggart, Harold F.** 1954. “Journal of William H. Ennis. Member, Russian-American Telegraph Exploring Expedition.” Pts. 1 and 2. *California Historical Society Quarterly* 33 (1): 1–12 and 33 (2): 147–68.
- . 1959. “Sealing on St. George Island, 1868.” *The Pacific Historical Review* 28 (4): 353–60.
- Tanner, Z. L.** 1897. “Deep-Sea Exploration: A General Description of the Steamer Albatross, Her Appliances and Methods.” *Bulletin of the U.S. Fish Commission* 16: 257–428.
- Tarasar, C. J., and John H. Erickson, eds.** 1975. *Orthodox America, 1794–1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America*. Syosett, New York: Orthodox Church in America.
- Tebenkov, M. D.** 1852. *Atlas sieu-zapadaykh beregov Ameriki* [Atlas of the NW Shores of America from Bering Strait to Cape Corrientes and the Aleutian Islands]. St. Petersburg, Russia: pub. unknown.

- Teichmann, Emil. 1963.** *A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868: Being a Diary of the Late Emil Teichmann*. New York: Argosy-Antiquarian. [Reprint in a limited edition of 750 copies from an original private publication of 100 copies in 1925.]
- Thomas, George H. 1869.** "Report of Major General George H. Thomas Relative to Seal Life, Natives, and Military Posts on the Islands of St. Paul and St. George." In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 1.
- Thompson, D'Arcy Wentworth. 1897.** *Report by Professor D'Arcy Thompson on His Mission to the Behring Sea in 1896, Dated March 4, 1897*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. Printed by Harrison and Sons.
- . 1897. *Despatch from Professor D'Arcy Thompson, Forwarding a Report on his Mission to Behring Sea in 1897*. London, UK: Harrison and Sons.
- . 1917. Cambridge: *On Growth and Form*. Cambridge Univ. Press.
- . 1987. *An Index to the Correspondence and Papers of Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson*. University Publications no. 64. St. Andrews, Scotland: St. Andrews Univ. Library.
- Thompson, G. 2005.** *Results of Seabird Monitoring at St. George Island, Alaska in 2005: Summary Appendices*. Homer: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge.
- Thompson, Seton H. 1950.** "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1947." *Fish and Wildlife Service Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Statistical Digest* 20.
- . 1953. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1950." *Fish and Wildlife Service Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Statistical Digest* 29.
- . 1954. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries: 1952." *Fish and Wildlife Service Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Statistical Digest* 33.
- . 1957. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries, 1955." *Fish and Wildlife Service Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Statistical Digest* 40.
- . 1960. "Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries, 1956." *Fish and Wildlife Service Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Statistical Digest* 45.
- Tikhmenev, P. A. 1978.** *A History of The Russian American Company*. Vol. 1. Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- . 1979. *A History of the Russian American Company*. Vol. 2. Edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly. Translated by Dmitri Krenov. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.
- Torrey, Barbara Boyle. 1978.** *Slaves of the Harvest: The Story of the Pribilof Aleuts*. St. Paul Island, AK: Tanadgusix. [The original publication was spiral bound,

whereas the more popular edition was later released in paperback. Page numbers differ between these two formats.]

Townsend, Charles Haskins. 1927. “Old Times with the Birds: Autobiographical.” *The Condor* 29 (5): 224–34.

True, Frederick William. Papers (notebooks and related materials concerning 1895 trip to Pribilof Islands). RU 7181, box 2, series 5. SIA, Washington, DC.

U.S. Army. 2003. *Integrated Natural Resources Management Plan, Fort Richardson, Alaska.*

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1880–1930. Microfilm records. NARA, Washington, DC.

U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. 1964. “Annual report of sealing operations 1964, Pribilof Islands, Alaska.” [This document, labeled “For Administrative Use Only,” was found in the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]

———. 1965. “Annual report of sealing operations 1965, Pribilof Islands, Alaska.” [This document, labeled “For Administrative Use Only,” was found in the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]

———. 1966. “Annual report of sealing operations 1966, Pribilof Islands, Alaska.” [This document, labeled “For Administrative Use Only,” was found in the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]

———. 1968. “Annual report of sealing operations 1968, Pribilof Islands, Alaska.” [This document, labeled “For Administrative Use Only,” was found in the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]

U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. 1913. *Alaska Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto.* Vols. 11–16. Washington, DC: GPO. [This document is a compilation of documents with a table of contents. Pagination is sequential within a specific document but not between successive documents. Volume 11, used for this work, has the date 1913 crossed out and a date of 1929 inscribed.]

U.S. Census Office. 1884. *Tenth Census, 1880.* Washington, DC: GPO. [Also see Petroff, 1884.]

U.S. Congress. House. 1868. “Report of the Secretary of the Treasury by Hugh McCulloch.” 40th Cong., 3rd sess. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe.* Washington, DC.

———. 1868. “Message from the President of the United States in Relation to the Transfer of Territory from Russia to the United States, January 28, 1868.” 40th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 125. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto.* Vol. 1.

- . 1869. "Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in Answer to a Resolution of the House of December 5, Transmitting a Copy of the Report of the Late Special Agent of His Department for Alaska." U.S. Congress. House. 41st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 36. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 1.
- . 1869. "Letter from Frank N. Wicker to Sec. George S. Boutwell, October 25." 41st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 136. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1870. "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior Concerning Fur-Seal Fisheries of Alaska." U.S. Congress, House. 41st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 144.
- . 1876. "A History of the Wrongs of Alaska. An Appeal to the People and Press of America." 44th Cong., 1st sess. H. Ex. Doc. 83 (Jan. 20), 152–71. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*.
- . 1876. *Seal Fisheries in Alaska*. 44th Cong., 1st sess. H. Ex. Doc. 83. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1876. Committee on Ways and Means. *Alaska Commercial Company*. 44th Cong., 1st sess. H. Rep. 623. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1883. *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880), Compiled Pursuant to an Act of Congress Approved August 7, 1882*. 47th Cong., 1st sess. H. Misc. Doc. 64. U.S. Census Office. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1884. "The Alaska Commercial Company." 48th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. 2027. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 2.
- . 1884. "United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Report of the Commissioner for 1883." In *Index to the Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress, 1883–'84*. 40 vols. 48th Cong., 1st sess. Misc. Doc. 67. Pt. 11. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1889. "Report of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives" *The Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska: Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rep. 3883. Washington, DC: GPO. [Also in U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 3.]
- . 1898. "Report on the Seal Islands of Alaska." In U.S. Dept. of the Treasury, Special Agents Div., *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*. Vol. 2. [Also published as U.S. Congress. House. 55th Cong., 1st sess. H. Doc. 92, pts. 1–4.]

- . 1904. Committee of Ways and Means. "Fur Seals of Alaska." *Hearing before the Committee of Ways and Means*. 58th Cong., 2nd sess., Mar. 9. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1906. "Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting a Communication from the Agent in Charge of the Seal Islands and the Late Agent so Said Islands, Calling Attention to the Necessity for an Appropriation for Certain Improvements." 52nd Cong., 2nd sess. H. Ex. Doc. 207. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 4.
- . 1906. "Committee on Claims Recommend Payment of Dr. L.A. Noyes for Services Rendered in the Capacity of a Quasi-Treasury Agent on St. George Island During the Winter of 1886–87." 57th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rep. 3150, 2. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 8.
- . 1911. *Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor on House Resolution 73 to Investigate the Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*. June 28 and July 6, 1911. 62nd Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1911. *Appendix A to Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor on House Resolution no. 73 to Investigate The Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*. June 28 and July 6, 1911. 62nd Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1911. *Seal Islands of Alaska*. 62nd Cong., 1st sess. H. Doc. 93. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1914. *Hearings before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce: Investigation of the Fur-Seal Industry of Alaska*. 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 1. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1997. *Commerce Secretary's Report to Congress on the Pribilof Islands as Required under Public Law 104-91*. Federal Register 62, no. 72 (April 15): 18, 319.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. 1869. *Letter of the Secretary of the Treasury Communications, Reports of Captain Charles Bryant*. 41st Cong., 2nd sess. S. Ex. Doc. 32. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1888. *Alaska Seal and Fur Company. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting the Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska upon the Operations of the Alaska Seal and Fur Company*. 50th Cong., 1st sess. S. Ex. Doc. 297. Washington, DC: GPO.

- . 1889. "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior Transmitting from the Governor of Alaska a Report of the Alaska Seal and Fur Company" [Dec. 10, 1888]. U.S. Congress. Senate. 50th Cong., 2nd sess. S. Ex. Doc. 74. In U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 2.
- . 1890. *Alaska Fur Seal Fisheries*. 51st Cong., 2nd sess. S. Ex. Doc. 49. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1891. *Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting, in Response to a Resolution of the Senate, Reports Concerning the Condition of the Seal Islands of Alaska*. 51st Cong., 2nd sess. S. Ex. Doc. 49. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1895. *Fur-Seal Arbitration. Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris under the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, concluded at Washington February 29, 1892, for the determination of questions between the two governments concerning the jurisdictional rights of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea*. Pts. 1–16. Washington, DC: GPO. [These proceedings have been variously cited, e.g., "U.S. Behring Sea Tribunal of Arbitration," "Paris, Bering Sea Tribunal of Arbitration," "Fur Seal Arbitration," and "Tribunal Of Arbitration, Convened at Paris."]
- . 1896. *Reports of Agents, Officers, and Persons Acting Under the Authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, in Relation to the Condition of Seal Life on the Rookeries of the Pribilof Islands, and to Pelagic Sealing in Bering Sea and the North Pacific Ocean in the Years 1893–5*. 54th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 137, pts. 1–2. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1897. *Revenue from Rental of the Seal Islands of Alaska*. 54th Cong., 2nd sess. S. Doc. 81. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1905. *Alaska Seal Fisheries*. 59th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 98, exhibit 17. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1908. "Letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Transmitting, Pursuant to Senate Resolution, of March 2, 1908, Certain Reports Relating to The Alaskan Seal Fisheries." 60th Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. 376, 29. Washington, DC: GPO. [Also in U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto*. Vol. 15, 12.]
- . 1910. *An Act to protect the seal fisheries of Alaska and for other purposes*. S. 7242. S. Res. 90, 91, 92. 61st Cong., 2nd sess. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . 1910. *Congressional Record*. January 13, 1910, p. 579. Washington, DC: GPO.

- . **Committee on Commerce. 1926.** Witness Henry W. Elliott, June 10. *Hearing on Alaska Fur Seals, Bill no. 69S.3679.* 69th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . **1953.** Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. Vol. 4. 83rd Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: GPO. [This sealed document became available in 2003.]
- U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor. 1906.** *Alaskan Seal Fisheries: Compilation of Documents and Other Printed Matter Relating Thereto.* Vols. 1–10. Washington, DC: GPO.
- U.S. Department of the Interior.** U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. Saint Paul Operations Office, St. Paul, AK. Subject and Decimal Correspondence of the Pribilof Islands Program, 1923–1969. RG 22, boxes 52–61. NARA, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, Alaska. [See <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc>. ARC ID 2848763].
- . **1947.** “Ward T. Bower Retires from Federal Service.” Department of the Interior Information Service. Washington, DC. April 3. [Located in reprint files at the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]
- . **1951.** *Constitution and Bylaws of the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island, Alaska.* Ratified June 12, 1950. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . **1951.** *Corporate Charter of the Aleut Community of St Paul Island, Alaska.* Ratified June 12, 1950. Washington, DC: GPO.
- . **1965.** *Plans for the Pribilof Islands.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Commercial Fisheries.
- U.S. Department of the Treasury.** Pribilof Islands Treasury Agent Log Books for St. Paul Island and St. George Island, 1870–1961. RG 22, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. NARA, Pacific Alaska Region.
- . Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury 1868–1903. Microfilm publication M720, roll 25 miscellaneous records, 1868. RG 22, Fish and Wildlife Service. NARA, Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle, WA.
- . **Special Agents Division. 1898.** *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska.* 4 vols. illus., plates, maps, charts. U.S. Cong., House, 55th Cong. 1st sess. H. Doc. 92. 4 pts. Washington, DC: GPO. [It is important to note that this citation is one of many government publications with confounding citations. Scheffer et al., *History of Scientific Study*, 61, offered the following citation for this reference: “U.S. Congress. House. 1898. Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska. 55th Cong., 1st. sess., Doc. 92, 4 pts.” This important work was authorized in March 1896, by the House, with the Senate concurring, to include “re-

ports, correspondence, charts, maps, and other documents, now on file in the Treasury Department, or other branches of the Government, relating to the fur seal, salmon fisheries, and other matters pertaining to the Territory of Alaska" (pt. 1, p. ii). A full list of the contents will be found in James A. Wickersham's 1927 *A Bibliography of Alaskan Literature 1724–1924*, entry 7655, p. 423. Fairbanks, AK: Agricultural College and School of Miners.]

———. 1899. *Report of The Cruise of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Bear and the Overland Expedition for the Relief of the Whalers in the Arctic Ocean, from November 27, 1897 to September 13, 1898*. Division of Cutter Service Doc. 2101. Washington, D.C.: GPO.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Letter. Statistics of the Killing Grounds. RG 22, location 20. NARA, Anchorage, AK.

University of St. Andrews. 1987. *An Index to the Correspondence and Papers of Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson*. St. Andrews Univ. Pub. 64. Fife, Scotland: St. Andrews Univ.

Van Cleaf, Aaron R. 1906. *History of Pickaway County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Circleville, OH: Biographical Publishing.

Vaughn, Thomas, and Bill Holm. 1990. *Soft Gold*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society.

Veltre, Douglas W. 1990. "Perspectives on Aleut Culture Change during the Russian Period." In Smith and Barnett, eds., *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, 175–183.

———, and **Allen P. McCartney.** 2002. "Russian exploitation of Aleuts and fur seals: The archaeology of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century settlements in the Pribilof Islands, Alaska." *Historical Archaeology* 36 (3): 8–17.

———, and **Mary J. Veltre.** 1987. "The Northern Fur Seal: A Subsistence and Commercial Resource for Aleuts of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, Alaska." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 11 (2): 51–72.

Veniaminov, Ivan. 1834. *Opyt Grammatiki Aleutsko-Lisjevskago Jazyka* [Essay Toward a Grammar of the Fox Island Aleutian Language]. St. Petersburg: Publisher unknown.

———. 1944. *The Aleut Language*. Edited by Fredericka I. Martin. Translated by Richard H. Geoghegan. Washington, DC: GPO. Originally published as *Opyt grammatiki aleutsko-lis'evskago yazyka*. St. Petersburg, 1846.

———. 1984. *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District* [Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago otdeyla]. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. Translated by Lydia T. Black and R. H. Geoghegan. Elmer E. Rasmuson Library Translation Program, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.

- . n.d. "Early History of the Pribilof Islands" [*Zapiski ob ostrovah Unalaskinskago otdeyla*]. Translated by R. H. Geoghegan. [Unpublished manuscript located in reprint file of the Library of NOAA National Marine Mammal Laboratory, Seattle, WA.]
- Ward, Frederick M. 1923.** *Andrew Warde and His Descendants 1597–1910*. New York: A. T. De La Mare.
- Wardman, George. 1883.** "The Seal Islands of Alaska." *The Overland Monthly* 2 (7): 28–32.
- . 1884. *A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative*. San Francisco: Samuel Carson.
- . 1885. "The Fuel of the Future," *Scientific American Supplement* 497 (July 11).
- . 1890. "Folk-Lore Scrap-Book." *Journal of American Folklore* 3 (8).
- Warner, Donald P. 1951.** "Prelude to Populism." *Minnesota Historical Society Journal*, Sept. 1951.
- Webster's Biographical Dictionary: A Dictionary of Names of Noteworthy Persons with Pronunciations and Concise Biographies.* 1943. 1st ed. Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam.
- Weglein, Jessica.** Guide to the Fredericka Martin Papers, 1926–84. Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. New York University, NY.
- Weis, Norman D. 1988.** *Ghost Towns of the Northwest*. Caldwell, ID: Caston.
- Western Biographical Publishing Co. 1883.** *The Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery With An Historical Sketch of the State of Ohio*. Cincinnati: Western Biographical.
- Williams, Gerald O. 1984.** *The Bering Sea Fur Seal Dispute*. Juneau: Alaska Maritime.
- . 1987. "Michael J. Healy and the Alaska Maritime Frontier, 1880–1902." MA thesis, Univ. of Oregon. [Note: the author incorrectly identifies Healy as Michael James Healy rather than Michael Augustine Healy. Inexplicably, the thesis misinterprets several references to Michael A. Healy.]
- Williams, Mary Ann Barnes. 1936.** *Pioneer Days of Washburn, North Dakota*. Washburn, ND: Mary Ann Barnes Williams.
- Willoughby, Barrett. 1940.** *Alaska Holiday*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Willoughby, Malcolm F. 1957.** *The U.S. Coast Guard in World War II*. Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute.
- Winer, G. S. 2001.** "St. Paul Island, Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Geology, Volcanic Evolution, and Volcanic Hazards." Master's thesis, Montana State Univ., Bozeman.
- Winer, G. S., T. C. Feeley, and M. A. Cosca. 2004.** "Basaltic Volcanism in the Bering Sea: Geochronology and Volcanic Evolution of St. Paul Island, Pribilof

Islands, Alaska." *Journal of Vulcanology and Geothermal Research* 134: 277–301.

Wolfe, Robert J. 1982. "Alaska's Great Sickness, 1900: An Epidemic of Measles and Influenza in a Virgin Soil Population." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 126 (2): 91–121.

Woodward, Frank Ernest. 1920. "The Erskine Family of Bristol, Maine, 1847–1924." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 74: 91.

York, Ann. 1985. "Memories—Mark C. Keyes, 1928–1984." *Marine Mammal Science* 1 (2): 186.

Young, Andrew W. 1869. *History of the Town of Warsaw, New York, from its First Settlement to the Present Time: With Numerous Family Sketches and Biographical Notes*. Buffalo, NY: Sage, Sons.

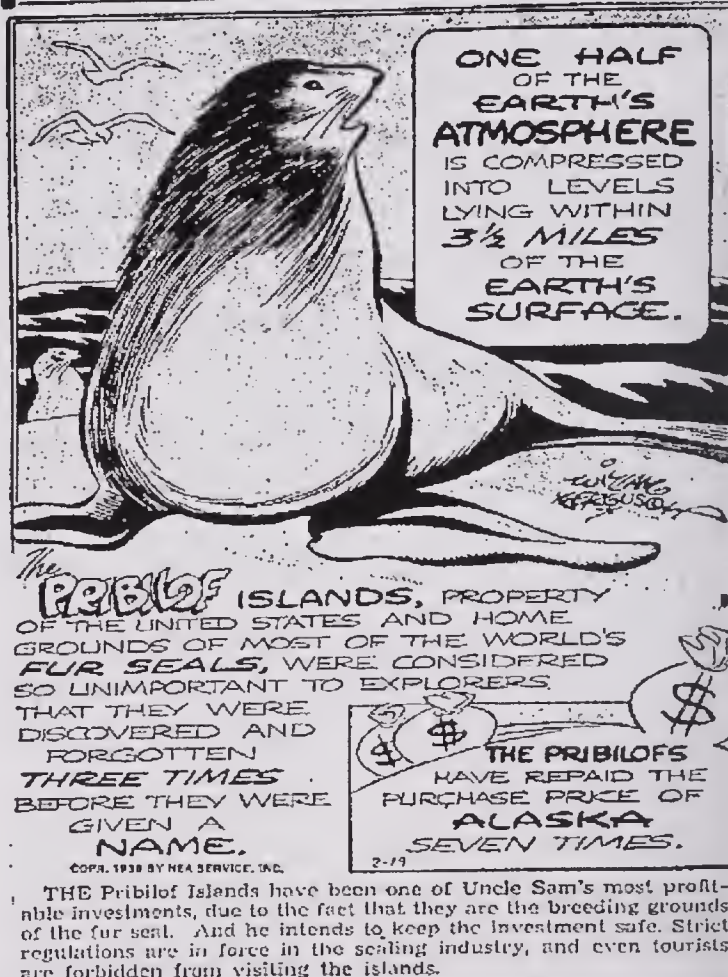
THIS CURIOUS WORLD

BY WILLIAM FERGUSON



THIS CURIOUS WORLD

By William
Ferguson



Left: "This Curious World" by William Ferguson, Ironwood Dailey Globe, Ironwood, MI, Mar. 23, 1937 (p4).

Right: "This Curious World" by William Ferguson, an Editorial cartoon which appeared as a Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA) item on Feb. 18-19, 1938, in: Ironwood Daily Globe, Ironwood, MI (p. 4); Clearfield Progress, Clearfield, PA (p. 3); Modesto Bee Herald News, Modesto, CA (p. 8); Yuma Daily Sun, Yuma, AZ (p. 6).

William Ferguson (1900-1986) was a farm boy from McPherson, Kansas who used humor and wit as a cartoonist to depict the problems facing Midwest farmers and nature within the United States. At age 18 he began art instruction under editorial cartoonist Carey Orr and Carl Ed at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. Ferguson started with the art staff at the Chicago Tribune in 1920, but a decade later, while he was with the NEA Service, his own comic strips appeared in mid-west farm dailies; he lived in Omaha, Nebraska with his wife Mildred Evans Roberts, also from McPherson, Kansas. Ferguson was the creator of Glen Forrest (nature series taken from his life near Colorado's Rocky Mountain National Park); Catesby (gag strip with a nature angle); This Curious World (strange nature-facts feature); The Beekisns (about a farm family, it ran 50 years in farming publication Drover's Journal). "Ferguson was a naturalist and international lecturer for the National Audubon Society . . . He owned some farmland in western Kansas. That kept him in touch with what was important to farmers," said his nephew, retired attorney Ward Ferguson of McPherson, to Laurretta McMillen in 1986. [McMillen, Laurretta, staff writer "Obituaries," Witchita Eagle, Witchita, KS, June 26, 1986, p. 2] Other sources for this Ferguson note: genealogy information from Ward P. Ferguson at <http://www.familysearch.com>; Knoll, Erwin, "New Sunday Page Has Love, Adventure, Nature," Editor & Publisher, Aug. 23, 1952, 44.

APPENDIX



LUKANNON BEACH.

Sand-dune Tracts, east shore of St. Paul's Island—Fur Seals playing in the surf—June 25, 1872.

Lukannon Beach. Sand-dune Tracts, East Shore of St. Paul's Island—Fur Seals Playing in the Surf—June 25, 1872. (*Elliott's depiction of fur seals on Lukanin Beach shows thousands of seals which have not been observed so abundantly in many years.*) Henry Wood Elliott. 1873. Report on the Prybilov Group, or Seal Islands of Alaska. Washington, DC: GPO.

Lukannon

1

Song of the Seal-Rookeries, Aleutian Islands

Words by Rudyard Kipling from
"The White Seal" - The Jungle Book

Percy Aldridge Grainger
realised by Barry Peter Ould

Flowingly, ♩ = c. 64

mp

Voice

1. I met my mates in the morn - ing (and oh, but I am
2. I met my mates in the morn - ing (I'll ne - ver meet them
3. I met my mates in the morn - ing, a bro - ken, scat - tered

Piano

mp

mf

old!) Where roar - ing on the led - - ges the
more!); They came and went in leg - - ions that
band. Men shoot us in the wa - - ter and

mf

mp *p (as if from afar)*

sum - mer ground - swell rolled. I heard them lift the
dar - - kened all the shore. And through the foam - - flecked
club us on the land; Men drive us to the

mp *p*

Copyright © 1997 by Bardic Edition for all countries
All rights reserved

Permission granted by Barry Peter Ould, Bardic Edition/The Percy Grainger Society/Estate Aylesbury,
Buckinghamshire, United Kingdom

cho - rus that drowned the brea - kers' song, The
off - - ing as far as voice could reach, We
Salt House like sil - - ly sheep and tame, And

mp

Beach - es of Lu - - kan - non - two mil - lion voi - ces
hailed the land - ing - - par - ties and sang them up the
still we sing Lu - - kan - non be - fore the seal - ers

mf *slow off*

strong! The song of plea - sant stat - - ions be -
beach. The Beach - es of Lu - kan - - non the
came. Wheel down, wheel down to south - ward! Oh,

p *pp* *Slower, ♩ = 50*

p

side the salt la - goons, — The song of blow - ing squad - rons that
 win - ter wheat so tall — The drip - ping, crin - kled lich - ens, the
 Goo - ver - oo - ska, go! — And tell the Deep - Sea Vice - roys the

pp

shuf - fled down the dunes, — The song of mid - night
 sea - fog drench - ing all! — The plat - forms of our
 sto - ry of our woe! — Ere, emp - ty as the

pp

danc - es that churned the sea to flame — The
 play - ground, all shi - ning smooth and worn! — The
 shark's egg the tem - pest flings a - shore, — The

pp

Verses 1 & 2

Beach - es of Lu - kan - non be - fore the seal - ers came!
Beach - es of Lu - kan - non the home where we were born!

The musical score for Verses 1 & 2 is written in 4/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, a half note C5, a quarter note Bb4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a half note F#4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a bass line with a half note G3, a half note F#3, and a half note E3, all tied across the first two measures. The right hand of the piano part plays a series of chords: G4-Bb4, A4-Bb4, Bb4-C5, and C5-Bb4. The final measure of the piano part features a long, sustained chord of G4-Bb4-C5, marked with a 'long' and 'ppp' (pianissimo) dynamic.

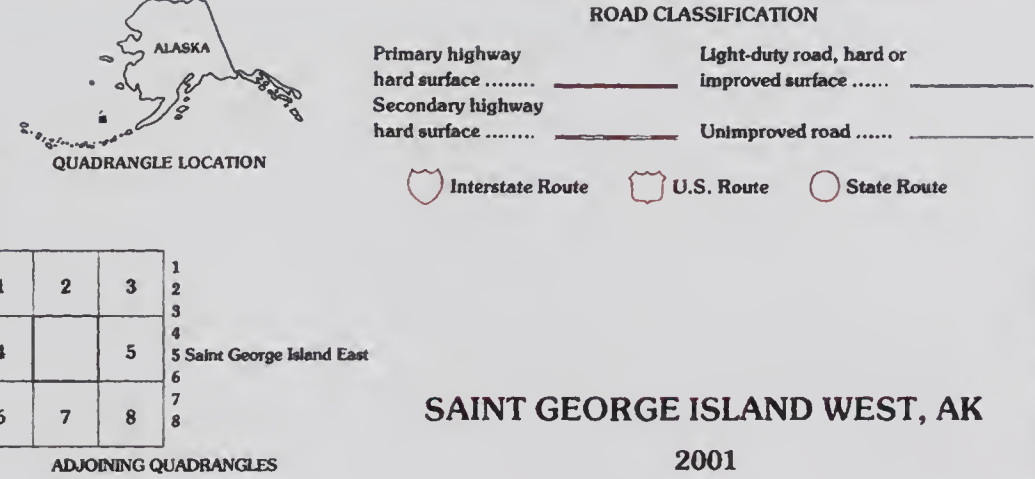
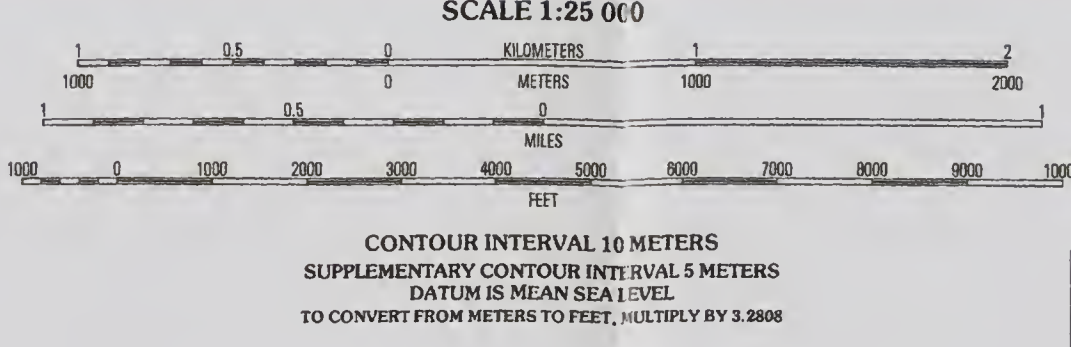
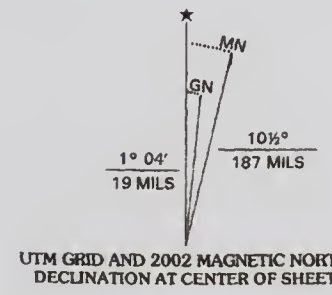
Verse 3

Beach-es of Lu - kan - non shall know their sons no more!

The musical score for Verse 3 is written in 4/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, a half note C5, a quarter note Bb4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a half note F#4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a bass line with a half note G3, a half note F#3, and a half note E3, all tied across the first two measures. The right hand of the piano part plays a series of chords: G4-Bb4, A4-Bb4, Bb4-C5, and C5-Bb4. The final measure of the piano part features a long, sustained chord of G4-Bb4-C5, marked with a 'long' and 'ppp' (pianissimo) dynamic.

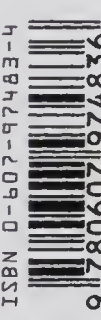


Produced by the United States Geological Survey
In cooperation with U. S. Department of Commerce,
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Topography derived from imagery taken 1993. Planimetry derived
from imagery taken 2001 and other sources. Survey control
current as of 2000. This map has not been field checked.
Boundaries current as of 2001.
North American Datum of 1983 (NAD 83). Projection and
2 000-meter grid. Universal Transverse Mercator, zone 2
North American Datum of 1927 (NAD 27) is shown by dashed
corner ticks. The values of the shift between NAD 83 and NAD 27
are obtainable from National Geographic Survey NADCON software.
There may be private landholdings within the boundaries of the
National or State reservations shown on this map.
Public Land Survey System not shown because of insufficient data.
The Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge consists of public land
in coastal waters and adjacent seas of Alaska, except for lands within
other National reservations.



FOR SALE BY U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, P.O. BOX 25286, DENVER, COLORADO 80225
A FOLDER DESCRIBING TOPOGRAPHIC MAPS AND 5-METER IS AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

SAINT GEORGE ISLAND WEST, AK
2001





U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF RESPONSE AND RESTORATION
PRIBILOF ISLANDS ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION PROJECT

SAINT PAUL ISLAND WEST QUADRANGLE
ALASKA - PRIBILOF ISLANDS
1:25 000-SCALE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)



Produced by the United States Geological Survey
in cooperation with U.S. Department of Commerce,
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Topography derived from imagery taken 1993. Planimetry derived
from imagery taken 2001 and other sources. Survey control
current as of 2000. This map has not been field checked.
Boundaries current as of 2001.
North American Datum of 1983 (NAD 83). Projection and
1:250,000 scale. Universal Transverse Mercator, zone 2.
2:500-meter ticks: Alaska Coordinate System of 1983 (zone 9).
North American Datum of 1927 (NAD 27) is shown by dashed
corner ticks. The values of the ticks between NAD 83 and NAD 27
are obtainable from National Geospatial Survey NADCON software.
There may be private holdings within the boundaries of the
National or State reservations shown on this map.
Public Land Survey System not shown because of insufficient data.
The Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge consists of public land
in coastal waters and adjacent seas of Alaska, except for lands within
other National reservations.

UTM GRID AND 2002 MAGNETIC NORTH
DECLINATION AT CENTER OF SHEET
0° 41' 12" N
10° 5' 18" N
12° 1' 12" N

SCALE 1:25 000
Kilometers
Meters
Miles
Feet
CONTOUR INTERVAL 10 METERS
SUPPLEMENTARY CONTOUR INTERVAL 5 METERS
DATUM IS MEAN SEA LEVEL
TO CONVERT FROM METERS TO FEET, MULTIPLY BY 3.2808
FOR SALE BY U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, P.O. BOX 25286, DENVER, COLORADO 80225
A FOLDER DESCRIBING TOPOGRAPHIC MAPS AND SYMBOLS IS AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

ROAD CLASSIFICATION
Primary highway
hard surface
Secondary highway
hard surface
Light-duty road, hard or
improved surface
Unimproved road
Interstate Route
U.S. Route
State Route
QUADRANGLE LOCATION
1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12
SAINT PAUL ISLAND WEST
ADJOINING QUADRANGLES
SAINT PAUL ISLAND EAST, AK
2001

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Betty Ann (Lausier) Lindsay was a former math teacher and college administrator, and the NOAA Pribilof Restoration Project history researcher. She has published more than twenty historical writings primarily focused on ethnic genealogy. Ms. Lindsay's writing experience includes authoring of a newspaper food-column and technical writing for a national craft magazine. Her book titled *William Robertson Descendants* received a 1999 book award nomination from The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Originally from Madawaska, Maine, Betty received her BA in Education/Math from Rivier College, Nashua, New Hampshire and a M.Ed. in Administration and Supervision from Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia. She is the senior author of *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Genealogy and Census*.



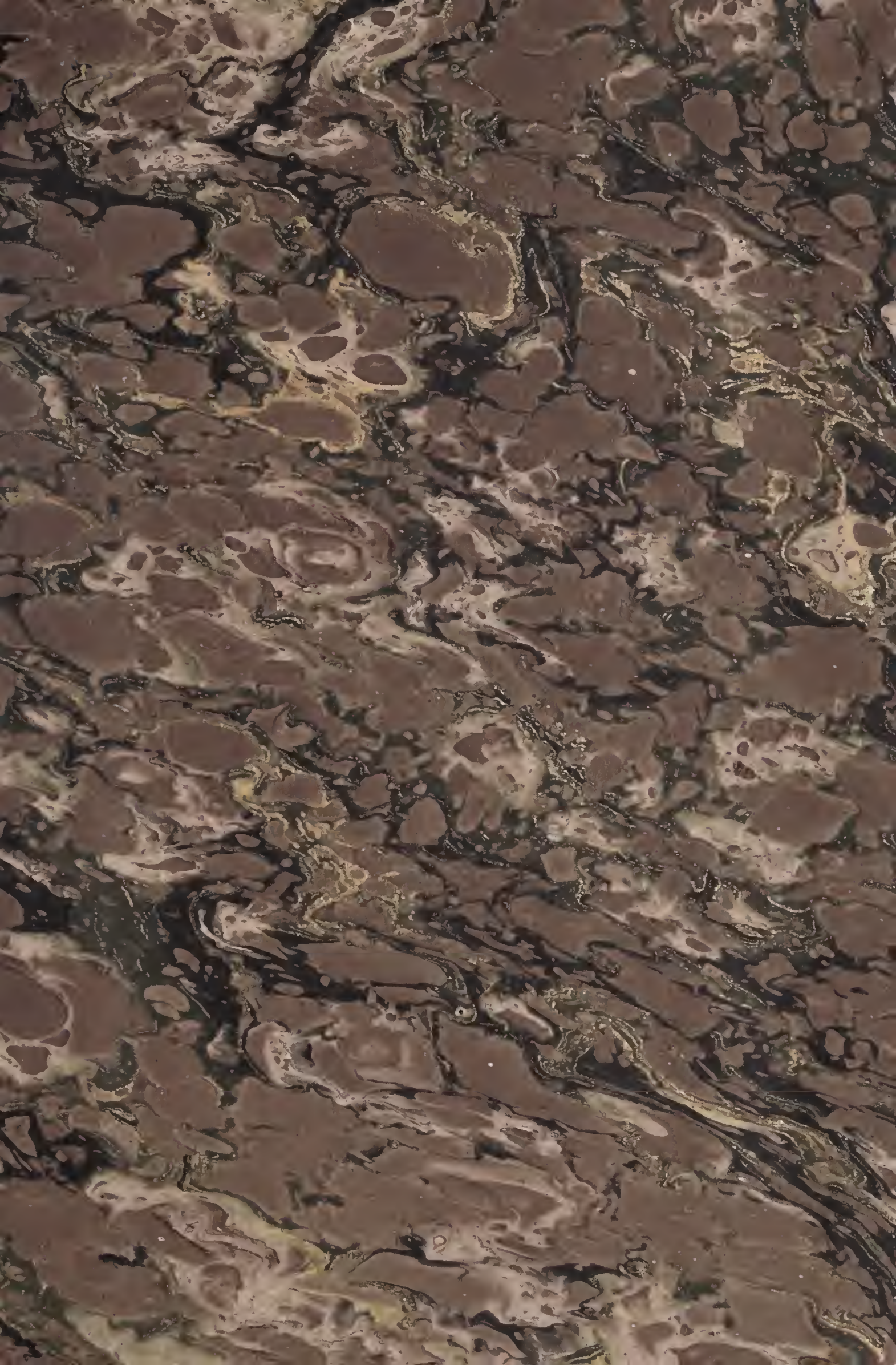
Betty A. Lindsay, St. Paul Island, September 2000. (Photo: NOAA, John A. Lindsay)

John A. Lindsay served as NOAA's manager for the Pribilof Islands Environmental Restoration Project during 1999–2008. He recently edited and published *The Alaska Fur-Seal Islands*, a manuscript originally drafted by G Dallas Hanna in 1923. Mr. Lindsay is the senior author of *The Pribilof Islands, Alaska: An Annotated Bibliography*; *Pribilof Islands, Alaska: Guide to Photographs and Illustrations*; and *The Pribilof Islands, Preserving the Legacy*. He has produced two documentaries about the Pribilof Islands, *Henry Wood Elliott: Defender of the Fur Seal* (DVD; Seattle, WA: NOAA, 2005) and *People of the Seal* (DVD; Seattle, WA: NOAA, 2009). In earlier times, Mr. Lindsay worked as an estuarine/nearshore zooplankton taxonomist and ecologist, and a marine macrobenthic infauna taxonomist, and subsequently represented NOAA's natural resource trustee interests at Superfund sites.



John A. Lindsay, St. Paul Island, March 2007. (Photo: NOAA, Dan Doyle.)





LC ACQUISITIONS
0 030 383 038 8

